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[ONE ANNA

QUESTION OF HONOUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

On my way to Rajkot, going via Bombay, I have to wait a whole day for the Kathiawad mail. I am passing the time in writing for *Harijan*. And I read the following note :

"Ramdurg—a small State in the Bombay-Karnatak area 169 sq. miles, population 33,997, Revenue Rs. 2,69,000—was hard hit by famine and scarcity conditions, and also depression due to fall in prices for some years past. On 20th March 1938 some agriculturists from villages gathered together in front of the palace and requested the Rajasaheb to grant some concessions in respect of land revenue. It was alleged on behalf of those assembled at the palace that they were dispersed by lathi charge by the Ramdurg police. On the other hand these allegations were denied by the State authorities. It seems that no definite demands were made on behalf of the people, nor was there any organization to speak for them. Some time later some of the people of the State approached Shri Yalgi, a Congressman and one of the Secretaries of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee, and requested him to visit Ramdurg and see the situation for himself. Accordingly, Shri Yalgi visited Ramdurg in April and advised the people there to organize a committee to place their demands before the authorities. In accordance with his advice, a body named Ramdurg Sansthan Praja Sangh was established and on its behalf demands were formulated and submitted to the Rajasaheb.

A Conference of Deccan States' People took place at Sangli on 22nd May 1938 presided over by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He left Sangli on the 22nd. But the Conference continued under the presidentship of Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande.

On the 23rd, the question of Ramdurg was taken and it was decided that a committee, consisting of (1) Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande, President, K. P. C. C., (2) Shri Shankarrao Deo, Member of the Congress Working Committee, (3) Shri Munoli, President, Ramdurg Praja Sangh, (4) Shri Kanabur, Secretary of Deccan States People's Conference, (5) Shri Andaneppa Doddameti, M. L. A., (6) Shri K. S. Patil, M. L. A., (7) Shri Ari, Pleader, Hubli—a subject of the State, was appointed to investigate and report on the Ramdurg affair. In the meantime the Ramdurg Durbar, on their own initiative had issued a proclamation and announced certain concessions. But the people were not satisfied with these concessions and the agitation was assuming a serious turn. It must, however, be noted that, in spite of very serious provocations on the part of the rowdy element, the State authorities had absolutely taken no action which can be described as repressive.

Then on the 5th June 1938 the Committee appointed at Sangli visited Ramdurg and instituted an enquiry. It was felt by the Committee and also by the prominent representatives of the Ramdurg Praja Sangh that a mere enquiry and report would not serve the purpose. Therefore the latter requested the Committee to bring about a settlement in respect of the demands which were submitted to the Ramdurg Durbar.

The matter was discussed for two hours and on the 6th of June Shri Deo was entrusted with the sole authority of settling the differences. Shri Deo, in accepting the responsibility, made clear to the people all the implications of what they were doing. Shri Deo, on behalf of the Committee, formulated the demands and submitted them to the Rajasaheb. After some discussions the matter was postponed at the desire of the Rajasaheb. However, most of the suggestions, with slight modifications, were conceded by the Rajasaheb. Shri Deshpande wrote to the Sardar as to what had happened. He also informed him of the demands of the Praja Sangh and the offer of Rajasaheb. In reply, Sardar wrote to Shri Deshpande on the 11th June 1938 to say that the terms offered by Rajasaheb could not be improved upon, that they were quite good and that the people should be advised to accept them.

Though Shri Deo was entrusted with full powers to negotiate and settle the terms, he on the 21st June 1938 took Shri Munoli and all the members of the Managing Committee of the Praja Sangh into confidence, and after long discussion secured their assent to the terms settled between himself and the Rajasaheb. The members of the Committee appointed by the Sangli Conference with the exception of Shri Shastri, who was absent, also agreed. The acceptance of the terms was communicated to Rajasaheb. The same evening a durbar was held in the palace to which the President and representatives of the Praja Sangh and leading men of Ramdurg were invited. The Rajasaheb in his opening speech surveyed the history of his rule and gave the outlines of the terms of settlement. The Dewan, Rao Bahadur Pradhan, then read out the proclamation embodying the terms of the settlement. Thereupon the President of the Praja Sangh, on behalf of the Sangh, thanked the Rajasaheb in suitable terms. After the durbar was over, Shri Deo and others went to the public meeting. The meeting was attended by more than 12,000 persons. The President of the Praja Sangh presided. When Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande was explaining the terms of the settlement, a slight disturbance was noticed in one corner of the meeting. It was ascertained that they belonged to Sureban and were weavers. Shri Andaneppa Doddameti went to that corner and successfully tried to restore peace. After Shri

Deshpande, Shri Andaneppa spoke for more than one hour and fully explained all the details of the terms and defended them very vigorously. He carried conviction to the audience and concluded his speech amongst enthusiastic cheers. Shri Deo also made a short speech asking people to organize and strengthen their position by working the reforms granted. Shri Munavalli, the President in his concluding speech, which was very touching, defended all the terms settled and asked the audience whether they had confidence in him. The audience with one voice replied in the affirmative. He then asked them to accept the terms and they assented. At the conclusion of the meeting a paper, containing the terms of the settlement, was brought to the President for his signature by an officer of the State. Shri Munavalli, the President, again asked the audience whether he should sign it, and with concurrence of not only the large audience but of the representatives of the Praja Sangh, signed the document.

The Council of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee passed the following resolution:

"The Council congratulates the people of Ramdurg, Jamkhandi, Miraj Sr. and Jr. and Mudhol for the success they have achieved in their struggle for redress of their grievances and trusts that they will strengthen their organisations by non-violent and peaceful means for the attainment of full responsible government in the near future.

"This Council expresses its sense of appreciation of the Rulers of the above States for readily responding to the demands of their subjects and trusts that the terms of the settlement will be implemented by both the portions without delay. It also requests the Rulers of all the States in Karnatak to follow the liberal policy followed by the above-mentioned States.

"This Council, however, notes with extreme pain that anti-propaganda is being carried on by some people and especially by some Congressmen on the plea that the settlement arrived at by the efforts of prominent Congress leaders between the people and the Prince of Ramdurg. (Sic) This Council while requesting them not to carry on anti-propaganda is definitely of opinion that the good of the people will advance only by standing by the settlement."

I have omitted some parts irrelevant for my purpose. It appears that an attempt is now being made on behalf of the Ramdurg Praja Sangh to terrorise the Ruler into making further concessions. He refrains from taking action against the mischief-mongers for fear of losing Congress sympathy. The question I am asked is, "What are Congressmen involved in the settlement to do?" Assuming the correctness of my information, my unequivocal answer is that they have to keep at any cost the plighted word of the Provincial Committee. I am going to Rajkot to entreat H. H. the Thakoresaheb of Rajkot to keep his word. The breach, as I interpret his action, has shaken me to my depth. I can think of no other answer with regard to the Congress. Rajkot represents the Princely Order. Its shame or credit would be the shame or credit of the whole Order. If a representative Congressman breaks his word, the reputation of the whole Congress is at stake. How much more so, if a Provincial Congress Committee cannot redeem its word? The

Congress claims to represent the whole nation. Its transactions must be above reproach.

In these days of awakening, all kinds of forces must rise up. Demands, even extravagant, will be made by new additions to the Congress. If they are in excess of Congress commitments and if the Congress credit is to go up day after day, they must be checked. I do not know what the Ramdurg Praja Sangh claims. It may be that the claim is intrinsically sound. But they cannot enforce it by rowdism and threats even before the ink is dry on the settlement paper. The representative Congressmen in Karnatak have to stand by the Ramdurg Chief and see that the settlement is honoured by the people even though in battling with them they should lose their lives.

Bombay, 26-2-39

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENTS ON RAJKOT

I

Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press from Segaoon on 23rd February:

I continue to receive daily wires about hunger-strikes in Rajkot over the treatment, said to be inhuman, of prisoners and others in villages. The Rajkot matter is becoming daily graver because of the breach of faith on the Ruler's part with which the second struggle started. Agitated inquirers should know that I am in telegraphic correspondence with the State authorities. I hope to take them into confidence in the near future. In the meantime let the Satyagrahis understand that the first thing they have to show is an infinite capacity for suffering with inward joy and without malice or anger.

II

Gandhiji issued the following statement from Segaoon on 25th February:

The following telegrams have been exchanged between the First Member of the Rajkot State Council and myself:

"Hear Satyagraha prisoners Rajkot jail fasting, for Sardhar prisoners said to be inhumanly treated. Could you enlighten me?—Gandhi." (dated, February 20).

"Your telegram. Personally visited Sardhar yesterday. No truth absolutely whatsoever regarding ill-treatment to prisoners.—First Member Council." (dated, February 21).

"Thanks wire. You are silent about hungerstrike. Have again long wire about atrocities which difficult to disbelieve. Every day urge growing that I should myself plunge. Agony of Ruler's breach of faith, coupled with growing tales of terrorism, becoming unbearable. Have no desire embarrass Thakore Saheb or Council. Would like you listen to voice of old man claiming to be Rajkot's friend.—Gandhi." (dated, February 22).

"Absolutely no truth in allegations of ill-treatment to Sardhar prisoners. Whole thing nothing but fabrication. Regular programme of daily diet, bedding, etc., nearly on same lines as Rajkot, arranged. Written information to above effect given to prisoners

on hunger-strike in local jail by me. In spite of these, they unreasonably insist continue fasting. Assure you everything humanly possible being done give fair treatment. Please have no anxiety—First Member.” (dated February 23).

“If all reports are fabrication, it is serious for me and co-workers. If there is substance in them, it is serious reflection on the State authorities. Meanwhile the hunger-strike continues. My anxiety is unbearable. Therefore propose start for Rajkot tomorrow night taking with me medical attendant, secretary and typist. I come in search of truth and as peace-maker. Have no desire to court arrest. I want to see things for myself and shall make ample amends if my co-workers have been guilty of fabrication. I shall also plead with Thakore Saheb to repair breach of faith with his people. I shall ask people to avoid demonstrations and am asking Sardar Patel, pending my effort in Rajkot, to suspend Satyagraha by persons in Rajkot or from outside. If by any chance Thakore Saheb and Council can restore pact intact, subject to adjustment of members, and prisoners are immediately set free and fines restored, I naturally cancel my proposed departure. You can send official with full authority to negotiate adjustment as to personnel. Majority of Sardar Patel's nominees will be a condition. May God guide Thakore Saheb and his Councillors. May I expect express wire?—Gandhi.” (dated February 24).

“Since your telegram you must have received information that hunger-strike has been discontinued since last night, having no justification, as telegram sent to you by Nihalal Jasan and Mohanlal Gadhdawala must have convinced you. His Highness does not consider there has been any breach of faith on his part and is only anxious that representative committee appointed by him should be able to start working in clam atmosphere, so that he may be in a position to introduce as soon as possible such reform as may be found by him to be required after fully considering the committee's recommendations. His Highness feels sure that in circumstances explained you will appreciate that no useful purpose could be served by your coming here now. He wishes once again to assure you that no atrocities or terrorism have been or will be allowed. — First member.” (dated February 24.)

“Your wire is not answer to my heart-felt entreaty. I leave for Rajkot today on my mission of peace.—Gandhi.” (dated February 25.)

These wires tell their own tale. I am glad that the fast is broken. That certainly removes one cause of anxiety. But the charge of fabrication abides. I know personally many of the workers in Rajkot. They and I must make full reparation, if they have resorted to falsehood in order to make out a case of atrocities against the authorities. The struggle in Rajkot, as in other States, is part of the struggle for the liberation of India. Mutual mud-slinging cannot advance the cause. Truth must be ascertained.

The telegram of the First Member denies the charge of breach of faith. It baffles me. I do not know what is meant by the denial. The notification announcing the pact and the notification announcing the breach with Sardar Patel are clearly contradictory, as one reads the plain language of the two.

I have suggested that the Resident at Rajkot is responsible for the breach. I have been told that I have been hasty in bringing this charge and that there is another side. If there is, it is my duty to know it. I shall make it a point to seek an interview with him and, if I find that I have done an injustice to him, I shall tender a public apology. I feel that it is wrong on my part to allow the sufferings to continue in the midst of mutual recriminations. The least I can do is to go to Rajkot and find out the truth and invite the Thakore Saheb to repair what is a palpable breach of faith unless I discover that the repudiation of this charge is somehow justified.

If the statements made by the workers about atrocities are true, there must be found a way of avoiding such exhibitions of man's worst passions. He must be helped against himself, if it is at all possible. It is part of the struggle for liberty, if it is non-violent, to reclaim even the goondas whether they are to be found among the people or those in authority. By going to Rajkot I want to exert myself to the utmost of my capacity and find out the way of dealing with the goonda element in society. In this respect Rajkot is a test case. I go to Rajkot because I am the same friend of the States that I have always claimed to be.

It hurts me that by force of circumstances, all of which perhaps I do not know, the Ruler of Rajkot has been made to break his word given to his people. I hold that it is the duty of the Princes of Kathiawad, if not of all India, and their advisers to help to rectify the wrong if it is one. An honourable mutual understanding is impossible if faith becomes a valueless article. Life to me becomes a burden, when I find myself witness of a breach of faith, as it happens to be in this case. Let it be recalled that I was the author of the draft that the Ruler of Rajkot signed with but a slight modification. I know that Sardar Vallabhbhai left no stone unturned to ensure that it was signed with the fullest understanding.

As I go to Rajkot purely as a messenger of peace, I have asked Sardar Patel to suspend the Rajkot civil resistance whilst under God's guidance I make the humble effort to end the agony. The public will please remember that I am an invalid so far as the body is concerned. They will avoid demonstrations at the stations. Though Rajkot is a tiny place on the map of India, the principle for the vindication of which I go to Rajkot is one without which society must disintegrate.

Cent Per Cent Swadeshi

OR

The Economics of Village Industries

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H A R I J A N

Mar. 4

1939

A MISCHIEVOUS SUGGESTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent sends the following cutting from the *Bombay Chronicle*:

"Mr. Rushbrock Williams in a letter to the *The Manchester Guardian* declares that during the last few months of last year there was a definite progress by the Right Wing elements of the Congress High Command towards a position, in which Mahatma Gandhi would have found it possible to approach the authorities with suggestions in relation to the Central Government, roughly corresponding to those which he so successfully carried through in connection with the Provincial Governments. What was then regarded as the approach of Federation compelled the Congress to reckon up its forces. It had little Muslim support and without such support, thanks to the Muslim League, and unless it found new allies, it will be unable to form a Government in the Centre. Therefore it was necessary to concentrate on Indian States in order to secure that the representation of States should be drawn from elements sympathising with the Congress programme.

He adds: 'It is not without significance that Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya is intimately associated with the States Subjects' Conference, but the election of Mr. Bose has been a blow to the Right Wing and apparently has postponed any rapprochement with the authorities as the High Command had in mind. Mr. Bose does not like the States, but he also does not like Federation. He can, therefore, have little sympathy with an endeavour to convert States into allies of the Congress in preparation for a Congress domination over the new Central institutions. In fact he desires to keep them at arm's length to secure a settlement of British Indian destinies by British India and eventually no doubt to expel the Princes and absorb the States into the new self-governing India he projects.'

Mr. Williams is an old 'enemy'. During the non-cooperation days he edited an official Year Book, in which he drew upon his imagination and gave his own colour to facts which he could not avoid. He has played the same role again in his letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, assuming that he is correctly quoted. It is wrong to say that there was a definite or any progress by the Right Wing elements of the Congress High Command towards the position pictured by Mr. Williams's imagination. The suggestion about Muslim support is malicious. I know my own mind and so far as I know the Congress mind, neither it nor I ever dreamt that there could be any federation without Muslim support. Indeed so long as there is opposition to federation by the Muslims, the Congress has no need to worry about federation coming. Therefore, unless there is perfect communal unity, no Congressman can think or talk of federation whether of the Government mint or cent per cent swadeshi mint.

About Dr. Pattabhi, the whole of India knows that his candidature was thought of at the last moment when Maulana Saheb withdrew and as Dr. Pattabhi was the only candidate left besides Subhas Babu. His connection with the States People's Conference has been a convenient fact for building up Mr. Williams's case.

As for the innuendos about Subhas Babu, he is well able to look after himself. But throughout one year's intimate connection with him I never once heard him say of the States what Mr. Williams attributes to him. I am quite certain that if the States come to terms with the Congress about the treatment of the people in their jurisdiction, Subhas Babu will be quite as keen as any Congressman to close with the bargain but not in anticipation of federation.

I have come into the States agitation by accident. Responsible government in the States is a goal by itself and independent of federation which may never come. It won't come till the Congress and Muslims are ready for it. But liberty of the States people has to come in any and every case. They cannot be in chains and what is called British India become free.

Civil Resistance Suspended

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel issued the following statement on 25th February:

I have read Gandhiji's statement announcing his intention of proceeding to Rajkot on a mission of peace. During the days I have been in Wardha, I as well as other friends have been watching his agony in the matter of the movement going on in the States. Whenever he has been in such agony, he has sought relief by what has appeared to us, his associates, to be a sudden decision but which to him is guidance from God. The public know it now. He asks for the suspension of Rajkot civil resistance. I therefore suspend Rajkot civil resistance till further notice and hope that the Kathiawadis wishing to proceed to Rajkot to take part in the movement will desist; and so will the citizens of Rajkot. I am unable just now to say more. Let us all fulfil Gandhiji's wishes in the spirit he asks.

Students' Strike at Annamalai

I saw yesterday a letter from Annamalai, addressed to a colleague, giving a detailed description of the students' strike. According to the letter, the strikers prostrate themselves in front of the entrances to prevent non-strikers from attending classes, and when classes are held, they enter the class-rooms, shout and otherwise make the holding of classes impossible. The letter ends by saying that the strikers are likely to give up the strike if they know that in my opinion the methods adopted by them are contrary to non-violence.

If the description reproduced by me is correct, I have no hesitation in saying that the methods adopted by the strikers are not only not non-violent but positively violent. I would implore the strikers to desist from the methods they have adopted, and allow those who want to attend classes to do so without any obstruction.

Segaon, 23-2-39

M. K. G.

IS IT NON-VIOLENT ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Below is an extract from a letter from a teacher in the Annamalai University:

"Some time in November last, a group of five or six students organizedly assaulted the secretary of University Union, a fellow student. Shri Srinivasa Sastri, the Vice-chancellor, took a serious view of it and punished the leader of the group with expulsion from the University and the rest with suspension till the end of this academic year.

Some sympathizers and friends of these punished students wanted to abstain from attending classes and strike work. They consulted the other students the next day and tried to persuade them also to strike work as a mark of protest. But they could not succeed as the majority of the students felt that the punishment meted out to the six people was well deserved and so refused to join the strikers or show any sympathy for them.

The next day, about 20 per cent of the students stayed away from the classes; the remaining 80 per cent attended the classes as usual. I may add, the strength of this University is about 800.

The student who was expelled next came inside the hostel to direct the strike. Finding the strike unsuccessful he adopted other methods in the evening, as for example, bodily lying across the four main outlets from the hostel, locking some gates of the hostel, locking up some of the young boys inside their own rooms, — especially the junior kids who could be intimidated into obedience. In this way in the afternoon, the rest of the students were prevented from coming outside the hostel gates by fifty or sixty people.

The authorities thus finding the gates closed wanted to make an opening in the fencing. But when they started pulling down the fence with the help of servants of the University, the strikers prevented the other students from passing through the breaches to attend college. They tried removing the picketers bodily but could not succeed. The authorities finding the situation unmanageable requested the police to remove the expelled student from the hostel premises as he was the source of all the trouble, which the police did. This naturally irritated some more of the students who began to show sympathy with the strikers. The next morning the strikers found the whole fencing removed from the hostel, entered the college premises and picketed — by lying across the staircase passages and entrances to class rooms. Shri Srinivasa Sastri then closed down the University for a long vacation of 1½ months from November 29th to January 16th. He gave a statement to the Press appealing to the students to come back from home in a chastened and happier mood for study.

But the college reopened with renewed activities on the part of the strikers who had extra advice during the vacation from They went to Rajaji, it appears, but he asked them to obey the Vice-chancellor and declined to interfere. He sent two telegrams also to the strikers, through the Vice-chancellor, appealing to them to give up the strike and attend college classes and settle down to quiet work. Though on the majority of good students these telegrams had a good effect, the strikers remained adamant.

The picketing is still going on. It has almost become chronic. The strikers are about 35 to 45

in number. They have got about 50 sympathizers who dare not come into the open and strike with them, but from within they create trouble. Every day they come in a body and lie down in front of entrances to classes, and on the stairs leading to classes on the first floor and thus prevent the students from entering the classes. But the teachers shift from place to place and hold classes before the picketers can reach there. Each hour the venue of the classes is changed. Sometimes classes are held in the open air, so that the picketers cannot block the entrance by lying down. On those occasions the strikers disturb the classes by shouting and sometimes by haranguing the students who have assembled to hear lectures of their respective class teachers.

Yesterday there was a new development. The strikers came into the classes, rolled on the floor and uttered shouts. Some strikers, I heard, began writing on blackboards before the teacher could come. If any teachers are known to be meek, some of the strikers try to intimidate them also. In fact they threatened the Vice-chancellor with 'violence and bloodshed', if he did not accede to their demands.

One other important point I ought to tell you is that the strikers get help from some outsiders, employ goondas to enter the University premises and disturb the work there. As a matter of fact I saw many such goondas — and people who are not students — wandering about in the verandahs, and near the classrooms also. Apart from it the students use abusive language against the Vice-chancellor.

Now the point I am driving at is this: We have all been feeling, i. e. several teachers and a large number of students, that these activities are not truthful and non-violent and so are against the spirit of Satyagraha.

I learn reliably that some of the striker students persist in calling this non-violent. They say that if Mahatmaji declares this to be violent they will stop these activities."

The letter is dated 17th February and addressed to Kakasaheb Kalelkar whom the teacher knows intimately. The portion not printed by me seeks Kakasaheb's opinion whether the conduct of the students can be called non-violent and deplors the attitude of unruliness which has become rampant among so many students in India.

The letter gives the names of those who are inciting the strikers to persist in their behaviour. On the publication of my opinion on the strike, someone, presumably a student, sent me an angry telegram saying that the behaviour of the strikers is perfectly non-violent. Assuming the correctness of the version reproduced by me, I have no hesitation in saying that the attitude of the students is essentially violent. Surely, if someone blocks the passage to my house, his action is violence just as much as if he pushed me bodily from the doorstep.

If students have a real grievance against their teachers, they may have the right to strike and even picket their school or college but only to the extent of politely warning the unwary from attending their classes. They could do so by speaking or by distributing leaflets. But they may not obstruct the passage or use any coercion against those who do not want to strike.

And the students have struck against whom? Shri Srinivasa Sastriar is one of India's best scholars. He had become renowned as a teacher before many of the students were born or were in their teens. Any university in the world will be proud to have him as Vice-chancellor as well for the greatness of his learning as for the nobility of his character.

If the writer of the letter to Kakasaheb has given an accurate account of the happenings in the Annamalai University, Sastriar's handling of the situation seems to me to have been quite correct. In my opinion the strikers are harming themselves by their conduct. I belong to the old school which believed in reverence for teachers. I can understand not going to a school for whose teachers I have no regard. But I cannot understand disrespect towards or vilification of my teachers. Such conduct is ungentlemanly, and all ungentlemanliness is violence.

Bombay, 26-2-39

LOVE A UNIVERSAL VIRTUE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An Indian Christian writes:

"Your article 'The Jews' has evoked considerable comment of varying nature. I propose to confine myself to the criticism that the love that Jesus taught was a personal, not a social or collective, virtue.

To deny that Jesus' way of life was meant for all—collectively no less than individually—is surely to deny the basic truth of the religion of Christ. He came as a 'light to lighten the world', he came 'to fulfil the law and the prophets', he was the long expected Messiah and acclaimed by his followers as the Savior of mankind. He was utterly dissatisfied with the existing order; the hypocrisy and pride of the Scribes and Pharisees riled him sufficiently for him to call them a 'generation of vipers' and 'whited sepulchres'; he openly protested against bribery and corruption when he 'upset the tables of the money-changers' and accused them of having made his house 'a den of thieves'; he denounced the sin of untouchability by dining with outcasts and speaking words of comfort to prostitutes.

He certainly said, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's,' but he did not withhold from the Almighty what was His due. Rendering unto Caesar the things that were his meant that he was not entitled to usurp anything and if he did he was not to be assisted. His preaching roused the anger of the people because it was revolutionary and universal; otherwise why should those in authority have cared to arrest and condemn to the extreme penalty of the law a man in whom even the judge who tried him could find no sin?

They sensed in his teachings a power which, if exercised by those who believed in them, would surely cause to fall the whole framework of their society. When Jesus wept over Jerusalem, he wept not over individuals but over the entire system under which Jewry was going headlong to perdition; when he claimed that he was the Way, the Truth and the Life, he claimed to be so for the world in general, and the straight and narrow road that he said would lead to the desired goal was the way of love. To 'turn the other cheek' to him who smites you on one, to love the enemy, to rejoice in suffering, to love your

neighbour as yourself, to remove the beam from your own eye before pointing to the mote in another's, to pray for those who persecute you, to forgive the offender until seventy times seven, to serve the poor, to leave all and follow Jesus, are of the essence of a universal gospel for which he lived and died. That he asked his disciples to let the world see this message by virtue of their own example, that the disciples themselves felt the call to recreate a new order, bears ample evidence in the very formation, through their martyrdom, of the early Church, which is termed to be the body of Christ. One of the most beautiful passages in the New Testament, the 13th Chapter of I Corinthians, was written by St. Paul at a time when the Church of Corinth was torn by internal dissensions. The message of love therein was the message for collective action. The 'Church Militant', as it is called, is surely the emblem of Christian society trying to war against the powers of evil by means of love which 'conquers all things'.

But while it may be convenient, because of the lack of courage and faith within us, to set aside the central teaching of the religion of Christ as a mere rule for personal conduct, it is a dangerous doctrine which has brought the so-called Christian nations to a sorry pass today.

No doubt the result of non-violence is not always visible to the naked eye. It is not given to martyrs always to see in the flesh the results of their sacrifices; indeed, selfless love does not look for results, it only seeks the general good, it has within it the urge to raise society to a higher plane, it has boundless faith in human nature. That the way of love—for what is non-violence except boundless love—is not easy to pursue is only too true. But to rule love out as a social virtue, is to deny the existence of not only the religion of Jesus but of all the great religions of the world and to give way to fear which is the ruling passion in the world today.

Non-violence on a national or international scale has not yet been sufficiently tried; where it has been tried by Gandhiji it has met with success. Is not Europe, by subordinating her mind to the doctrine that 'Might is Right', giving a direct lie to the teaching of Jesus? This is the question before Christendom today. Does the greatest measure of freedom consist in being able to resist force with the weapons of force, or may it not be that its highest and eternal form will be born out of the blood willingly shed by one nation or many nations?

Oh cross that liftest up my head,

I may not ask to flee from thee,

I lay in dust, life's glory dead.

And from the ground there blossoms red,

Life that shall endless be."

This letter should convince honest doubters that the love that Jesus taught and practised was not a mere personal virtue, but that it was essentially a social and collective virtue. Buddha taught and practised the same thing six hundred years before Jesus.

Bardoli, 20-1-39

Notice

Subscribers are requested to quote their number in all their correspondence with us and also while sending subscriptions. Intimations of change of address should reach us on Thursday morning at the latest to be effective for that week. Postal orders and cheques should be made payable to the manager.

Manager

WARDHA SCHEME UNDER FIRE

II

Training Teachers through a Craft

Q. In training pupil teachers, would not it be better if they are first taught a craft separately and then given a sound exposition of the method of teaching through the medium of that craft? As it is, they are advised to imagine themselves to be of the age of 7 and relearn everything through a craft. In this way it will take them years before they can master the new technique and become competent teachers.

A. No, it would not take them years. Let us imagine that the teacher when he comes to me has a working knowledge of mathematics and history and other subjects. I teach him to make cardboard boxes or to spin. While he is at it I show him how he could have derived his knowledge of mathematics, history and geography through the particular craft. He thus learns how to link his knowledge to the craft. It should not take him long to do so. Take another instance. Suppose I go with my boy of 7 to a basic school. We both learn spinning and I get all my previous knowledge linked with spinning. To the boy it is all new. For the 70 years old father it is all repetition but he will have his old knowledge in a new setting. He should not take more than a few weeks for the process. Thus, unless the teacher develops the receptivity and eagerness of the child of 7, ~~he will end up by becoming a mere mechanical spinner~~, which would not fit him for the new method.

Q. A boy who has passed his matriculation can go to college if he wishes to. Will a child who has gone through the basic education syllabus too be able to do so?

A. Between the boy who has passed his matriculation and the boy who has gone through basic education, the latter will give a better account of himself because his faculties have been developed. He would not feel helpless when he goes to college as matriculates often do.

Q. Seven has been put down as the minimum age for admission of children to a basic education school. Is it to be a chronological or mental age?

A. Seven should be the average minimum age, but there will be some children of a higher and some of a lower age as well. There is physical as well as mental age to be considered. One child at the age of 7 may have attained sufficient physical development to handle a craft. Another one may not be able to do so even at 7. One cannot therefore lay down any hard and fast rules. All the factors have to be taken into consideration.

Gandhiji continued: Many questions show that many of you are filled with doubts. This is the wrong way of going about the work. You should have robust faith. If you have the conviction that I have, that Wardha education is the thing

required to give training for life to millions of our children, your work will flourish. If you have not that faith, there is something wrong with those in charge of your training. They should be able to imbue you with this faith, whatever else they may or may not give you.

Some Pedagogic Conundrums

Q. The basic education scheme is supposed to be for the villages. Is there no way out for the city-dwellers? Are they to go along the old ruts?

A. This is a pertinent question and a good one, but I have answered it already in the columns of *Harijan*. Sufficient for the day is the good thereof. As it is, we have a big enough morsel to bite. If we can solve the educational problem of seven lakhs of villages, it will be enough for the present. No doubt educationists are thinking of the cities too. But if we take up the question of the cities along with that of the villages, we will fritter away our energies.

Q. Supposing in a village there were three schools with a different craft in each, the scope for learning may be wider in one than in the other. To which school out of these should the child go?

A. Such overlapping should not occur. For the majority of our villages are too small to have more than one school. But a big village may have more. Here the craft taught in both should be the same. But I should lay down no hard and fast rule. Experience in such matters would be the best guide. The capacity of various crafts to become popular, their ability to draw out the faculties of the student, should be studied. The idea is that whatever craft you choose, it should draw out the faculties of the child fully and equally. It should be a village craft and it should be useful.

Q. Why should a child waste 7 years on learning a craft when his real profession is going to be something else, e. g. why should a banker's son, who is expected to take to banking later on, learn spinning for 7 years?

A. The question betrays gross ignorance of the new scheme of education. The boy under the scheme of basic education does not go to school to merely learn a craft. He goes there to receive his primary education, to train his mind through the craft. I claim that the boy who has gone through the new course of primary education for seven years, will make a better banker than the one who has gone through the seven years of ordinary schooling. The latter when he goes to a banking school will be ill at ease because all his faculties will not have been trained. Prejudices die hard. I will have done a good day's work, if I have made you realize this one central fact that the new education scheme is not a little of literary education and a little of craft. It is full education up to the primary stage through the medium of a craft.

Q. Would it not be better to teach more than one craft in every school? The children

might begin to feel bored of doing the same thing from month to month and year to year.

A. If I find a teacher who becomes dull to his students after a month's spinning, I should dismiss him. There will be newness in every lesson such as there can be new music on the same instrument. By changing over from one craft to another a child tends to become like a monkey jumping from branch to branch with abode nowhere. But I have shown already in the course of our discussion that teaching spinning in a scientific spirit involves learning many things besides spinning. The child will be taught to make his own takli and his own winder soon. Therefore, to go back to what I began with, if the teacher takes up the craft in a scientific spirit, he will speak to his pupils through many channels, all of which will contribute to the development of all his faculties.

Segaon, 9-2-39

Pyarelal

Notes

The Mystery of the Frontier

Shrimati Miraben, who has gone to Utmanzai in the Frontier Province to help Khan Saheb Abdul Gaffar Khan in his khadi work among the Khudai Khidmatgars, in the course of a letter to Gandhiji, writes:

"This land interests me more and more. I cannot yet quite define my feeling, but it is something like this. Nature is exquisitely refined, the atmosphere is soft, the colours are wonderful, but never hard. There is a deep and sweet mystery, as if the land could tell and teach one so much if once one could reach to its heart. Why then their violent and backward civilization? I think it must be simply this, that it is so new that it has not yet become absorbed into the country. The land will conquer and mould it to its own nature as time goes on. Khan Saheb's response to your teaching must be Nature beginning to assert herself once more.

I find the Pushtu for river is sind (*seend*). Hence Sindhu nadi, and hence Hindu they say!

Today there was a little wind, and the atmosphere became extra clear. So this evening I went up on to the high mounds above the river, where Buddhist dwellings once stood, and studied the marvellous landscape. Opalescent ranges of mountain, with the great snows of beyond peeping above them here and there—the river winding through the fields and past the villages—here and there gentle golden willow-trees leaning over the water, and here and there fields of greenest clover or young barley. I looked down at my feet, and there were the numberless fragments of Buddhist pottery and bricks. I picked up a broken bowl—the finger-marks of the potter were as clear as if it had been made yesterday! But the fingers—they had long since gone to dust. For it was not the fingers, it was the man's spirit behind those fingers that had created the little bowl. The sun's rim touched the mountain tops, and as I watched him set in gold and purple glory, I worshipped him as Surya Narayan with all my heart. To him it must be as only yesterday

that he shone upon this Buddhist town and watched the potter at his wheel—yes, and dried the little pot for him that I now hold in my hand!"

Bardoli, 16-1-39

Pyarelal

Khadi as Famine Relief

"The Editor,

Harijan

Dear Sir,

The Taluqas of Dharapuram and Palladam in the District of Coimbatore have been very seriously affected by the failure of monsoon. There has been practically no crops and the people are suffering from acute distress. The provincial branch of the All India Spinners' Association has been straining every nerve to offer such relief as it can to the famineaffected population through the spinning wheel. Large numbers of women in the area have been drawn to this work and the number of spinners on the roll of the Branch has gone up from 34,000 to 54,000, with the result that the production of yarn and therefore of khadi has also increased considerably. In the year 1937 the total production for the Tamilnad Branch stood at Rs. 6,45,594, but in 1938 this has gone up to Rs. 16,07,394. This has been a great strain on the limited resources of the Branch as this increased production has been much in excess of the normal demand. The work, however, of offering relief to the spinners has to be continued for some months more and this could be done only if the charitably inclined public would come to the help of the Branch and take up the stocks of khadi, as these are produced. May I request you to kindly put in an appeal in the columns of *Harijan* for a generous response so that this much needed relief can be extended to as large a number as possible?

Yours Sincerely
S. G. Banker"

This letter shows conclusively what a relief khadi is to famine areas. Those, therefore, who buy relief khadi help the famine-stricken and themselves. In addition they give not doles but wages and these at khadi market rates for spinning which are higher than for any other relief work. I hope, therefore, that this appeal will receive a generous response from the public.

Bombay, 26-2-39

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ONE ANNA

A GOD-GIVEN FAST

To have been deprived of the privilege of being near the Sacrificial Fire that is burning in Rajkot is no small calamity. But if a Sacrificial Fire is no calamity, the deprivation is none. And where hearts are beating in unison, distances of time and space are annihilated.

But speaking purely physically I am working under a handicap, and as I have been away from Segaon these days I could not produce a diary of events to demonstrate to doubters that the Fast is a God-given Fast. That it is purer than any previous fast undertaken by Gandhiji—excepting the Three Weeks' Fast of 1933—should be clear to the meanest understanding. It has been described as a 'self-imposed death'. Indeed it is, if Jesus' was a self-imposed death resolved upon in order that others may live. We erring mortals die every minute of our lives, every minute that we try to live against the dictates of the divine in us. Every breach of a pledge or a good resolution is death, but it is pardonable death, if mortal man confesses the breach and attributes it to his own weakness. It becomes unpardonable suicide when mortal man glories in the breach. Gandhiji's 'self-imposed death' is meant to awaken those who are rushing headlong towards that unpardonable suicide. 'Unpardonable' I call it—not by us, but by God who declared, 'Vengeance is Mine; I will repay.' Man can but pray. In our indignation we may feel the intensity of that human wrath which rises out of the heart of an agonised humanity.

But let us put aside our indignation and we will not fail to see that it is no such cruel process, it is a divine Sacrificial Fire which kindles divine sparks in us and burns up the impurities that are not of God. All iniquities and impurities are being consumed there, and to the extent that we can realise it, to that extent we will rejoice and cease to be indignant.

And how can such a thing be other than God-given? But as I have said, if I had been physically with Bapu at Segaon and Rajkot, I should have demonstrated that it is God-given by describing every step that led on to it. However, even whilst I was here I had the proofs coming to me. That what was happening in Rajkot and other States was a continuing agony everyone knew—everyone who studied his writings. But that he rejoiced in the agony I

saw in one of his letters which he ended up with these words: "There is conflagration all around. But you know that

Happiest are those that plunge in the Fire

The lookers-on are all but scorched by flames."

That the idea of having to go through the Fast was farthest from his mind when he set off for Rajkot will be apparent from what he wrote to me on the 26th:

"You must not be anxious. I miss you on this journey. I am going there as God is taking me there. Within me is joy, hope. Who knows if the prospect is no more than a mirage? I know that I will not return from Rajkot with hope blasted."

The next day he wrote:

"How mysterious are the ways of God! This journey to Rajkot is a wonder even to me. Why am I going, whither am I going? What for? I have thought nothing about these things. And if God guides me, what should I think, why should I think? Even thought may be an obstacle in the way of His guidance.

"The fact is, it takes no effort to stop thinking. The thoughts do *not* come. Indeed there is no vacuum—but I mean to say that there is no thought about the Mission."

The thing came as in a flash on the night of the 2nd March, as another letter tells me, after the last of that series of agonising talks with Durbar Viravala, which was the limit. Some Thing from within said: The final sacrifice must be offered.

Why then did he utter these words in the statement he made on the eve of his departure for Rajkot?—

"An honourable mutual understanding is impossible if faith becomes a valueless article. Life to me becomes a burden when I find myself witness of a breach of faith as I happen to be in this case."

Did he know? No more than he knew that he would have to enter "a perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind." on the 20th September 1932, when on the 13th November 1931 in London he uttered the prophetic words: "I want to say with all the emphasis I can command that if I was the only person to resist this thing (The Award), I will resist it with my life." Even so he knew of this fast, in the sense that he is not known to utter a word in vain. But if he knew, it was God who made him utter those words that knew, not he.

Delhi, 6-3-39

M. D.

ORDEAL BY FIRE

(By C. F. Andrews)

With the precious life of the one, whom we all love so deeply, hanging every hour in the balance, it is hard indeed to collect one's thoughts even for a few moments in order to write a few lines to *Harjan* which will be read, we hope, after the dread trial is over. Yet it may be well faithfully to set down certain vivid memories and impressions, before they pass away and are forgotten.

It was literally true, as I wrote to the Press, that the news, as it came to me by telegram to Santiniketan, stunned me; for it was so entirely unexpected. Knowing Bapu as I do, it was clear that nothing short of desperation could have made him take such a step, when everything pointed towards Tripuri. With a flash of recollection, the scenes I had witnessed at Delhi and Poona came back to me; and I knew that again, for love's sake, he had been ready to abandon his all. The song of Pritamdas came back to me where he sings:

The pathway of the Lord can only
be trodden by heroic souls;
The laggards shrink from it.
The diver goes deep beneath the ocean
To find the pearl of great price.

It was the song I had learnt for the first time at Delhi during that earlier fast in 1924, and it had remained in my mind ever since.

When I took the news to Gurudev, it was easy to see how it moved him. Afterwards, on my suggestion that I should go at once for him to Rajkot and bear his message of love and sympathy to Bapu at this time of his extreme weakness, he eagerly wished me to do so, and urged me to start by the next train. His own mind had evidently travelled back to that memorable day when he himself had gone, at a moment's notice, across the whole breadth of India, in spite of his feeble health at the time, in order to be with Bapu at Yeravda Jail during the most critical time of all when yet another fast of a similar kind had been undertaken.

Now, on account of old age and infirmity, such a journey would be physically impossible for the Poet himself. Yet the strain of waiting for telegrams to come in together with anxiety about the condition of the whole country, might prove, for one so highly sensitive as Gurudev, no less severe than the strain of coming into the very midst of the spiritual conflict which was being carried to its conclusion at Rajkot.

My own feeble anxieties were put to shame by two telegrams full of love which reached me in reply to my own. The former of these from Bapu ran:

"All well. Anxiety complex not allowed. Love, Mohan."

This telegram was sent on to me at Delhi; for I had already started when it came to Bolpur. The second was in answer to an express telegram I had sent on the train journey asking him to advise me whether I should come to Rajkot or remain in Delhi. It ran:

"Your coming unnecessary at present. Keeping well. Love. Tell Mahadev, others. Mohan."

In accordance with Bapu's instructions, I remained at Delhi, and from there I am writing this note. The hardest of all things, for me, if I must confess the truth, is to get rid of that 'anxiety complex' about those I love, which Bapu had remembered even while keeping his fast.

At Delhi, I found Mahadev and Devadas, immediately after my arrival, and gave them Bapu's message. They, also, are finding that the hardest form of service is to 'stand and wait'; and yet, in the end, this may be the most fruitful course, because the self-seeker in us is gradually burnt out by the suffering which waiting brings. Trust in God is also built up through such a process.

This note must go to the press, incomplete as it is; for the time to post it has arrived. My one prayer is that, even before it is published, the anxiety about which I have written may be relieved and the ordeal by fire may be over.

A. I. V. I. A. Training School for Village Workers

1. The next session of the All India Village Industries Association Training School for Village Workers will begin from 1st June 1939.

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1. Paper-Making,
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4. Principles underlying the A. I. V. I. A.,
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6. Education through crafts.

Special courses in the following seasonal industries will be given during September to April.

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Maganwadi, Wardha C.P.

T. B. Bhatt,

Secretary, Training School Committee,

THE CRISIS IN AFRICA

(By C. F. Andrews)

Events of overwhelming importance at home are likely to make us somewhat indifferent to the crisis through which our brethren are passing across the seas in Africa. The struggle which I had feared so long has come at last both in Kenya and in South Africa. The white race appears to be determined, at whatever cost, to segregate the 'coloured' races among whom it includes the Indians.

In Kenya the exclusion of the Highlands from Indians, as far as land and agriculture are concerned, has now virtually become final by a new Order in Council, which has been already drafted. The Indian community has taken what is, for them, an unusual step as a protest against this injustice. They have observed a *hartal*, and are likely to send over their President, the Hon. A. B. Patel, who will explain to us what this new attitude of the Colonial Government means. That it involves a breach of faith, on the part of the British Parliament, is almost certain. Even if the wording is cleverly manipulated, the intention to exclude Indians and Africans permanently is there all the while, and it is a mere camouflage to state that no legal right has been infringed.

In South Africa, things are happening that are even worse than in Kenya. For nearly twenty years the Indian community has successfully resisted what may be called the 'Ghetto System' whereby the Indians would be compelled to occupy local areas which were strictly confined to Indians. Time after time I have gone out to South Africa, at the request of Gandhiji, when things were at their very worst in order to prevent this 'segregation' policy from becoming effective. Shrimati Sarojini Naidu also went out at least three times, if not more. The Capetown Round Table Conferences were held. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri went out, as the first Agent-General. All this has happened and much more, in order to prevent this very thing—Segregation. But now, it would appear that, in spite of repeated promises, the struggle will have to begin all over again.

The cleverness with which tables are turned on us is noticeable. Indians, it would appear, are not to be compelled to go into modern ghettos, but wherever the Europeans decide by a substantial majority that land in a certain area should not be let out to any but 'white' people, Indians will be excluded. This will mean the same thing as 'segregation' in another form.

It is of great importance that Swami Bhawani Dayal, who is this year's President of the Natal Indian Congress, is on his way to India. He ought to be heard with the closest attention.

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"THE ONE AND ONLY TASK"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Whilst there is still strength in me, I want to thank all those who have been overwhelming me with their kind messages. I know that many hearts are praying for the right thing to be done. He in whose name the fast has been undertaken will guide India and the Paramount Power in the right path. I am dictating this message, however, in order to warn Congress workers against forgetting Tripuri. I have made every effort that is humanly possible to go to Tripuri. But God willed it otherwise. All whose duty it is to go should unhesitatingly attend the session and with combined effort cut their way through the difficulties which will confront them.

I have implored Subhas Babu not to defy medical advice, but humbly submit to it and regulate the proceedings from Calcutta.

In my opinion, the one and only task before the Congress is to make supreme efforts to clean the Congress house of proved corruption and impurities. The strongest resolutions that the Congress may pass will be of no value if there should be no incorruptible organisation to enforce them. I shall pray whilst I lie on my back that Congressmen will jealously guard the reputation which has been built up by painful efforts during the past 52 years.

The All India Spinners' Association and the All India Village Industries Association, which are an appendage to the Congress, stand apart and are untouched by internal politics. The Congress may even be affected by corruption that has crept into the organisation. I hope that, as usual, it will be attended by tens of thousands of people. Tamil Nad, Bihar and Hissar have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that khadi not only revives villages and village craft but is also the finest form of famine insurance. The phenomenal increase made by the All India Spinners' Association in the wages of spinners has given a new hope to millions of women in the villages. They flock to the All India Spinners' Association depot for work, but there is surplus stock of khadi. Will not Congressmen and others denude the khadi stores of khadi and enable the A. I. S. A. to take all women who are eager to do spinning under the new wages scheme, which has succeeded beyond all expectations? Here also let us be true to ourselves and to the

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dumb millions whom the two Associations are designed to serve. The wages scheme cannot work if unscrupulous men sell khadi or village articles are produced at starvation wages. The only security lies in the public refusing to buy khadi and village articles except from duly certified stores.

My fast must not unhinge the minds of Congressmen at Tripuri, but if we are to work out our own salvation by truthful and non-violent means, it is essential to attend to the smallest detail. Whilst I prize the unbounded affection of the people, let them realise that my life is not worth keeping if anxiety to save it deflects the attention of the nation from the main purpose.

Rajkot, 6-3-39

H A R I J A N

Mar. 11

1939

ITS MEANING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A critic may say: "What have you gained to warrant the breaking of your fast? Not one of the terms of your ultimatum to the Thakore Saheb has been fulfilled except the release of prisoners. But you never took the fast for their release."

On the surface this argument is perfect. It is consistent with a vengeance. My answer is, 'The letter killeth; the spirit giveth life.' The life-giving fact is that Rajkot has become an all-India issue and the place of the Thakore Saheb has been taken up by the Viceroy whose word I have no reason to doubt. Even if the Thakore Saheb had granted all my terms, I should not have been sure of due fulfilment, though I would have been obliged to accept them. What I have deliberately put in doubt is the meaning of the famous letter given to the Sardar. In my ultimatum I had acted on the assumption that it bore only one meaning. But as a Satyagrahi I must always allow my cards to be examined and re-examined at all times and make reparation if an error is discovered. Hence my reading of the Settlement is that God has given me much more than I had ever expected. Time will show whether my claim is justified.

Rajkot, 8-3-39

(Continued from page 45)

will be the response from them that I expect.

"Rajkot is the hub of Kathiawar, and if Rajkot is given a popular government, other States in Kathiawad will of their own accord and without any further civil resistance fall in line. There is no such thing as perfect coincidences on this earth. Its beauty lies in its multitudinous variety. There will be, therefore, variety of constitutions in Kathiawad States. But let the trunk be true."

"A GOOD ENDING"

Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press on the 7th inst. after breaking his fast:

"In my opinion this good ending is an answer to the prayers of millions. I claim to know my millions. All the 24 hours of the day I am with them. They are my first care and last, because I recognise no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions. They do not recognise His presence; I do. And I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God through the service of these millions.

But I also know I had the prayers and sympathy of others all the world over. And there was a persistent effort of the intelligentsia in order to bring about an honourable understanding and a speedy end of this fast. Englishmen have co-operated as well as Indians. Politically speaking, it is His Excellency the Viceroy who is responsible for the settlement.

I know Englishmen do not understand the method of fast, especially on what would appear to be a purely political issue. They often feel disgusted with such method. I know also there are Indians who do not appreciate the method of fast. I hope, when I am strong, to write about 'The Fast Method', because over 50 years' experience has convinced me that in the plan of Satyagraha it has a definite place.

The reason why I bring fast here is because I want to give full valuation to the Viceregal gesture, and he represents the English mind. It was open to him—and I at least would have justified his action—if he had said: 'I do not understand this man's actions. There seems to be no end to his fasts. There must be a stop somewhere. He will give no guarantee that this is his last fast. We propose even this time not to parley with him until he has broken his fast.'

I know that, ethically speaking, he would have been wrong if he had taken up that attitude, but, politically speaking and examining the position from the English standpoint, I would have justified his action if he had been unbending. I am hoping that such a good ending and appreciation even of a method which the English mind cannot understand will produce not merely the righting of what I have held to be a primary wrong, but it will clear the atmosphere and help also in the general solution of the States' problem.

I do not mean to say that all States will have to follow the Rajkot precedent. Rajkot is a speciality and must be regarded as an isolated case. There are States whose problems must be considered on their merits. But public attention is rivetted on the problem of the States. I hope it will be recognised that it is a problem which does not brook delay.

I would like the Princes to believe me when I assure them that I came to Rajkot as their friend and as a cent per cent peace-maker. I saw that civil resisters in Rajkot were, and

could not but be, unyielding. Their honour was at stake. I had tales of atrocities poured into my ears. I felt that the basest human passions would be let loose if I allowed civil resistance to go on from day to day. That would have resulted in a bitter feud not merely between Rajkot and the civil resisters but—as the human mind works and even jumps from the particular to the general—there would have been a bitter feud between the Princes and the people.

I know that, even as it is, there is a growing school of public opinion in India which is convinced that the Princes are beyond reform, and that there would be no free India unless this 'relic of a barbaric past' is done away with. I honestly differ with them and, as a believer in non-violence and therefore in the goodness of human nature, I could not do otherwise. They have a place in India. It is not possible to wipe out all the traditions of a hoary past. I therefore hold that if the Princes will read from the lessons of the past and will respond to the time spirit, all will be well. But it will not do to tinker with the problem. They will have to take heroic measures. They need not follow the Rajkot model, but they will have to part with real and substantial powers in favour of the people.

There is, so far as I am aware, no *via media* of saving the situation and saving India from a terrible blood feud. I dare not publish the letters that I have received about the Princes, but of this I shall have to speak more later. In my present weak state of health it is an effort to give this statement. And yet whilst the effect of the fast is on me and whilst I am full of what I call spiritual exaltation, I must give out the best of my thoughts just now.

Then there are the *bhayats* and *girasias*. They pleaded with me their case. I told them that they had my sympathy. They could count upon me as their friend. I want them also to live as *girasias* and *bhayats*, but they will also have to march with the times. They will have to remodel their lives. They will have to feel one with the people over whom they exercise a kind of sway.

Our Mussalman friends came to me, and I had no hesitation in telling them without any argument that their special interests would be safeguarded, that if they wanted separate electorates in Rajkot with reservation of seats I would see to it that they got them. Without their asking they would have had ample guarantees for the fullest protection of their religious freedom. And I told them that if they insisted upon their nominations, I would not resist them. It is necessary for me to say this in order to ease their minds and to ease the minds of the Mussalmans throughout India. I want them to feel that neither I nor the Congress can ever be guilty of diminishing an iota of the safeguards that they may need for their full growth and for the protection of their faith and culture.

I must explain why I have released for publication only the Viceregal telegraphic message

received today at 10-45 a. m. and my reply. There is an allusion to previous messages in these two communications. With the full consent of the Viceroy, I am refraining from publishing those communications. His Excellency has not prevented me from publishing them. I know that he does not believe in sending secret communications to public men, but, for reasons which I need not go into, I felt the force of the argument that, for the sake of the cause, it is not wise to publish them. I hope that it will never be necessary to publish them. There are in my communications allusions which were relevant, but they are not for the public. Hence the responsibility for withholding previous communications is solely mine.

One word about the Congress. My heart is there, but I see that I will not be able to reach there. I am still too weak but, what is more, if I am to give the finishing touch to the Rajkot matter and what it implies, I must not divide my attention between Tripuri and Rajkot. I must concentrate my attention solely on Rajkot at present. I have work to do here. I must hasten to Delhi as soon as I am able. I only hope that all will go well in Tripuri.

It is a strange experience for me to miss the Congress session through all these years. But it is a good thing. Why should I be so proud as to think that nothing serious can be done without me? There are leaders in Tripuri who are every whit as courageous, as self-sacrificing and as devoted as I am. I have no doubt, therefore, that though another policy may be evolved, there will be no acrimony and there will be no violence in their thoughts, in their words and in their deeds.

The last thing I would like to say is that I want to thank the Press correspondents who have been with me during all these anxious days. I have felt proud of them. They have carried out the best traditions of good journalism. They have not been newsmongers but they have been fellow messengers of peace with me. They have shown me the greatest consideration. They have never pestered me.

I should like also publicly to thank my medical friends who have so ungrudgingly attended upon me.

I hope that the prayers of those who believe in them will still continue. In a way, my work begins from now. I begin to lead an earthly life. I have to carry on delicate negotiations. I do not want to lose the goodwill with which I am surcharged at the present moment. I think of the Thakore Sahab, I think of Durbar Shri Viravala. I have criticised them, but only as a friend. I repeat that I am in the place of a father to the Thakore Sahab. I have done no more towards him than I could have done to my truant son. I would like them to understand the significance of what has gone on in front of them, and it would be a noble ending to this fast if I discover that they have appreciated all that I have said as from a friend, and that there

(Continued on p. 44)

THE FIERY

"GOD GAVE ME THE REMEDY"

On hearing a rumour that Gandhiji had decided to enter upon a fast if his request contained in a letter said to have been addressed to the Thakore Saheb was not complied with, a group of press correspondents approached Gandhiji on the 2nd inst. to ask if he could throw some light on the subject. In reply, Gandhiji said:

"I am sorry to have to say 'yes' in answer to your question. I am also sorry that the information has leaked out before its time. I do not wish as yet to publish my letter. All that I would like to say at this critical juncture is that it cost me a night's rest before I came to the conclusion that if the suspended struggle was not to be revived, and if the atrocities of which I have heard so much and of which I was obliged to make mention in my press note were also not to be revived, I must adopt some effective remedy to end the agony, and God gave me the remedy.

The public should not laugh at my connecting God with the proposed step. Rightly or wrongly, I know that I have no other resource as a Satyagrahi than the assistance of God in every conceivable difficulty, and I would like it to be believed that what may appear to be inexplicable actions of mine are really due to inner promptings.

It may be a product of my heated imagination. If it is so, I prize that imagination as it has served me for a chequered life extending over a period of now nearly over 55 years, because I learned to rely consciously upon God before I was 15 years old.

One thing more. The weapon of fasting, I know, cannot be lightly wielded. It can easily savour of violence unless it is used by one skilled in the art. I claim to be such an artist in this subject.

It should be remembered that I am intimately connected with Rajkot and its Rulers. Regarding the Thakore Saheb as my own son, I have every right to evoke the best in his nature by means of self-suffering. If my fast, which I hope will be avoided, is to be interpreted as pressure, I can only say that such moral pressure should be welcomed by all concerned.

A breach of promise shakes me to my root, especially when I am in any way connected with the author of the breach. And if it cost my

life, which after all at the age of 70 has no insurance value, I should most willingly give it in order to secure due performance of a sacred and solemn promise."

"HE WILL GIVE ME STRENGTH"

On releasing his letter to the Thakore Saheb for publication on the 3rd inst., Gandhiji in a statement to the press said:

"I release my letter to the Thakore Saheb with a heavy heart, but I have had the misfortune many a time to perform painful duties. This is one of them. I would like all friends and sympathisers rigidly to refrain from embarking on sympathetic fasts, even for one day. I know that fasting like 'Satyagraha' is very much abused nowadays. One finds people fasting on the slightest pretext. Often there is violence behind such fasting. If for no other reason, than for this practical reason of preventing thoughtless imitation, I was most reluctant to undertake this fast. But an inner urge brooks no denial. I can only therefore warn the people, who may wish hereafter to fast for redress of grievances, real or imaginary, against imitating me. Fasting like some very potent medicines can only be taken on rare occasions and under expert guidance. It is wrong, it is sinful for everybody to consider himself an expert.

Let the public know that at a very early age I began fasting for self-purification and then I took a prolonged fast for an erring son of mine. This was soon after followed by a still more prolonged fast for an erring daughter of a very dear friend. In both these cases the results justified the fasts. The first public fast that I undertook was in south Africa in connection with sufferings of the indentured who had joined the Satyagraha struggle in South Africa. I have no recollection of a single experiment of mine in fasting having been a fruitless effort. In addition, I had the experience of priceless peace and unending joy during all those fasts, and I have come to the conclusion that fasting, unless it is the result of God's grace, is useless starvation, if not much worse.

The second thing I would like to say is that there should be no bitter speeches or writings either in connection with the Thakore Saheb or his advisers or the Resident. I have used strong language in connection with the Resident and

ORDEAL

*Happiest are those that plunge in the Fire
The lookers-on are all but scorched by flames*

—SAINT PRITAMDAS

actions of State officials. If I find that I have in any way wronged them, I know how to make reparations. Any harsh language used in connection with the Thakore Saheb or other actors in the tragedy will mar the effect the fast is intended to produce.

The breach of a solemn pact does not require any harsh or bitter language in order to enhance the enormity of the evil consequences of such breaches. What the public and the Press can usefully do is, by a dignified disapproval of the Thakore Saheb's action, to bring home to him the pressure of enlightened public opinion.

All Satyagraha and fasting is a species of *tyaga*. It depends for its effects upon an expression of wholesome public opinion, shorn of all bitterness. Let there be no impatience to produce the desired result because of fasting. He who has urged me to undertake the fast, will give me strength to go through it, and if it is His will that I should still live for a while on this earth to carry on the self-chosen mission of humanity, no fast, however prolonged, will dissolve the body.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that my fast in connection with the late Mr. Macdonald's decision on the communal question induced many persons to act against their will. I hope no such thing will happen in connection with this fast. If there are public men who think that I have erred in characterising the Thakore Saheb's notification of January 21 as a breach of the promise made by the notification on December 26, they will perform a friendly act by condemning my characterisation, as also the fast. It is designed undoubtedly to melt the Thakore Saheb's heart, but it is in no sense designed to coerce public opinion into bringing pressure to bear upon the Thakore Saheb or those in whose opinion his action may be free of all blame.

Another thing I would like to mention is the first paragraph of my letter in which I have criticised Durbar Viravala. I can truthfully say that I am slow to see the blemishes of fellow-beings, being myself full of them and therefore being in need of their charity. I have learnt not to judge anyone harshly and to make allowances for defects that I may detect.

What has happened about Durbar Viravala is that I have been inundated by very bitter

and serious complaints against him. In my conversations with him I had even made mention of those complaints, and let me say to his credit that he invited me to investigate those complaints. I told him that I would do so, and but for the intervention of the fast it was fully my desire to undertake this investigation.

I had already invited friends to put me in possession of evidence in support of specific allegations against him; but prolonged conversations with him for three days confirmed the impression that the complaints against him had produced upon me, so much so that I felt that the evidence that the conversations gave me was sufficient proof of the heavy indictment against him.

What I have said in the first paragraph of my letter, is a deliberate understatement of my opinion. It gave me much pain to write that paragraph, but it was necessary for my mission to warn the Thakore Saheb of the overpowering influence that he exercises over His Highness. Sober and influential persons, not few but many, have repeatedly told me that so long as Durbar Viravala exercises that influence upon the Thakore Saheb there is no peace for the people.

I myself feel that there is very considerable truth in this statement, and it would be wrong on my part whilst I am embarking upon the fast to suppress this relevant truth from the public. I have sent a private and personal letter to him, which, so far as I am concerned, shall never see the light of day. But I do make a humble appeal to him, and I would like those who know him to join me in the appeal, that he should refrain from influencing the Thakore Sahab, although the latter may find it difficult to free himself from that influence. I can say much more, but I must not.

Although I have been in exile from Kathiawad for more than a generation and a half, I know how turbid Kathiawad politics is. This unfortunate sub-province is notorious for its intrigues. I have felt its deadly influence even during these four days. How I wish that my fast may contribute, be it ever so little, to the purification of Kathiawad politics. I therefore invite the Princes and politicians of Kathiawad to use my fast to rid Kathiawad of the deadening influence of the poisonous atmosphere that makes healthy living in Kathiawad so difficult."

GANDHIJ'S LETTER TO THAKORE SAHEB

(Translated from original Gujarati by Gandhiji)

Anand Kunj, Rajkot, 2-3-39

Maherban Thakoresaheb,

I write this letter not without hesitation, but duty compels it.

You know the reason for my coming here. For three days I had conversation with Durbar Viravala. He gave me cause for intense dissatisfaction. He seems to be incapable of keeping his resolutions from moment to moment. Such is my opinion based upon my three days' contact with him. In my opinion, his guidance has harmed the State.

Now I come to the object of this letter. At the time of leaving Wardha I had resolved that I would not leave Rajkot without inducing fulfilment of your promise. But I had never thought that I would have to be here for more than one or two days or that I would have to suffer what I have suffered.

My patience is exhausted. I should hasten to Tripuri if it is at all possible. If I do not go, over a thousand co-workers will be disappointed and lakhs of poor people will become disconsolate. Time, therefore, has a special value for me at this juncture.

I beseech you, therefore, to adopt with a full heart the following suggestions of mine and free me from anxiety by speeding me on my return journey tomorrow.

1. You should announce to the people that your notification No. 50, dated 26th December, stands.

2. You should cancel your notification No. 61, dated 21st January. Names 2, 3, 5 and 7 of the Reforms Committee announced by you should stand and you should accept on behalf of the Rajkot Rajkiya Prasa Parishad the following names:

1. U. N. Dhebar
2. P. P. Anada
3. V. M. Shukla
4. J. H. Joshi
5. S. V. Modi.

The underlying motive of this suggestion is that the Parishad should have a majority on its side.

Shri U. Dhebar should be appointed as President of the Committee.

4. You should appoint three or less than three officials as guides and advisers to the Committee. They should be such as I could accept on behalf of the Parishad. They should have no vote in the proceedings of the Committee.

5. You should issue instructions to the heads of the several departments of the State to furnish to the Committee such papers, figures and other material and assistance as it may need. You should appoint for the use of the Committee suitable quarters in the Secretariat.

6. My advice is that the advisers whom you may appoint in terms of clause 4 should form

the Executive Council and that Council should be responsible for the management of the State in the spirit of the notification of the 26th December so as not to do anything likely to be injurious to its main purpose. One of them should be the President of the Council. You will unhesitatingly endorse the actions of the Council. If you deem it fit to appoint other persons than the advisers of the Committee as Councillors, the appointment should be made in consultation with me.

The Committee should commence its proceedings on the 7th inst. and finish them by the 22nd inst. The enforcement of the recommendations of the Committee should take place within seven days of their being in your hands.

7. The Satyagrahi prisoners should be discharged tomorrow. Fines and execution orders should be stopped and fines already collected and confiscations should be returned.

I gather from the conversation with Mr. Gibson that he will not interfere with whatever you may do in connection with the notification of the 26th December.

If you cannot see your way to accept my suggestions before noon tomorrow, my fast will commence from that time and will continue till after acceptance.

I trust that you will not regard the language of my letter to be stiff. And if I do use stiff language or my action appears to be such, I claim that right in connection with you. My father had the privilege of serving the State when your grandfather was its Chief. Your father regarded me as father to him. Indeed at a public meeting he called me even his guru, but I have been guru to no one; therefore, I have never regarded him as disciple. You are therefore as son to me. It is possible that you do not regard me as father. If you do, you will accept joyfully my submission in a moment and, in addition, you will express your regret for what has befallen your people after 26th December. You will please not consider me your or the State's enemy. I can never be anybody's enemy and have never been. I have implicit faith that in the acceptance of my submission to you lies your good, your prestige and your duty. If you will observe that in some of my suggestions I have gone outside the four corners of the notification of the 26th December, such departure will be found to be merely superficial. You will note that in not interfering with your nominations of the persons outside the Parishad I have had solely in view your prestige. Thus, the departure is purely in favour of the State. If the other departures may not be so considered, they are solely due to, what I have considered, your breach of promise. In my view they are for the protection of both the parties and the people and for the purpose of preventing another breakdown of the Settlement.

In conclusion, I give you my word of honour that if I am then alive, I shall critically examine the report that the Reforms Committee may prepare. If I am not, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel may do so, and the examination will be such as to make sure that no damage is done to your prestige or to the State or your people.

I am sending a copy of your letter to Mr. Gibson. I am not handing this letter to the Press and I entertain the hope that you will kindly adopt my suggestion so that I may never have to publish this letter.

May God bless you and give you right guidance.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

GANDHIJI'S NOTE TO RESIDENT

Anand Kunj,
Rajkot, March 2, 1939

Dear Mr. Gibson,

With the deepest sorrow but as a matter of sheer duty I have just sent to H. H. the Thakore Saheb a letter of which I enclose a copy herewith. I have not been able yet to translate it. In order to save time, therefore, I have sent you only a copy of the Gujarati original. I hope, however, to send English translation in the course of the day. You will then, please, regard it as the only authorized translation or, as if it were, the original.

May I bespeak your full-hearted co-operation, in so far as it lies in your power, in the prosecution of my proposal?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THAKORE SAHEB'S REPLY

Amarsinhji Secretariat,
Rajkot State
3rd March 1939

My dear Mahatma Gandhiji,

I received your letter yesterday and noted the contents with greatest regret. As you have already been assured that the notification No. 50 which I published on 26th December will stand good. The suggestions you make regarding personnel of the Committee are not in accordance with the terms of that notification, and I do not feel justified in accepting them or your other suggestions. The responsibility of ensuring that the Committee shall consist of suitable members truly representative of various interests of the State rests on me as Ruler of Rajkot, and it is a responsibility of which I cannot divest myself. In the best interests of my State and my people it is impossible for me to allow anyone else to have the final decision in a matter of such vital importance. As I have previously assured it is my earnest hope that the Committee may be able to start work in a calm atmosphere at the earliest possible moment so that there may be no delay in introducing such reforms as may be found to be necessary.

Yours sincerely,
DHARMENDRASINH

" ADDS FUEL TO THE FIRE "

Commenting on the Thakore Saheb's reply Gandhiji said (March 3) :

" I am sorry for this reply. I cannot help saying that the Thakore Saheb has been badly advised. The reply adds fuel to the fire. Considerations urged in the letter became irrelevant when he gave the following note to the Sardar: ' Agreed seven members of the Committee mentioned in clause 2 of the said announcement of this date are to be recommended by Sardar Patel and they are to be nominated by us. '

The language is unequivocal and emphatic. The Thakore Saheb, in giving that note, divested himself of the responsibility of choosing the nominees. The responsibility of nomination rests with the Thakore Saheb, but the nomination is conditioned by the fact that the names had to be recommended by the Sardar. Therefore the responsibility for making suitable recommendations devolved upon the Sardar and that devolution took place at the will of the Ruler of Rajkot. It was open to the Ruler and his advisers to negotiate with the Sardar, if they did not find his recommendations suitable, and to induce him to make other recommendations; but if the Sardar could not be so persuaded, the Thakore Saheb, having divested himself of the responsibility to choose a nominee, had to accept the Sardar's recommendations. Reason also suggests that if the reference to the Committee was to be made good it must be a committee of the choice of those for whose sake the notification containing the reference had become necessary. Otherwise, what was given with one hand could not be taken away with the other.

If the choice is left to the Ruler and his advisers, there is nothing to prevent them from appointing a committee which would make recommendations such that they would completely nullify the spirit of the reference. However, the matter is past argument. If the Thakore Saheb's letter is the last word, my fast has to continue to the end of my time on this earth. I shall undergo the ordeal, I hope, with a cheerful heart, and I know also that what may not take place in my lifetime will take place without the shadow of a doubt after the sacrifice. "

GANDHIJI'S SECOND LETTER

[Translated from original Gujarati by Gandhiji]

Maherban Thakore Saheb,

Your letter is painful. You seem to attach no value to a promise. You are acting like a man who promises donation and then goes back upon the promise. Have you not given much by your Notification of 26th December? Donations are but one of the attributes of princship as they are also its ornament. By that Notification you promised a big donation. Its very core includes surrender of the right of making the choice of names of members of the Reforms Committee. But in the case in point you surrendered that right by a special letter addressed to Sardar

Vallabhbhai in his capacity as Representative of the Parishad. Your letter of today cancels that surrender. This action of yours does not befit you. I believe that compliance with my suggestion contained in my yesterday's letter is necessary for the due fulfilment of your promise.

May God move you to such compliance. It behoves you to give effect to the suggestion I have sent you today through the Khansaheb. Inasmuch as Civil Disobedience now remains definitely suspended it seems to me to be your obvious duty to discharge the Civil Disobedience prisoners.

Rashtriya Shala, Rajkot,
3rd March 1939

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

"AN UNKIND CUT"

Commenting on the Rajkot Durbar's *communique* on the 5th inst. Gandhiji said :

"It has grieved me to read the Rajkot Durbar's *communique*. Those who have studied the documents already published will have no hesitation in agreeing with me that the *communique* is full of evasions and misrepresentations of facts. I have neither the energy nor the wish to examine the *communique* in detail. But one omission in my letter to the Thakore Saheb and in the Press statements requires explanation. That is in connection with my reference to atrocities in my telegrams which brought me to Rajkot. The omission was due to my desire to be absolutely fair to the Khan Saheb and his subordinates, who are primarily responsible for dealing with the actions of civil resisters. But the fact that the omission, instead of being appreciated, has been turned against me, compels me to put the actual state of affairs before the public.

After my visit to the two jails I told the Khan Saheb that I was much moved by the statements made by the prisoners. I told him that I was inclined to believe the allegations made by the prisoners, some of whom were personally known to me and many of whom enjoyed in society a status which entitled them to have their evidence believed until it was proved to be untrue. I therefore told the Khan Saheb that the allegations were so serious, covered such a wide field, and affected so many persons that the only way I could do justice to the State was to suggest a judicial inquiry by an impartial tribunal. For his own part, he at once accepted the suggestion and, at my request, even mentioned the names of certain English officials to conduct the judicial inquiry. And it was agreed between us that I should prepare a charge-sheet which he would examine and answer and, on his part, he would prepare a counter charge-sheet which I would examine and answer. After this process had been gone through and agreed charges eliminated, the balance, if any was left, would be referred to the tribunal.

The Khan Saheb also asked me what reparation I would make if the charges of utter falsehoods which he proposed to make against the civil

resisters were found to be true. I said that if a representative of the civil resisters was proved to be guilty of falsehoods, I would entirely withdraw from the struggle, and, so far as I was concerned, I would treat the claim for responsible government by persons capable of falsehoods to have lapsed. The Khan Saheb seemed to be more than pleased over the unhesitating reparation that I had offered.

I hope to make good the promise I have made to the Khan Saheb if I survive the ordeal that I am going through. Even on my sick-bed I am organizing collection and collation of evidence already received. I have before me more than 175 statements made by sufferers and others.

The charge against me of breach of faith is an unkind cut. My fast I hold to be part of my mission. At the end of it, whatever happens, there will be peace. The alternative to the breakdown of negotiations would have been a revival of the struggle with increasing bitterness of strife. "

A MISUNDERSTANDING CLEARED

Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press on the 3rd inst :

"There is a misunderstanding about a certain telegram received by me at Segaoon, of which I made use in the first Press Note I issued on the eve of my coming to Rajkot. I did not think it was necessary for me to refer to that telegram. On my attention being drawn to the fact, I immediately discovered that I should have inserted in my Press Note the telegram received from Shri Nanalal Kalidas Jasani Rangoonwalla on February 24, reading :

'The State granted our request to allow Mohanbhai Gadhadawala and myself to visit the Trumba, Sardhar and Rajkot jails. There were inconveniences which were mended by the State authorities. There shall be no differentiation in treatment between the Sardhar and Rajkot prisons. Glad to inform you that fasting has terminated.'

It will be recalled that one of the telegrams received by me from the First Member made mention of this telegram and said that the telegram received from Shri Nanalal would show that the fasting was unjustified.

On my coming here I discovered that the omission by me to reproduce this telegram gave rise to the rumour that Shri Nanalal had come to the decision that the fast was not justified. There was no mention in this telegram to me to the effect that the fast was not justified. It was unnecessary to say in the telegram that the fast was justified because the sender of the telegram and other friends were trying to find out a remedy for dealing with the situation.

It has become necessary for me to clear this misunderstanding because there is an atmosphere of suspicion and disturbance, which may interfere with the working of the Satyagraha machinery. Therefore, it has become necessary for me,

in the interest of the cause, to inform my co-workers that there is absolutely no cause for suspicion that Shri Nanalal had come to a hasty decision about the fast. His whole reason for intervening was to find out if he can be of any assistance in terminating the hunger-strike of the prisoners, and we now know the result of this intervention."

SARDAR PATEL'S STATEMENT

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel issued the following statement on the 5th inst.:

Gandhiji has gone on a fast on the moral issue of restoring a solemn pact between the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot and its people. The issue involves the right of the people to have a majority of their representatives on the Committee, and I am sorry to see that today's leader in the *Times of India* suggests that the vital letter containing the terms is capable of two constructions.

The language of the letter is clear and unequivocal. The point that the people should have a majority on the Committee was never in doubt or dispute during the negotiations between the Thakore Saheb and myself. On the contrary, it was the basis on which the agreement was signed on December 26, last, as the history of the protracted negotiations would show.

When Gandhiji was first approached for a settlement in November last he drafted the terms of the settlement, in which it was stipulated that there should be a majority of representatives of the Praja Parishad, leaving the majority to be fixed by me. When I was approached by the intermediary with this draft on November 23 last at Ahmedabad, we settled that the Committee should have seven members of the Parishad against three of the State. The draft terms which I sent to the Thakore Saheb and Sir Patrick Cadell with the intermediary contained this term.

This term was neither objected to nor altered by either the Thakore Saheb or Sir Patrick. The only suggestion they made about this term was that seven nominees of mine should be *bona fide* residents of Rajkot. Later the negotiations on these terms fell through for other reasons, but at no stage was any objection taken to this term.

On December 15, 1938, negotiations were resumed with me by the Thakore Saheb through an agent who brought a letter of authority from him and Durbar Viravala. That agent brought terms for discussion in which this condition was also included. With the agent I sent on December 19, 1938 a counter-offer in which this term was included.

On December 26, when the terms were discussed, it was agreed that this term was to be the basis of the settlement. I rejected all appeals to reduce this majority, but accepted the suggestion that the seven names should be subjects of the State. The Council was willing to accept the names of my seven nominees there and then, but as all people whom I had to consult

were in jail at the time the names were left to be given by me later.

It must not be forgotten that the settlement was arrived at after eight hours' discussion between the Thakore Saheb and his Council and myself and three others. I would never have been a party to the negotiations if I had been given to understand that it would be open to the Thakore Saheb to reduce the seven members to a minority of three. The letter which the Thakore Saheb gave me as part of the settlement leaves no doubt that he never intended then to reduce the majority of seven.

The letter runs as follows: 'It is agreed that seven members of the committee mentioned in clause 2 of the State announcement of to-day's date are to be recommended by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and they are to be nominated by us. Dharmendrasinh.' If the number was to be reduced at the sweet will of the Thakore Saheb there was no point in this agreement, nor in its being solemnly recorded.

'Immediately after the settlement I wired to Gandhiji as follows: 'After eight hours' prolonged discussion thank God settlement reached at two early this morning. Main terms your draft substantially accepted. Terms follow.'

'Later the same day I wired the terms of the settlement to Gandhiji in which it was stated: 'People's seven representatives are to be nominated by Thakore Saheb according my recommendation. Though not specified in the text, separate signed agreement for this taken.'

This can leave no doubt that the basis of the settlement was that there should be a majority of Parishad representatives on the Committee, and the construction to the contrary was only put at a later stage to back out of the agreement. The fight, the negotiations and the settlement would have been all meaningless if the representatives were to be reduced to a minority by the Thakore Saheb. And in the midst of a serious crisis like this, any clouding of the issue in dispute will be highly unfortunate."

THE SETTLEMENT

Mr. Gibson's letter conveying the full text of the Viceroy's letter to Gandhiji (March 7):

My Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I wired your reply to the Viceroy yesterday and I am now instructed to convey the following message to you from His Excellency:

"Thank you very much for your message which I have just received. I understand your position.

It is clear from what you tell me that what counts with you essentially in this matter is your feeling that there has been a breach of faith. I realise that doubts may be entertained as to the meaning which should be attached to the Thakore Saheb's notification as amplified by his subsequent letter to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and it seems to me that the best way in which these doubts can be resolved is to refer their

interpretation to the highest judicial authority in the land, that is to say, the Chief Justice of India. I would therefore propose, with the consent of the Thakore Saheb, which I understand is forthcoming, to consult this high authority, as to the manner in which the Committee should be composed in accordance with the terms of the notification and the Thakore Saheb's letter referred to above. After this the Committee would be set up accordingly and it would further be provided that should any difference arise between the members of the Committee as to the meaning of any part of the notification on which they were to make recommendations, this question would also be referred to the same high authority whose decision would be final.

I fully believe that this, combined with the Thakore Saheb's assurance that he will carry out the promises contained in his notification, and with my own assurance that I will exert my influence to see that he does so, will be sufficient to allay any apprehensions which have assailed you and that you will join with me in feeling that every precaution has been taken to ensure fair dealing, and that you will allay the anxiety of your friends by abandoning any further strain upon your health.

As I have already told you I shall be very glad to see you here and discuss matters with you, so that any misapprehensions may be removed."

Yours sincerely,
E. C. GIBSON

Gandhiji's Reply

Dear, Mr. Gibson,

I have received your kind letter, and as I wanted some points to be cleared you were good enough to come to me and discuss them. In my present state I want to conserve my energy and therefore I do not want to reduce them to writing. I want you please to wire the following message to His Excellency:

"I am grateful to you for your prompt reply which was delivered to me at 10-45 A. M. today. Although, naturally, it leaves several things unsaid, I regard your kind message as sufficient warrant for breaking the fast and ending the anxiety of millions who are following the fast with their prayers and such efforts as they can make to hasten a settlement.

It is only proper for me to say that those things which are not mentioned in your message are not waived by me, but that I should expect satisfaction on them. They can, however, await mutual discussion. As soon as doctors permit me to undertake a journey to Delhi I shall do so.

I thank you once again for taking up so promptly and so sympathetically the matter that necessitated my fast."

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

UNCERTIFIED KHADI

(By Jawaharlal Nehru)

I understand that a number of uncertified khadi bhandars in the Punjab have not only most improperly adopted my name for their bhandars but also exploit me in other ways. As I have no copyright in my name I cannot prevent other people from using it. But I do object very strongly to these uncertified bhandars or their owners trying to justify themselves by a fancied reference to me.

When at the instance of Gandhiji the All India Spinners' Association raised the wages of the spinners and fixed a certain minimum living wage for them, I was in entire agreement with this policy. Khadi would have little virtue in it if it was based on sweated labour and the exploitation of the spinners. Therefore if khadi is to flourish, as we want it to flourish, it must be based on a minimum living wage scheme. Those bhandars which accept this scheme are certified. Those who do not accept it can obviously not be certified as they use sweated labour for the khadi they produce. It thus becomes the obvious duty of every person who wants proper wage standards to prevail, to encourage only the khadi which is produced under the minimum living wage scheme. This means that we must only buy our khadi from certified bhandars. We cannot individually go about inquiring as to the wages of the spinners. But when we deal with a certified bhandar we can feel assured that we are helping the payment of proper wages to the producers. I hope, therefore, that all Congressmen and others who wish to encourage khadi will insist on using certified khadi.

24-2-39

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SATURDAY, MARCH 18, 1939

[ONE ANNA

TO THE PEOPLE OF RAJKOT

I

[An appeal issued in Gujarati by Gandhiji on the 9th inst.]

Through the grace of God, the object of my coming to Rajkot has been fulfilled. The Thakore Sahab, and with his consent the Paramount Power, have given assurance that the Thakore Sahab's word will be honoured and Rajkot will have a constitution in terms of the notification of 26th December 1938. This is the simple and common-sense interpretation of the telegraphic communications between H. E. the Viceroy and myself. The result has surpassed all my expectations. The honour of both the ruler and the ruled has been vindicated and the sufferings of the people have borne fruit. Let us all offer our thanks to the Almighty. Such a happy ending would have been impossible without His grace and intervention.

I would not go into the other points mentioned in my letter to the Thakore Sahab. I have not given them up. It should be sufficient for all concerned to know that I am aware of the fact that restrictions on the Press and other repressive measures have not been withdrawn. My efforts for their withdrawal continue, and I am sure they will go shortly.

Let us not indulge in exultation over this settlement. The real work will begin now only. Responsible government will come, but will the people be able to shoulder the burden and rise equal to their task? If they are to give a proper account of themselves, they will have to begin preparing from today. They would not need, for this purpose, to hold meetings and deliver speeches. If meetings are held at all, they should be for the purpose of educating the public. Every citizen of Rajkot will have to contribute his or her mite if success is to crown our efforts.

1. There should be real Hindu-Muslim unity.

2. The canker of untouchability and the distinction between high and low must be uprooted from the heart of the Hindu community.

3. It should be realized that we have no other sanction at our disposal except that of truth and non-violence. We should, therefore, understand their working in our everyday dealings.

4. The public should cultivate the spirit of corporate service.

5. Young men and women in their numbers should come forward to dedicate their lives to the service of the people.

6. We must rid ourselves of petty jealousies and pickerings and learn to be disciplined.

7. The people should shed their lethargy and occupy themselves with some useful activity like spinning, etc. Everyone should take the vow of khadi.

8. Those who are educated should help their illiterate brethren to read and write.

TRAVANCORE

Shown the report about the Travancore State Congress having resolved on reviving civil resistance on March 25, Gandhiji remarked:

"Having been out of touch with everything since my leaving Segaon, that is nearly a fortnight, I do not feel competent to give decisive opinion upon the pending resumption of civil resistance in Travancore. But I have no difficulty in stating certain general principles. The first indispensable condition precedent to any civil resistance is that there should be surety against any outbreak of violence whether on the part of those who are identified with civil resistance or on the part of the general public. It would be no answer in the case of an outbreak of violence that it was instigated by the State or other agencies hostile to civil resisters. It should be obvious that civil resistance cannot flourish in an atmosphere of violence. This does not mean that the resources of a Satyagrahi have come to an end. Ways other than civil disobedience should be found out. The second condition is that disobedience should not be destructive, that is, harmful to the country. The laws to be picked up, therefore, should be those which are harmful to the people or laws whose breach will not harm the people but are likely merely to make more work for the authorities. Thirdly, it must be a movement in which the largest number of people can take part. Fourthly, students should not be invited or allowed to take part in civil resistance. There should be no secrecy. Civil resisters must conform to the minimum requirements that may be laid down for the sake of discipline or otherwise."

Asked why he asked students to come out of colleges and schools in 1921 and participate in non-cooperation and why he was opposed to students' participation in the movement now, Gandhiji explained that the position then was different. He asked students to empty colleges etc., by way of non-cooperation. The moment a student comes out of college he becomes a citizen when he is free to participate in the movement. He would have no quarrel if students leave colleges altogether and participate in the movement.

AUNDH FORGING AHEAD

A correspondent writes:

"The following measures were approved by Shri Rajasaheb to be submitted to the next Legislative Assembly, the first under the new Constitution:

1. Income tax on non-agricultural income to be considerably raised.

2. Jagirs and Inams to be scrutinised and to be taxed whenever maintained.

3. The Aundh village university to be started — to be residential and self-supporting.

4. The teachers and students will produce their own requirements in food, clothing and shelter.

The university will admit boys who have finished the village Basic School course and will prepare them for the following vocations:

- (1) Basic Education Teachers.
- (2) Rural Industries Engineers.
- (3) Rural Textile Engineers.
- (4) Rural Water-supply Engineers.
- (5) Rural Chemical Engineers.
- (6) Rural Sanitation Engineers.
- (7) Rural Doctors.
- (8) Rural Midwifery for girls.
- (9) Commercial training (Rural marketing and banking)
- (10) Agricultural Engineering.
- (11) Cattle Experts.
- (12) Hindustani Teachers.
- (13) Painting and Stone Carving.
- (14) Block-making.
- (15) Printing.

The courses will be short, terse and essentially practical.

The University has already got a 150 acre site, with buildings, cattle, irrigation channels and wells and is able to support immediately about 100 people provided they work.

All the courses will be illustrated by actual productive and earning work done by the students.

The State High School, the Technical School, the Government Press and the Art Studio, all existing, will be merged into the University.

4. The University will publish a village periodical, composed and printed by the students on hand-made paper.

5. The temple administration will be separated from the State administration and will be under a temple Trust.

6. The office of hereditary village watchmen, paid in kind, will be revived.

7. Village guards, composed of the young men of the village, drilled and trained by State authorities, will aid the watchmen in emergencies, and also will do service during festivals, fairs, etc.

8. The revenue from toddy was struck off the budget.

9. Justice will be administered by elected village Dharma Sabhas under the guidance of State judges.

10. A new budget was framed with Rs. 1,50,000 for central government, Rs. 1,50,000 for panchayats and a surplus of Rs. 47,000 towards wiping off of the floating debt of the State."

Rajkot, 13-3-39

Pyarelal

TRIPURI RESOLUTIONS

The following are the principal resolutions passed by the 52nd session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri:

1. The National Demand

The Congress has, for more than half a century, striven for the advancement of the people of India and has represented the urge of the Indian people towards freedom and self-expression. During the past twenty years, it has engaged itself, on behalf of the masses of the country, in a struggle against British imperialism and, through the suffering, discipline and sacrifice of the people, it has carried the nation a long way to Independence that is its objective.

With the growing strength of the people it has adapted itself to the changing and developing situation; and, while pursuing various programmes, has ever worked for the independence of India and the establishment of a democratic State in the country. Rejecting the Government of India Act and with a full determination to end it, it has decided to take advantage of the measure of Provincial Autonomy that this Act provided, restricted and circumscribed as it was, in order to strengthen the national movement and to give such relief to the masses as was possible under the circumstances. To the federal part of the Act the Congress has declared its uncompromising opposition and its determination to resist its imposition.

The Congress declares afresh its solemn resolve to achieve Independence for the nation and to have a constitution framed for a free India through a Constituent Assembly elected by the people and without any interference by a foreign authority. No other constitution or attempted solutions of the problem can be accepted by the Indian people. The Congress is of the opinion that, in view of the situation in India, the organised strength of the national movement, the remarkable growth of the consciousness of the masses, the new awakening among the people of the Indian States as well as the rapid development of the world situation, the time has come for the full application of the principle of self-determination to India, so that the people of India might establish an independent democratic State by means of a Constituent Assembly. Not only the inherent right and the dignity of the people demand this full freedom, but also the economic and other problems which press insistently on the masses cannot find a solution, nor can India get rid of her poverty and keep pace with modern progress unless the people have full opportunities of self-development and growth which independence alone can give. Provincial Autonomy affords no such scope for development, and its capacity for good is being rapidly exhausted; the proposed Federation strangles India still further and will not be accepted. The Congress therefore is firmly of opinion that the whole of the Government of India Act must give place to the constitution of a free India made by the people themselves.

An independent and democratic India will face the solution of our great problems rapidly and effectively, and will line herself with the progressive peoples of the world, and thus aid the cause of democracy and freedom.

With a view to the speedy realisation of the Congress objective and in order to face effectively the national and international crises that loom ahead, this Congress calls upon all parts of the Congress organisations as well as the Congress Provincial Governments and the people generally to prepare themselves to this end, to promote unity, and in particular to strengthen, purify and discipline the organisation, removing weakness and corrupting influences so as to make it an effective organ of the people's will.

2. Indian States

The Congress welcomes the awakening of the people of Indian States in many parts of the country, and considers this as a hopeful prelude to a larger freedom, comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Congress supports the demand for responsible government and civil liberty in the States and expresses its solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression, which are integral parts of the larger struggle.

While appreciating that some Rulers of States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with these people, the Congress regrets that some other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity, and in some cases resorting to cruel and inhuman repression.

The whole of India was profoundly stirred by the announcement of the indefinite fast by Gandhiji in order to remedy the breach by the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot of the settlement arrived at between him and his counsellors on the one hand, and Sardar Patel as representing the people on the other.

The Congress expresses its gratification at the recent agreement resulting in the termination of the fast and trusts that the people of Rajkot will have their aspirations fulfilled, and further hopes that the Princes of Kathiawad and other parts of India will march with the times and in co-operation with their people introduce popular government.

The Congress is of opinion that the resolution of the Haripura session of the Congress relating to States has answered the expectations raised by it and has justified itself by encouraging the peoples of the States to organise themselves and conduct their own movements for freedom. The Haripura policy was conceived in the best interests of the people in order to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. This policy was dictated by circumstances and by a recognition of the limitations inherent in the circumstances, but it was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always possessed

the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lead them with its influence. The great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States may lead to a relaxation or to the complete removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed upon itself, thus resulting in an ever-increasing identification of the Congress with the States people.

The Congress desires to reiterate that its objective, Complete Independence, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, which are integral parts of India which cannot be separated and which must have the same measure of political, social and economic freedom as the rest of India.

3. Constitutional Changes

Inasmuch as experience has shown that the working of the Congress machinery is often rendered difficult by abuses in the method of enrolment of members, elections and otherwise, and it is urgently necessary to remove all such defects, the Congress authorises the A. I. C. C. to take all steps that may be necessary to attain that end, including changes in the Constitution. The A. I. C. C. shall have authority to give immediate effect to such constitutional changes. The Congress directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to investigate and rectify the existing membership rolls and to take all further action with a view to strengthening the organisation and making it conform to the Congress Constitution.

4. Foreign Policy

The Congress records its entire disapproval of the British foreign policy culminating in the Munich Pact, the Anglo-Italian Agreement and the recognition of Rebel Spain. This policy has been one of deliberate betrayal of democracy, repeated breach of pledges, the ending of the system of collective security, and co-operation with Governments which are avowed enemies of democracy and freedom. As the result of this policy, the world is being reduced to a state of international anarchy, where brutal violence triumphs and flourishes unchecked and decides the fate of nations, and in the name of peace stupendous preparations are being made for the most terrible of wars. International morality has sunk so low in Central and South-Western Europe that the world has witnessed with horror the organised terrorism of the Nazi Government against the people of the Jewish race and the continuous bombing from the air by rebel forces of cities and their civilian inhabitants and of helpless refugees.

The Congress dissociates itself entirely from the British foreign policy which has consistently aided Fascist Powers and helped the destruction of democratic countries. The Congress is opposed to Imperialism and Fascism alike, and is convinced that world peace and progress require the ending of both of these. In the opinion of the Congress, it is urgently necessary for India to direct her own foreign policy as an independent nation, thereby keeping aloof from both Imperialism and Fascism and pursuing her path of peace and freedom.

H A R I J A N

Mar. 18

1939

FASTING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Fasting is an institution as old as Adam. It has been resorted to for self-purification or for some ends noble as well as ignoble. Buddha, Jesus and Mahomed fasted so as to see God face to face. Ramchandra fasted for the sea to give way for his army of monkeys. Parvati fasted to secure Mahadev himself as her Lord and Master. In my fasts I have but followed these great examples no doubt for ends much less noble than theirs.

I do not propose to discuss the merits of my recent fast beyond answering a suggestion whether I left Segaoon with the knowledge that I was going to fast. I have become a coward of late for fasting. My fast in August 1933 though short-lived was a perfect torture to me. I had prepared for death the very day I was discharged. I had made over many of my medical stores to the nurse in charge. Since then I have dreaded fasts. The twentyfour hour annual fasts of 6th and 13th April have shown me since then that my system is ill able to undergo any protracted fasting. Therefore when I left Segaoon there could be no question of my light-heartedly thinking ahead of any fast in Rajkot. Had I made any such resolution, I was bound by a promise to friends that I should give them due notice. Thus there could be no premeditation. It came upon me all of a sudden and out of the intense agony of the soul. The days preceding the fast were days of deepest prayer. The experience of the night before the determination to take the fast had choked me. I did not know what to do. The morning following told me what I was to do, cost what it might. I simply could not have taken the resolution but for the belief that God wanted me to take it.

So much for the Rajkot fast.

Fasting is a potent weapon in the Satyagraha armoury. It cannot be taken by everyone. Mere physical capacity to take it is no qualification for it. It is of no use without a living faith in God. It should never be a mechanical effort nor a mere imitation. It must come from the depth of one's soul. It is therefore always rare. I seem to be made for it. It is noteworthy that not one of my colleagues on the political field has felt the call to fast. And I am thankful to be able to say that they have never resented my fasts. Nor have fellow-members of the Ashram felt the call except on rare occasions. They have even accepted the restriction that they may not take penitential fasts without my permission, no matter how urgent the inner call may seem to be.

Thus fasting though a very potent weapon has necessarily very strict limitations and is to be taken only by those who have undergone previous training. And, judged by my standard, the majority of fasts do not at all come under the category of Satyagraha fasts and are, as they are popularly called, hunger-strikes undertaken without previous preparation and adequate thought. If the process is repeated too often, these hunger-strikes will lose what little efficacy they may possess and will become objects of ridicule.

Rajkot, 13-3-39

THE SILVER LINING

At a time when the horizon of India is overcast with communal disturbances in Cawnpore, Allahabad and elsewhere, it is refreshing to note how the milk of human kindness asserts itself even in the midst of conflagration. Shri Kishen Chandji Bhatia, who visited Dera Ismail Khan on the 7th ultimo soon after the recent Hindu-Muslim riots there, in the course of a letter writes:

"There is a bright side, too, to this otherwise dark picture inasmuch as a number of thinking Hindus and Mussalmans refused to be swept off their feet and remained cool in the midst of chaos. It is believed that most of the outrages were committed by hooligans from outside who were aided by local goondas drawn from both the communities. The rioting was confined to Bhakri Bazar. The house of Malik Khuda Bakhsh, the Speaker of the Frontier Assembly, is situated in Nizam Khan's Bazar. He had come there to celebrate the Id. No Hindus were molested or Hindu properties looted in this locality. Some goondas wanted to create trouble even here. But Malik Saheb prevented them from doing so at great personal risk. Similarly, in Burra Bazar Seth Abdur Rehman, Municipal Commissioner, gave proof of supreme courage. He repeatedly rushed to the danger spots and actually dragged away goondas who threatened mischief. In Bazar Thathanwalla, Syed Ali Akbar Shah, Veterinary Inspector, and YahYah Khan gave shelter to Hindu children returning from school and protected all Hindu shops from harm. Mussalman women were given shelter in Rai Bahadur Jassaram's Hospital and bullets were extraced from the bodies of a number of Mussalmans. Dr. Jhanda Ram Pensioner, who had considerable experience of gun-shot wounds, as he had seen service in France during the Great War, was busy in this humanitarian service from 2 p. m. to 4 p. m. At 4 p. m. he was sent to the Bazar to remove the victims of firing. But as soon as he reached there he was set upon by several goondas and died in the hospital as a result of the injuries received.

Mohammed Abdulla Khan M. L. A. had returned to the city from Pota. He has a house behind the Bhakri Bazar which was the scene of rioting. A Muslim girl having received a bullet wound was removed into this house. By accident, six Hindus pursued by Mussalman goondas also made for this house to seek refuge. Khan Abdulla Khan took all of them in. The presence of the Mussalman girl, who had been wounded, infuriated the Mussalman mob and they wanted to kill these six Hindus. But Abdulla Khan stood his ground, protected them till evening and after dark managed to send them to Hindu mohallas under police escort. Similarly, several other instances besides these have come to my notice, of the Hindus affording shelter and protecting the Mussalmans and *vice versa*."

Rajkot, 13-3-39

Pyarelal

Pt. NEHRU AT THE KHADI EXHIBITION

[The following is an abridged summary of the speech in Hindustani delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the opening of the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition at Vishnu Dutt Nagar, Tripuri, on the 6th inst. **Pyarelal**]

As I stand before you, I realize how your eyes must be thirsting to behold another figure, your ears to hear another voice that is far away. This Exhibition is an incarnation of Gandhiji's dream and it is he who should, in the fitness of things, have performed its opening ceremony. I, therefore, felt no small hesitation when Seth Govinddas asked me over the phone that I should officiate on this occasion. But, said I to myself, 'Men may come and men may go, but our country and our country's fight for freedom must go on for ever.' And so I have stepped into the breach.

In exhibitions of the ordinary type you will find that prominence is given to articles produced by big industrial concerns with a name and a variety of popular entertainments and shows is provided. The Congress Exhibition, however, is intended to serve a different purpose. It has constituted a regular feature of the Congress annual session now for a considerable time. Some four or five years ago it was given its present orientation. Since then the object that it has set before itself has been to bring to popular attention handiworks of art and craftsmanship produced in our villages in order to educate our village folk, particularly our peasantry. The task that confronts us today is to resurrect and popularize thousands of dead and dying handicrafts that once flourished in our villages and to instil fresh hope and courage into the drooping spirits of our masses. Without solving the problem of the villages, India's problem cannot be solved.

Some people think that the revival of khadi and other village industries would put back the clock of our country's progress and that India's salvation can only come through a process of large scale industrialization. I call myself a socialist and as such I do believe that large scale industries have a place in this country. Anything that increases the material well-being of the country is bound to have its repercussion on the people. But we shall never be able to move the India of the rural masses through mere multiplication of big factories. It can only be reached through khadi and village industries. By all means let us have big factories for the production of things that cannot be manufactured in our villages. Let the big manufacturer and the small artisan function, each in his own place and within his respective legitimate sphere. There is no inherent conflict between the two and there need be none. Those who call khadi worthless prove their own worthlessness. They will never really understand our country's problems. If we must have big factories, they should not be run on the present lines. We should

take care that they do not give a handful of capitalists power to oppress and exploit the masses.

I have spent about an hour in going round the Exhibition, but as a matter of fact even a whole day would be all too insufficient for it. To do full justice to it, one must devote to it at least two or three days. This Exhibition is verily a school for education where we can learn many things that are worth learning. Khadi has added to the prestige of our country. In the beginning khadi used to be coarse and clumsy. Today all that has been revolutionized and even a hurried round of the various khadi stalls will show to anybody what artistic skill and perfection our village craftsmen are today capable of. During the course of the last hundred and fifty years we have nearly lost all our artistic taste and skill. In our rich men's homes we find evidence neither a sense of beauty or comfort. Our village folks' houses are disfigured by cheap, flimsy foreign prints which no one with a claim to culture in any other part of the world would deign to touch with a pair of tongs. They deserve only to be thrown to the flames. Lack of taste stares us in the face everywhere and has spelt our country's ruin. Khadi has served to renovate our artistic sense. Khadi that is produced today is a thing of beauty. It was a perfect feast for me to see the various khadi exhibits in the Khadi Bhavan. It has gladdened my heart to find that, as a result of the revival of khadi and other village crafts, the artistic faculty of our village masses that had nearly been choked, is now being re-awakened and re-educated.

Spinning provides livelihood to a large section of our sisters in the villages. In order that they might all be able to earn a minimum subsistence wage, the A. I. S. A. has introduced increased rates of spinning. This, in its turn, has led to a rise in the price of khadi. Some people complain that khadi has become dear. But you should refuse to be caught by the lure of cheapness which is obtained by underpaying the spinners and purchase only such khadi in the manufacture of which standard spinning wage has been paid. It is such khadi alone which deserves the name khadi. But how is the consumer to be sure that the standard wage was paid in the production of a particular stock of khadi? This can be done by restricting the purchase of khadi to khadi bhandars which are either run directly by the A. I. S. A. or are certified by it.

I am sure that the Khadi and Village Industries Sections and the Agricultural Section organized by the C P. Government in this Exhibition will render real good to our village folk and particularly our peasantry.

I would invite too your attention to the Basic Education Section in the Exhibition. Our current educational system has rightly been condemned as worthless as it serves only to make bookworms of our youths; it does not fit them for life. It needs badly to be overhauled. The question of mass education for India was discussed at Hari-

pora. What troubled everybody was, how was it to be financed? A committee was set up under the presidentship of Dr. Zakir Husain to report on the matter. The report which Dr. Zakir Husain's Committee has submitted on the Wardha Scheme of Education, as a result of their inquiry, is a valuable document. I heard it being highly praised even in England. The central thesis of this scheme is that the whole education of the child can be imparted through the medium of a handicraft and that the system if it is properly worked should make education self-supporting. There was a lot of confusion about this aspect of it at that time. Since then the Hindustani Talimi Sangh has come into being and several institutions for imparting basic education have sprung up. Whilst time alone will show how far the Wardha Scheme is capable of fulfilling all the expectations that have been entertained on its behalf, this much at least is clear that it provides us the key which can solve the question of education of India's masses.

A HARIJAN TOUR

I

[The following account by Shri Rameshwari Nehru of a tour undertaken by Shri Thakkar Bapa and her in the Central India and South Rajputana States will be read with interest. M.K.G.]

At the instance of Shri Date, the Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Gwalior and Central India States, Thakkar Bapa and I undertook to tour Central India and a few of the South Rajputana States. The object of the tour was to consolidate the work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh wherever it existed, to start new centres in areas where our work did not exist, and to do propaganda for the removal of untouchability. We started our tour on the 20th of November from Gwalior and ended it at Kotah on the 21st of December. During the course of one month we visited 14 States, namely, Gwalior, Datia, Bhopal, Narsingharh, Rajgarh, Dewas, Indore, Barwani, Dhar, Banswara, Dungarpur Kotah, Jhalawar and Sitamau. Later on I visited the State of Jaipur etc. Shri Date accompanied us all through the Central India States and Shri Omduttji, the Secretary of the Rajputana Harijan Sevak Sangh, through the Rajputana States. Shri Pustake, who is the moving force behind the Harijan work, in fact behind all public work in those parts, was with us part of the time. We were fortunate in having generally the co-operation of the officers of the States. In most places the Dewans or their officers presided at our public meetings. Had it not been for their co-operation our tour would not have been as fruitful as it was. Everywhere crowded public meetings, women's meetings and students' meetings were held at which the message of the removal of untouchability was given to thousands. At women's meetings in different places, I had the pleasant experience of young ladies pledging themselves on the spot to swadeshi and removal of untouchability. The size of these meetings swelled with the progress

of the tour till at last in some places it became unmanageable. This general awakening was perhaps a symbol of the rising spirit of the masses. Even in remote places, some of which were nearly 80 or 90 miles from the nearest railway station, there was a stirring up and the people seemed to be anxious to hear the message.

It was an inspiration to meet many of our workers who have voluntarily torn themselves asunder from all contacts with outside life and were leading dedicated lives for the sake of the cause. Their names are not advertised in the papers and not many people know of them, but their work is enriching the country just as much as the work of the tallest amongst us.

We interviewed the Rulers and their ministers, in all States and represented to them the cause of the Harijans and urged on them the necessity of their taking up educational and welfare work for these outcastes of society. Practically everywhere we were given the assurance that our representations would receive their favourable consideration. On the public side, we were able to revive some of the moribund committees which had ceased to work and also establish committees where they did not exist before. We are hoping that these committees will take up the work in all earnestness.

This tour has filled my heart with hope. It has provided one more proof of the fact that untouchability is on its last legs and that the cause of the Harijans has the general support of practically the whole of the Hindu society. The death of untouchability is a certainty and a matter of time. In my next I shall give a brief account of the places we visited.

Eloquent Figures

The comparative figures of khadi work done in Tamil Nad in 1937 and 1938, published elsewhere in this issue, bear an eloquent testimony to the phenomenal progress made by khadi in the short space of a year. The number of spinners have doubled, the number of weavers has risen by 33 per cent, the amount and value of khadi produced by them have almost trebled, and the amount put into their pockets has risen from Rs. 2,87,000 to Rs. 6,62,000, i.e. by over 225 per cent. The network of khadi centres has spread further and more workers and instructors have found employment. No surer proof could be found of the eagerness of village women to find employment through spinning which has in many cases acted as a famine relief also. They have also fulfilled in a greater measure the condition laid down by the A. I. S. A. by purchasing more khadi saris for their personal use and other varieties for their families. The sales, however, have not kept pace with the rise in production and stocks have accumulated in khadi depots, with the result that the way for further expansion has been blocked. The artisans and the workers, as the figures show, have done their part. It now remains for the public to buy up their product and thus lend a helping hand in this effort of relieving the distress and unemployment of our rural population.

C. S.

KHADI WORK DONE IN TAMIL NAD IN 1938 AND 1937

I No. of Spinners on rolls		1938			1937		
(a)	A. I. S. A. Branches		54,047			25,624	
(b)	Certified Merchants		2,856			2,991	
	Total		56,903			28,615	
II Yarn Spun		Hanks	Wt. in lbs.	Value	Hanks	Wt. in lbs.	Value
(1)	A.I.S.A. Branches Round Hanks	85,57,759	6,47,243	7,89,937	41,22,248	2,77,307	2,39,243
	Cross "		1,52,503	1,35,728		90,849	85,100
(2)	Certified Merchants Round Hanks	5,92,050	40,102	48,695	9,27,141	61,858	51,322
	Cross "		8,563	7,167		62	52
	Total	91,49,809	8,48,411	9,81,527	50,49,389	4,30,076	3,75,717
III Yarn deposited by Spinners for Saris							
(1)	(a) A. I. S. A. Branches	24,45,364	1,35,854	1,63,024	6,45,645	39,037	43,042
	(b) Certified merchants	89,677	4,982	5,978	1,04,510	5,806	6,967
(2)	Cash Deposits (a) A.I.S.A.			7,164			7,964
	(b) Certified			11			10
	Total	25,35,041	1,40,836	1,76,177	7,50,155	44,843	57,983
IV Spinners using Hand-ginned Cotton							
(a)	A. I. S. A. Branches		27,555			10,344	
(b)	Certified merchants		321			...	
	Total		27,876			10,244	
V Saris distributed among Spinners		No.	Value		No.	Value	
(a)	A. I. S. A. Branches	22,429	1,01,288		9,318	37,880	
(b)	Certified merchants	1,115	5,247		951	2,171	
	Total	23,544	1,06,535		10,269	40,051	
For other cloths supplied to spinners' families please see item XII							
VI Spinning wages paid							
(a)	A. I. S. A. Branches		6,21,760			2,55,313	
(b)	Certified merchants		40,655			32,024	
	Total		6,62,415			2,87,337	
This includes carding wages since our spinners are self-carders							
VII Spinning wages per lb. of Yarn			0-12-6			0-10-9	
This increase is partly due to the fall in prices of cotton							
VIII Average spinning wages paid per day			1,815			787	
IX Average weaving wages paid per day			1,090			470	
X No of Weavers on rolls							
(a)	A. I. S. A. Branches		2,635			2,005	
(b)	Certified merchants		240			225	
	Total		2,875			2,230	
XI Khadi Production		Value	Sq. yds.	Weight	Value	Sq. yds.	Weight
(a)	A. I. S. A. Branches	14,82,683	29,95,899	7,56,637	5,41,572	12,12,069	3,07,922
(b)	Certified merchants	1,74,789	3,08,174	66,874	1,06,624	1,70,533	45,170
(c)	Self-sufficiency Khadi	1,09,045	2,31,565	50,958	28,331	68,552	14,950
	Total	17,66,517	35,35,638	8,74,469	6,76,527	14,51,154	3,68,042
XII Khadi Sold							
1	(a) A. I. S. A. Branches		8,64,248			7,29,118	
	(b) Certified merchants		1,53,203			1,42,317	
	(c) To spinners' families		1,43,660			41,208	
	Total		11,61,111			9,12,643	
2	Exports to other provinces						
	(a) A. I. S. A. Branches		2,69,030			1,65,865	
	(b) Certified merchants		13,247			14,346	
	Total		2,82,277			1,80,211	
	Grand Total		14,43,388			10,92,854	
XIII Details of Implements distributed							
(a)	Hand gins		1,930			83	
(b)	New wheels		1,779			220	
(c)	Speed wheels		9,608			2,223	
(d)	Spindles		13,842			15,846	
(e)	Carding bows		344			11	
XIV No. of Centres							
Production	(a) A. I. S. A.		42			33	
	(b) Certified Merchants		3			5	
Sales	(a) A. I. S. A.		31			17	
	(b) Certified Merchants		50			41	
	(c) Hawkers		60			20	
	Total		186			116	
XV No of Workers engaged							
(a)	Workers		260			195	
(b)	Village instructors (1) Men		74			31	
	(2) Women		10			2	
	Total		344			228	
(c)	Salaries paid	Rs.	49,450			35,022	

OUR DUTY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Vithaldas Jerajani writes:

"With a view to pushing khadi sales, I toured recently parts of Bihar in company with Laxmi Babu of the Bihar Charkha Sangh. Whereas the work on the production side is increasing by leaps and bounds—the production figures for 1938 being Rs. 6,13,756 as against Rs. 2,98,993 for 1937—the sales through certified bhandars was Rs. 3,77,424 in 1938 as against Rs. 3,03,272 during 1937. Thus the sales have not kept pace with the production which has doubled. The sales being low, the cash on hand for purchasing cotton supplies as also for paying daily wages to spinners falls far below the actual need which is so pressing. The problem of cash has become a grave one.

The Bihar Charkha Sangh has 60,000 spinners on its rolls, and I could see for myself how difficult it was to have to face a village woman spinner with a 'No work for the present' reply, especially after the introduction of the increased spinning wage. The incident took place at Simri, one of the Charkha Sangh production centres. It was the weekly pay-day when spinners in their hundreds flocked to the headquarters in order to deliver their yarn and to receive their wages and a fresh supply of cotton for the ensuing week. The men in charge were hard put to it. The want of adequate funds has necessitated a curtailment both in cash payment as well as in the fresh supply of cotton, and many spinners have also been persuaded to purchase the khadi produced out of their yarn against their wages.

The spinners, who had learnt of Laxmi Babu's arrival, were arguing hard with Ramdev Babu who is in charge of the centre: 'We are going to complain to Bada Babu, we are.' And indeed we were surrounded. There were aged dames, housewives and young girls in rags. Some had khadi saris on, evidently purchased out of their wages. They were shouting, arguing and entreating in a dozen voices: 'Give us cotton, give us work, give us wages, give us cash. How can you curtail the supply? What are we to eat?'

It was a moving sight. I could not stand it. I heard in their piteous voices a challenge to my capacity and skill in salesmanship. One of them said, 'Mahajan (sir), how on earth can I go on purchasing cloth against wages earned? I have already purchased this sari at your bidding. Will you now be reasonable and give me cash to buy food with?' At this I was moved to tears. Bapu, and the voice of the miserable village woman is still ringing in my ears: 'Mahajan, what shall I eat?'

When the resolution creating a Spinners' Welfare Fund was adopted by the Council of the A. I. S. A., most of us had hardly any definite idea as to its use. Workers have now settled themselves in villages with a view to teach spinning to village women down to the lowest strata and enable them to reap the benefit of the Welfare Fund. These women have

no spare cloth beyond the tatters on their bodies. They have nothing but stinking straw to warm them. These cold winter nights. They cannot afford a piece of soap or a 1/2 oz. of oil of any kind against lice-swarming in the hair on their heads. Slowly and by degrees, the wheel is providing them with these much-craved necessities. Not only this, but the benefactor—the Charkha Sangh worker—has taught her to count and even to read a little! They are proud today to claim among them women who can count up to one hundred, who can read the alphabets and decipher figures. This I was told has resulted in a general whetting of the appetite for literacy in the whole community in these parts. But how far the A. I. S. A. with its limited resources can cope with it is problematical.

I was introduced to some of the spinners, who before they took to spinning were beggars, released convicts and so on. Today they ply the wheel and earn an honest livelihood. They are grateful to Gandhi, to the Congress, who give them bread as they say.

To give them all work for an honest bare livelihood, khadi worth crores should be sold all over India. But alas! we have yet to reach even the first crore.

The workers of Bihar have devised a plan for pushing khadi sales in the province. This consists of an intensive three week sales campaign in October next (2nd to 23rd) during the Gandhi Jayanti celebrations in order to sell out at least Rs. 5,00,000 worth of khadi. Their total annual sales for the last year approximate Rs. 3½ lacs. But with nearly 5 months before them it is hoped that there would be sufficient propaganda to fulfil the expectations. Such an achievement would undoubtedly enable the Bihar 'mahajans' to bring to the thousands of our hungry sisters in Bihar the much needed bread and oil and pieces of soap and even a little light of knowledge to illumine their lives."

After shri Jerajani's moving account is read, khadi should be sold in large quantities everywhere.

[Translated from 'Harijanbandhu' by S. A.]

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HARIJAN

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[ONE ANNA

Bombay the Beautiful

(By M. K. Gandhi)

'Handsome is that handsome does' is a neat proverb. I have often said that it is wrong to call Bombay beautiful only because of the fine approach to the harbour or for its many beauty spots so long as it contains dirty chawls, overcrowded lanes and uninhabitable hovels which serve as dwelling places for its Harijans. But when Bombay goes dry, as it will very soon, it will become truly beautiful even for this one singularly beautiful act and it will deserve the title in spite of the blemishes I have mentioned. For when its labouring population has the temptation of drink removed from them, with the improvement in their condition which always follows the exorcism of the drink devil, it must become easier for the Bombay Municipality to deal with the problem of providing better habitations for the poor classes. The Bombay Government, and especially Dr. Gilder, deserve the thanks of the citizens of Bombay, nay of the whole Province, for the courage with which they have approached their task. I know that many Parsis who depend upon drink traffic for their living will be affected. Bombay is the stronghold of the Parsis. Then there are its fashionable citizens who think they need their spirituous drinks as they need water. I have every hope that they will all rise to the occasion, think of their poor brethren, even if they do not appreciate abstinence for themselves, and set an example to all India and make good the claim of Bombay not only to be beautiful but also the first city in India.

Prohibition in Bombay will mean a big fall in revenue. The Finance Minister has to balance his budget. He has to find money. He has to levy new taxes. Let there be no complaint from those who will have to bear the burden. Dislike of taxes, be they ever so reasonable, is proverbial. I understand that the Finance Minister has met all just objections. Why should those who will have to bear the burden not feel a pride in being given the privilege of contributing to the great experiment? It will be a proud day for Bombay if prohibition is ushered in amid the rejoicings of the whole population. Let it be remembered that this prohibition is not a superimposition. It is being introduced by Governments that are responsible to the people. It has been a plank in the national programme since 1920. It is coming, therefore, in due fulfilment of the national will definitely expressed nearly twenty years ago.

DEVELOPMENT OF COIR INDUSTRY IN BOMBAY-KONKAN

(By H. S. Kaujalgi and V. L. Mehta)

Honavar, with the Bhatkal Peta, is the southernmost taluka in the coastal belt of the Bombay Province. The North Kanara district in which it is situated is the most sparsely populated one in the Province, and depopulation has proceeded apace with the enforcement of a forest policy which was altogether out of harmony with the needs of agriculture and agriculturists. A revision of the forest policy has now been ordered by the Congress Ministry, but it will still take some time to have the agricultural industry rehabilitated. To this end, it is necessary to buttress the industry with the support of rural industries intended to work up the raw materials available in the district itself. Considerable thought has been devoted to the subject by various local workers, and a number of schemes have been drawn up by them, of which only a few have, for the present, been taken in hand by the All India Village Industries Association. The preparation of *gul* (jaggery) from the sweet juice of coconut trees, the manufacture of buttons from betel-nut or palmyra seeds and of various articles from the horns of dead animals and the development of the coir industry are among the matters that have been taken in hand in the current year. Local workers have played by no means an inconsiderable part in drawing up, executing or supervising the projects, but hitherto the entire financial burden has been borne by Government. The most ambitious of these projects is for the development of the coir industry, which is the subject matter of this article. The following are the details of the scheme originally approved by Government:

"This industry is carried on principally in the villages on either banks of the Sharawati river and the islands in that river. Over 1,250 acres of land are under coconut plantation in the Sharawati valley, and calculating that an average acre contains 75 trees and an average tree yields 25 nuts, the number of coconuts grown in these villages are estimated at 23,43,750.

The Honavar fibres have lost their Bombay market for two reasons that they contain unnecessary matter, namely, the pith, and because there are short and weak fibres. The use of a winnowing machine may restore the market to them. The main advantage from the machine is that it arranges the fibres lengthwise. This facilitates spinning, making it easier and faster.

The use of a spinning wheel enables the spinner to use up the short fibres which he is now obliged to throw away. The yarns spun with the help of a wheel are more uniform and the spinning is faster.

The introduction of winnowing machines and spinning wheels will affect the taluka in the following manner:

- (i) In a given time, the present number of spinners will be able to spin 50 per cent more coir. A considerable quantity of additional husks will, therefore, be used up.

The coconut gardeners, therefore, will be able to realise some price for the husks which they are now obliged to throw away.

- (ii) Finding their prospects improved, a larger number of persons will come forward to follow the profession.
- (iii) Incidentally, a number of subsidiary industries will spring up.

It will be very useful, for these reasons, to provide training in the improved processes of the industry. It is proposed that the course of training for the period of first six months should consist of:

- (1) The teaching of winnowing and spinning of fibres with the help of improved appliances.
- (2) The teaching of rope-making.

It is proposed that 10 spinning wheels should be purchased for use in the school. Ten women should be taken up for training at a time. They should be discharged as soon as they gain some efficiency. We think about 15 days will be required for it. A fresh batch of 10 should be taken thereafter.

Two winnowing machines should be purchased. Four men should be taken up at a time for training in winnowing.

Two rope-making machines should be purchased. Each machine is expected to require four persons for operating it. So eight persons can be taught at a time.

It is proposed that each woman should be paid a stipend of annas two a day and each man annas four during the period of training.

Two trainers will be required. They will have to be brought from Travancore. They might demand Rs. 50 a month in addition to travelling expenses.

About Rs. 300 worth of raw materials will have to be purchased and the machines will cost Rs. 550.

Our estimate for the running of a school for six months of its initial course is Rs. 2,585."

It is interesting to see how this scheme has been put into operation and what results have been secured in the brief period of five months.

As the final sanction was obtained at the end of September, some time was unavoidably lost in corresponding for and getting a capable instructor from Travancore. Shri S. K. Kallapur, the local representative of the All India Village Industries Association, was fortunate in getting a capable instructor from that side through a local school teacher who belongs to Travancore itself. After his arrival here, he got the spinning wheels and the twisting machines prepared. As usually happens in the case of all innovations, the local coir workers began to fight shy of these wheels in the beginning. But Shri Kallapur at last succeeded in getting some women on stipends. The method of work now followed by the workers is interesting.

As soon as the coconuts are dehusked, the fresh husks are gathered together and taken to the river. They are then buried in the bed of the river. The water in the river rises or falls according to the ebb and tide of the sea. (The Sharavati river joins the sea at a short distance from these riverside villages.) Owing to the seawater washing the husks every day and of the special quality of the earth in which the husks are buried, the husks are rotted and at the

same time the fibres become bleached and softened. The husks are kept buried for a minimum period of four months. Then, if the workers have a market for the coir, they are taken out. If there is no ready market, the husks can be kept buried even up to two years.

After the husks are taken out, the outermost covering is removed and the rest which is fully fibrous is beaten with a wooden club. The pith in the husk is thus separated and the water in the same is squeezed out, and the fibrous matter is left to dry on the ropes. The price of this fibrous matter (coir fibre) depends on the cleanness and freedom from pithy matter. Then the coir fibre is tied in bundles and is available for sale. The Coir School at Honavar does not concern itself with all the above-mentioned processes. It purchases the fibre usually at the rate of Rs. 30 per khandi of 560 lbs. and stores it in the school room.

The students or stipendiaries of the coir school at Honavar come mostly from the local Christian community. They are either women of all ages or boys up to the age of 12. They come to the class at about 8-30 in the morning and take coir bundles which are in bundles of a pound each. The first process which they have to follow is to card the fibre. But the nature of the coir fibre precludes the possibility of its being carded like wool or cotton. There is a wooden board measuring about 10' x 14' fixed at the end of a wooden pole. Nails about an inch and a half are stuck through the wooden board, so that one side of the board looks like a nail brush. The coir workers take a handful of coir and brush it against the board so that each fibre is separated and the remains of pith if any fall down. Thus the fibres become clean and as good as if they had been carded. Then they are tied in bundles again.

There is a big wheel with 8 or 10 hooks fixed on the spokes. There is one handle on the side of the wheel, and a boy or girl of 8 or 10 sits on the handle-side of the wheel and turns it. Then each hook on the spoke of the wheel gives work to one spinner. She attaches a few fibres of the coir to the hook and goes on adding fibres as the wheel turns and gives a twist to those fibres. Thus, the spinner recedes away from the wheel as the thread goes on lengthening. The length of this thread depends on the length of our workshop, and when a thread as long as the workshop is twisted, it is tied to the poles in the building.

When there is a sufficient number of threads like these, the twisting machine comes in. Two threads are tied to one spoke of the wheel of the twisting machine, and the wheel is turned in the opposite direction. A wooden triangular device is held between the two threads to regulate the twist taken by the threads. So, the length of twist is naturally a little less than the twist of the first-mentioned thread.

(To be concluded)

NATIONAL WEEK AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

Meetings, processions, lectures and flag salutations will no doubt be held during the coming National Week (April 6 to 13). They were held last year, the previous year and the years before. But they do not go further than making a temporary stir. Judged from results they leave the country much where it was. If anything tangible is to be achieved, attention must be focussed on constructive work.

In a country like ours constructive national work necessarily means village work. One need not be in a village long before one discovers the condition of abject poverty and despair in which the villager lives. With imports from abroad and factory competition from within he is left with no gainful occupation. Even agriculture, on which the village population is thrown for a means of livelihood, is not paying. The few industries that are still left in the village are steadily waning. They are faced with insuperable odds and yield an income hardly more than one or two annas a day for 10 or 12 hours' hard work.

Under the circumstances it is absolutely essential, if our people are to live at all, that we must turn away from foreign imports and Indian mill products, and determine to use as far as possible only village-made articles. We must remember that every mill product we use has been bought at the cost of snatching away from the mouths of men, women and children in the villages the morsel of food that might otherwise have been theirs. If in all our purchases we give first preference to articles of village manufacture, we shall at once make for prosperity in the villages, and with prosperity will come opportunities for growth and advancement. If we are earnest about national work and uplift, let us put our wishes into action and celebrate the National Week by using henceforth only khadi and other village products. As an outward symbol of our inner resolve we may concentrate during the Week on buying and inducing others to buy khadi, hand-made paper, village-made leather articles, and soap made from entirely indigenous materials.

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Available at *Harijan* Office—Poona 4.

H A R I J A N

Apr. 1

1939

JAIPUR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The cry comes from Jaipur that some civil resisters are disappointed over the suspension and are not as enthusiastic to tackle the constructive programme, which is chiefly the spinning wheel and khadi, as they were for fight. If this is the general feeling, the suspension is doubly justified. For the reluctance betrays lack of appreciation of *ahimsa* without which resistance becomes a species of violence. Those who lightly talk of freedom in the States and hope to attain it through civil resistance, evidently do not know what they are talking about. Will they not learn the lesson of the Provinces? Provincial Autonomy, such as it is, has been won by civil resistance however inferior it may have been. But do they not realise that it is likely to break down if Congress Ministers cannot carry on without the aid of the Police and the Military, i. e. without British guns. If the partial autonomy was won by non-violent means, it must be held also by such means and no other. From recent experiences it seems clear that the country is not ready to hold power through non-violent means. Though for the past twenty years—the period of the greatest mass awakening—the people have been taught to abjure the use of arms including brickbats and the lathi, and to rely upon non-violence pure and simple, we know that Congress Ministries have been obliged to resort to violence to suppress popular violence real or imaginary. It is clear also that the country cannot be made ready for the use of violence without training. Was our non-violence that of the weak? Hindu-Muslim tension is to me the acid test. The Congress corruption is a sure sign of violence. Swaraj within the States is not to be obtained by any non-violent trick. It will be won, if it is to be won, by non-violence of the strong, i. e. by hard work, patient and mute suffering, service of the poor, the hungry and the forsaken of society, and a voluntary obedience to the laws of the State and society in so far as they are not repugnant to public and private morals. Unless non-violence of the strong is really developed among us, there should be no thought of civil disobedience for Swaraj, whether within the States or in British India. And as an indispensable test—by no means infallible—of non-violence I adhere to habitual spinning and habitual use of khadi by the would-be civil resister. The Jaipur Satyagrahis, if they desire to take part in any civil disobedience struggle that may take place in future, should understand the implications of non-violence and apply themselves with zest to the fulfilment of the minimum conditions I have

prescribed. Let them also know that what applies to them applies to all future Satyagraha that I may have to deal with.

This, however, does not mean that the fight for Swaraj stops. It only means that civil disobedience is not to be so cheap as I fear I have, indirectly if not directly, made it. But I am never too old to learn. One is ever young in the felt presence of the God of Truth or Truth which is God. But if civil disobedience is henceforth to be a very dear commodity, I hope, God willing, to show that it will prove to be infinitely more effective and faster moving than the alloy with which we have so far contented ourselves.

New Delhi, 27-3-39

“SUSPEND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE”

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have had long chats with Shri Phillipose about the situation in Travancore. I have also carefully studied the resolution of the last Working Committee of the State Congress and the well-thought-out elaborate plan of action to be taken all over Travancore together with great precautions embodied in it to ensure non-violence. I have also read the telegram received by Shri Phillipose wherein he is told that if civil disobedience is further suspended, there will be much heart-burning and disappointment.

But after having weighed the pros and cons, I have come to the conclusion that it will be in the interest of the cause not to start civil disobedience on March 25 and to suspend it till I advise resumption.

In Satyagraha there is no such thing as dis-appointment or heart-burning. The struggle always goes on in some shape or other till the goal is reached. A Satyagrahi is indifferent whether it is civil disobedience or some other phase of the struggle to which he is called. Nor does he mind if, in the middle of the civil disobedience march, he is called upon to halt and do something else. He must have faith that it is all for the best. My own experience hitherto has been that each suspension has found the people better equipped for the fight and for control over forces of violence. Therefore, in advising suspension, I dismiss from my mind the fear that it may lead to desertion and disbelief. If it does, I should not feel sorry, for it would be to me a sign that the deserters did not know what Satyagraha was and the movement was better without those who did not know what they were doing.

The reasons that have prompted me to tender this advice are these: If it is true that the Travancore Durbar have drafted untrained raw men as police in order to strike terror among Satyagrahis, it behoves the Satyagrahis not to tempt the Durbar whilst suspension is a possibility. In view of the inhumanities which I believe have been perpetrated in various States, I am myself thinking out a new orientation of

civil disobedience. I may fail. But if I am to succeed at all, I must have the quiet which can be produced only by suspension of civil disobedience wherever I am guiding it.

This suspension gives one a chance of mobilizing public opinion in favour of the movement for liberty in Travancore. It gives also an opportunity to the Travancore Durbar to reconsider their view of Satyagrahis and their demands.

The Princes are themselves agitated over the tremendous awakening that has taken place among the people in the States. Suspension in Travancore and elsewhere gives them breathing time and an opportunity of thinking out their course of action free from the burden of dealing with civil resistance.

Lastly, it is wise to allow the recent Viceregal message to the Princes to work itself among them.

The Satyagrahis of Travancore should know too that I have advised suspension of civil disobedience in Jaipur for similar reasons and I am likewise holding the hands of workers in other States. But I give my assurance to Travancoreans and all concerned that I shall not sit idle during suspension, nor shall I be long in coming to a final decision, assuming that in the meanwhile no relief has come in the States in which civil disobedience was going on and is under suspension. New Delhi, 23-3-1939

"SUSPENSION SHOULD CONTINUE"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Phillipose has received the following telegram from Trivandrum:

'Arrests continue. Kunjukrishna Pillai and others arrested. Kutzitharai Krishna Pillai, President, arrested today (24th). Korah nominated President. Inform Gandhiji.'

I had not expected that arrests would continue even after the suspension of civil disobedience. But of course my expectations need not be fulfilled. Suspension was advised for reasons publicly stated by me. If Travancore authorities consider it necessary to continue arrests, Satyagrahis may not complain. Civil disobedience gives cause for arrest or makes some action by the authorities necessary. Therefore, as a rule, suspension without any previous understanding with the State is generally followed not only by discontinuance of arrests but even by discharge of those convicted for disobedience. If the Trivandrum wire is correct, authorities in Travancore have adopted an unexpected course. Their action need not perturb or perplex Satyagrahis. Suspension should still continue. I have no doubt that such arrests will help the popular cause more than if civil disobedience was continued, assuming, of course, that there was no cause for arrest other than that arrested persons were Satyagrahis. Since suspension has been declared I hold it to be unnecessary to appoint a President instead of one arrested. The object of appointing successive Presidents in place of

those arrested no longer subsists. There must be a provision in the ordinary constitution of the State Congress for conduct of business in the absence of the President.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that Satyagrahis were unprepared for the exigency created by my advice. Let them console themselves, if they can, by the fact that though they may not just now appreciate or understand what may to them appear to be new technique, it has been advised by one who claims to know the science of Satyagraha. It calls for infinite patience and boundless faith in its efficacy. Everything comes right for those who watch, wait and pray.

Since writing the foregoing I have seen the official reaction to suspension. An Associated Press message says that official opinion seems to be that civil disobedience is neither given up nor even suspended. If there was any ground for suspicion, it should be dispelled by the State Congress second President, Shri N. Srikrishna Pillai, who, according to another Associated Press message, says: "Civil disobedience has been suspended at the instance of Mahatmaji, and it will be resumed only with his sanction, whatever time it may take. My instruction to the country is that the State Congress workers should preach the technique of non-violence (as different from non-violent direct action) to the masses as well as the message of khadi and Swadeshi. The State Congress, as it stands at present, does not contemplate any direct action without command from Mahatmaji. I know that picketing of liquor shops is not breaking of any law and it is not prohibited by Government. Yet, fearing trouble and misunderstanding, we are not launching even that." This emphatic statement puts the matter beyond any suspicion. I am hoping that civil resisters who were eagerly looking forward to the resumption of civil disobedience will conform to the letter and the spirit of the presidential instructions and thus show that if they understood what 'disobedience' was they understood equally well what 'civil' meant.

I am convinced that much of our trouble has arisen from our not putting due emphasis in our actions on the implications of the word 'civil' which is the very opposite of criminal, uncivil and violent. Let the suspension enable the members of the State Congress and the Travancore public in general to realize the tremendous implications of non-violence, and I promise that its practice in thought, word and deed will hasten the progress towards their goal as nothing else will.

New Delhi, 26-3-39

The True India

By C. F. Andrews

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PAPER-MAKING

(By Satish Chandra Dasgupta)

I

Cost of Making 2 Reams of Foolscap Paper Daily

For cottage production a 5 gallon digester is used as a unit. It holds 8 lbs. of bamboo and produces 8 quires of foolscap paper.

Five such units compose a set, and such a set is being worked at Sodepur, giving 2 reams of foolscap paper daily. The costs are not actual but what they should be after the men are trained. We are, however, achieving very nearly the figures given.

Wages are calculated at 6 annas per working day. In the existing hand-paper manufactories, the wages earned by the workers are nearly three annas. On that basis the costs will come out much less as indicated below.

Only direct costs are included. Repairs and costs of perishable appliances are not included.

Bamboo—40 lbs. (air dry)	... 3 annas
Caustic Soda—8 lbs.	... 14 "
Bleaching powder—4 lbs.	... 4 "
Lime	... 2 "
Coal—1½ mds. @ -/6/-	... 9 "

32

Less Caustic Soda half recovered ... 7 = 25 annas.

Rosin 1½ lbs.	4 annas
Soda ash	½ "
Alum — 1 lb.	1 "
Starch — 6 lbs.	7½ "
Clay — 2 lbs.	1 "
	14 ... 14 annas.

Material Total.... 39 annas.

Labour: 12 men at 6 annas ... 72 annas.

Total ... 111 annas

Yield 2 reams of thick paper or 2½ annas per quire or 2½ " of thin paper or 2 annas " "

If labour is paid at 3 annas, the cost for thick paper will be under 2 annas per quire. No supervision expense is provided for, as it is estimated that the supervisor will be himself the owner and also a labourer.

II

Cottage Paper Manufacture from Bamboo

Digestion

Bamboo is taken and cut into small bits about 1 inch wide and 1 to 2 inches long. This is then boiled in an open vessel in the liquor obtained from digestion under pressure in the next process. After the first boil, bamboo is separated from the liquor, washed and pounded and then introduced into a digester with 20% of its weight of caustic soda. There the temperature is raised up to 140° C and kept at that for three hours. Digested bamboo is taken and freed from adhering liquor by pressure. The liquor goes to make the first boil. Spent liquor after these two operations goes for concentration for recovery.

Beating & Bleaching

After digestion bamboo is washed free from

adhering liquor and passed through the beater (which is of the Hollander type) where it is again washed, till the wash-water is free from colour. Bleaching powder solution is added gradually up to 10% of the weight of bamboo and beating continued till the desired bleached effect is obtained. The yield of bleached pulp is 35 to 38% of bamboo. The pulp is freed from chlorine.

Sizing

To the bleached pulp is added gradually a solution of rosin soap which is then precipitated with alum. Then starch paste is added, being 20 to 30% of the weight of pulp, and the whole beaten up to make the stuff. Rosin is made into soap by using one-fourth of its weight of soda ash. A requisite quantity of alum is used to ensure complete precipitation of soap. This may be a little more than half the weight of rosin.

Paper Formation

The stuff is now put in small portions in a tub of water and thoroughly beaten. The lifting is done in the usual way by using a wire-mat mould and deckle. The formed layer of paper is then transferred on pieces of wet cloth from the mat and piled overnight under pressure to drain. Drained pieces are then hung up for drying. After drying cloth is separated from paper which is then kept under pressure and then glazed. Glazing may be done by rubbing with a piece of conch after keeping paper on a smooth piece of wood. It may be glazed also in a hand-glazing machine under construction.

Recovery of Soda

The liquor from open digestion is concentrated to dryness and burnt. The ash is treated with lime and caustic soda regenerated.

Handmade Paper

Samples of all varieties of handmade paper (made at Junnar, Erandol and Jaipur), envelopes and blott-ing paper, can be obtained by sending postal stamps worth two annas to *Harijan* office, Poona — 4. Also

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Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence—Part II

Just published. The first part contained Gandhiji's articles on the subject till September 1928. The second part brings the collection up to date. Price Re. 1; Postage 3 As. extra. Available at *Harijan* Office—Poona 4; and Navajivan Karyalaya—Ahmedabad and Bombay 2.

A HARIJAN TOUR

(By Rameshwari Nehru)

II

Gwalior was the first State we visited. It being the biggest, we spent nearly nine days there. This was the longest period we gave to any one State. We spent these nine days in Lashkar, Morena, Mungaoli, Basoda, Bhilsa, Ujjain and Mandsaur. Excepting Lashkar, Ujjain and to some extent Mandsaur, the rest were all small towns. We thus did not confine ourselves to big towns only but were able to see the interior as well. Everywhere Harijan bastis were visited.

A branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangh has been working in Gwalior for the last five years. During these years it has been instrumental in starting nearly 30 Harijan schools. Most of these schools are now either aided by the State or have been entirely taken over by it. Some very good workers are devoting themselves to the cause of the Harijans in this State. As a result of the educational work they have been carrying on for all these years there is a certain amount of awakening especially amongst the urban sweepers. Judging from the very big and sympathetic crowds, numbering in some places thousands, who turned up at the meetings, it can be safely concluded that the prejudice of the Caste Hindus has been greatly toned down. There exists in the State a group of people who are actively in favour of the removal of untouchability and would like to see Harijans enjoy all civic rights including the use of public wells, schools as well as temple entry. There is a general complaint that the reformers do not get as much moral support from the Government as they have the right to expect from an enlightened State like Gwalior. There are rare instances of Harijan boys studying in common schools and even of one chamar boy living in a hostel with the rest of the students without any distinction. This was brought about by the efforts of the Caste Hindu students themselves who strenuously opposed all objections raised by their elders and insisted that the Harijan co-student must live in the same hostel with them on terms of absolute equality. It is felt that such instances could be multiplied if the State did not pamper the small orthodox minority whose protests generally succeed in debarring the Harijan children from common schools.

Out of a total population of 35,23,070 in the State, 6,78,119 are Harijans, i.e. more than 1/5th of the population. Their contribution towards the maintenance of the State is as much as that of any other section of the population; yet out of an annual income of over Rs. two and a half crores hardly anything, except a paltry sum spent on a few small schools, is spent on their welfare. It is evident that owing to inherent economic difficulties and social disabilities they cannot take advantage of the public institutions like the wells and schools. In Morena,

a small town near Lashkar, the sweepers have to buy water for lack of a well for themselves. The hard case of the sweepers has been represented to the authorities several times but no redress has been given so far. As a water works scheme is in preparation it is hoped that their water difficulty will be solved by the provision of a tap. But this scheme has been in existence for the last three years, and no one knows how much longer it will take to materialize; and in the meantime the sufferings of the poor sweepers continue who, in spite of spending a large slice of their income on water, cannot get it in quantities sufficient to keep themselves clean.

Under the circumstances it is the clear duty of the State to take extra care and spend special sums of money for the well-being and education of this unfortunate class of its subjects. We could not interview His Highness the Maharaja Saheb owing to his preoccupations, but the first Premier of the State, Sardar Saheb Angre, gave us an interview and we placed before him our recommendations. The following, in brief, are the main suggestions made:

1. A special officer of the State may be appointed to look after the interests of the Harijans and sufficient funds may be apportioned in the annual budget for this work.

2. Special instructions may be issued to the Education Department not only to admit freely Harijan boys and girls into public schools, but to make it a point to show at least a few such students in their institutions. Failing that, separate schools and hostels may be opened for them in suitable places.

3. All Harijan children may be granted free-ships in schools and colleges and earmarked scholarships may be given for school and college education.

Gwalior is one of the premier States of India and enjoys a good reputation for enlightened Government. Its young Ruler at the time of accession to the throne made a declaration that he loved all sections of his subjects equally and that his Government would make no distinction between Harijans and Caste Hindus. This pronouncement of the enlightened Maharaja has raised hopes in the hearts of Harijans and Harijan sevak. They expect this declaration to be implemented by action, which so far has not been done. The States of Baroda, Mysore and Cochin are examples worthy to be followed by Gwalior. It is far behind these advanced States in this respect. I fully hope that our representations will not go in vain and the State will rise to a sense of the duty it owes to these people.

(To be concluded)

The Revolt Against Mechanism

By L. P. Jacks

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endangering his life to obtain this bare act of justice.

The moment it is recognized that it was a bare act of justice which Gandhiji had asked for and which prompted him to break his fast, all talk of coercion and compulsion should be at an end. As an English paper rightly says: "His passive methods are in interesting contrast to power politics. The Mahatma does not threaten his opponents with guns, tanks and aeroplanes."

The question of democratic principles does not arise when it is recognized that it was not to "wrest democratic government" out of unwilling hands that the fast was undertaken, but to seek fulfilment of a promise. Democracy cannot be endangered when the victim seeks redress through suffering even involving death. It is endangered when he employs force against the wrong-doer.

The quotation in the third paragraph is from the *Spectator* which betrays the ignorance of the average British newspaper on Indian affairs. That Gandhiji made no such claim as is attributed to him, but was 'content to have fulfilment of a promise as understood by him or as interpreted by an authority named even by the Viceroy, has been shown more than once in these columns. What the consequences would have been if the fast had ended 'ill' Gandhiji never troubled to contemplate. For such calculation is not in his philosophy. It is not in the philosophy of those who, in the language of the *Acts*, "have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord", or for Truth. They are eternal gamblers who risk their lives in diving to fish pearls of great price. And why should they calculate? When once all is surrendered to God, it is He who takes the responsibility, and he who casts his care becomes carefree.

But, it is said, if he did not calculate, did he really not know that Government would not let him die? Even if he did, what difference does it make? If he did, it only shows that he had abundant faith in human nature to respond to an act of sacrifice in the cause of righteousness.

But it is contended that there was no such response either in the breast of the Thakore Sahab or of the Viceroy, that the latter simply yielded to the exigencies of the hour. Quite likely. Full conversion may not always accompany the act of justice. It can only mean that more suffering was needed to bring about the conversion. Is it not enough that it is a fast and not a bomb or a revolver that, to put it at its worst, compelled an act of justice affecting the welfare of 75,000 people? You stand between your sister and a brute wanting to violate her honour, or you impose starvation upon yourself. If the brute desists, but is not fully converted, is your act of self-immolation or starvation rendered futile or coercive thereby?

But the whole difficulty I think arises from the unwillingness to believe that there is such a thing as 'waiting on God'. This unwillingness is natural in an age of unbelief. I happened to

be sitting the other day listening to speeches by professors, clergymen and educationists assembled to witness the foundation laying ceremony of St. Stephen's College Buildings. A young English girl sitting not far from me went on interjecting at every five minutes: "Poor God! Why is he being brought in at every step?" With those constituted as she was it would be useless to argue that there is a thing as waiting on God in the hour of one's trial. "Fast is in my blood and my bones," said Gandhiji the other day speaking to an Englishman. "I imbibed it with my mother's milk. My mother fasted if someone was ill in the family, she fasted if she was in pain, she fasted in season and out of season. How can I her son do otherwise?" Then from childhood he heard the stories of Dhruva and Savitri. Child Dhruva rushed into a forest infested by snakes and tigers and famishingly waited on the Lord. Savitri lived a life of hard austerities and vows and went through a four days' fast before she decided to meet Death face to face and defeat his purpose in taking away her husband. These for Gandhiji are not fairy stories but lessons in spiritual growth. Those who believe in the Sermon on the Mount as a gospel of daily observance should understand this, and certainly those who have ventured out in distant lands in the name of the Lord.

M. D.

THE RAJKOT FAST

GLEANINGS FROM A DIARY

III

The Fiery Five Days

4th March:

The day began extremely well. Gandhiji had a very peaceful night and woke up in the morning much refreshed. At 5-30 A. M. he dictated a letter to Mr. Gibson to be telegraphed to the Viceroy. In it he described the state of anarchy that prevailed in Rajkot and suggested that it called for immediate intervention by the Paramount Power.

From today too was commenced the recital of the whole of the Gita in the morning. This was in conformity with his usual practice during his spiritual fasts. As he has often observed "Far more indispensable than food for the physical body is spiritual nourishment for the soul. One can do without food for a considerable time, but a man of the spirit cannot exist for a single second without spiritual nourishment."

Dr. Gilder accompanied by Shri Mathooradas Tricumji arrived from Bombay by 'plane at 10-45 A. M. Examination by Dr. Sushila yesterday evening had revealed a weakening of the first heart sound. The weakening had first been noticed at Bardoli during a medical examination on the eve of our departure from there. But it had improved with rest at Segaoon. Examination by Dr. Gilder and Dr. Jivraj Mehta at Bombay on 25th February had shown still further improvement in that respect. Its

reappearance at this juncture was a disturbing symptom. Accordingly I had reported it to Dr. Gilder over the 'phone yesterday. He made a thorough examination of Gandhiji accompanied by Dr. Sushila and Dr. Variava, a local Parsi doctor who had placed his services at Gandhiji's disposal during the fast. The heart condition naturally claimed their attention. The heart had stood him in excellent stead during his previous fasts. But the last one of these was five years ago and Gandhiji had since become a septuagenarian. The doctors all agreed that in view of his age and the recent history of cardiac weakness a very careful watch should be kept. No one knew how protracted the fast would have to be, and the fact that five days of intensive activity in Rajkot had sufficed to bring back the weakness showed how meagre the reserve of strength was. "The fast this time will not last many days", Dr. Gilder observed summing up the prognosis. In the bulletin which the doctors issued, they emphasised the necessity for conserving strength and enjoined physical and mental rest as far as possible. Accordingly Gandhiji decided from today to remain in bed.

Agatha Harrison arrived in the afternoon. Gandhiji described to her how reluctantly he had undertaken the fast. "It was imposed upon me; I am sick of fasting," he remarked to her. He recalled a little incident that took place a year ago during one of his visits to Calcutta. He was discussing with Dr. Bidhan Roy under Sarat Babu's roof some of his heresies on the subject of medicine. "Doctor, what is the use of your medical skill if you cannot devise a remedy against nausea during fasting?" he had remarked half in earnest, half in banter, and then added, "I have a vague feeling that there is one more fast in store for me. But I dread the very idea of it when I think of the nausea and restlessness that have characterized my fasts of late."

"What is your view of the situation," asked Agatha. "We are up against a stone wall," replied Gandhiji. And he described to her the impasse with which they were confronted. The Resident pleaded his helplessness to "interfere" in the affairs of the State. The First Member was concerned only with the police administration in so far as it related to the "carrying out of the orders of the State"; he had nothing to do with the "high policies of the State". The Thakore Saheb was practically inaccessible to anyone but Darbar Viravala. The latter, though without any official position in the State, to all intents and purposes ruled the State. He even signed orders. But if he was asked to do the needful in any particular matter, he usually excused himself by saying that the matter rested with the Thakore Saheb. Every avenue to a solution was thus shut, bolted and barred.

In the evening a communique was issued by the State authorities. It was described by the leading newspapers at that time as "the first evidence of the existence of the State authority in Rajkot". The strangest part of this document was that deliberate omission of any reference to the question of "atrocities" in Gandhiji's letter to the Thakore Saheb was used to manufacture a grievance against Gandhiji. It was misconstrued as meaning that Gandhiji's enquiries and inspections in Rajkot had satisfied him "of the falsity of these allegations" and Gandhiji was accused of withholding due expression of regret for the allegations in question.

Gandhiji replied to it in a brief statement, characterizing the accusation against him as "an

unkind cut" and said that he had not revised his opinion (*Harijan*, 11-3-1939, p. 50).

At 6 P. M. he dictated another Press statement "to thank, whilst there is still strength in me, all those who have been overwhelming me with kind messages" and exhorting the country not to forget Tripuri and its duty in the matter of constructive work and the internal purification of the Congress organization (*Harijan*, 11-3-1939, p. 43).

A request for permission for some members of the party to interview Shrimati Kasturba yesterday had only brought from the authorities the curt reply, "Try again tomorrow". An explanation was sent today by the First Member to the effect that the refusal was due to the fact that it was necessary to consult the Thakore Saheb first which could not be done last evening. The required permission being at last granted today, Dr. Sushila accompanied by Shrimati Vijayaben and Shri Narandas Gandhi saw Shrimati Kasturba at Tramba in the evening. She was disconsolate. The only news that she had received about Gandhiji's fast was from the note which he had sent through the First Member yesterday. She had addressed a pathetic note to Gandhiji mildly reproaching him for not even consulting her before launching on his fast. To this Gandhiji replied, "You are worrying for nothing. You ought to rejoice that God has sent me an opportunity to do His will. How could I consult you or anybody else before undertaking the fast when I myself was not aware that it was coming? God gave the signal, and what else could I do than obey? Will there be any stopping to consult you or anybody when the final peremptory summons comes as some day it must come?"

Dr. Sushila conveyed to Shrimati Kasturba an oral message too that Gandhiji had sent through her. Did she want him to entreat the State authorities to allow her to be with him during the fast? "No, by no means. I shall be quite content if they will let me have daily news of him," was her unhesitating reply. She added, "God who has taken care of him during all his previous trials will pull him safely through this too. But may not one expose oneself to risk once too often?" The remark being conveyed to Gandhiji, he observed, "Yes, that may happen. But a spiritual fast is justified not by its result but by the unquestioning and joyous surrender to His will of which it is the expression. Even death should be welcome if it comes in the performance of one's highest duty."

7 P. M.

Dr. Variava's urine analysis report showed presence of acetone bodies in Gandhiji's urine in large quantity. Dr. Sushila interpreting the result of the test told us to be prepared for the onset of nausea in the near future.

7-30 P. M.

Phoned to Mahadev at Delhi the text of Mr. Gibson's letter and the latest bulletin of Gandhiji's health. Shri Anantraai Pattani came and had a long talk with Gandhiji after the evening prayer but could show no light through the enveloping darkness.

8 P. M.

Agatha Harrison had an interview with Mr. Gibson by appointment.

New Delhi, 1-4-39

Pyarelal

Educational Reconstruction

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H A R I J A N

Apr. 8

1939

THE STATES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A clear understanding of the suspension of civil disobedience in the States is necessary if the people are to reap the full benefit of it. One result—not unexpected—seems to have been that some States have stiffened their attitude and are resorting to repression they had not perhaps thought of before suspension. Where this happens there is no cause for losing heart. Repression itself affords a training in Satyagraha, even as an unsought war affords a training for the soldier. Satyagrahis should discover the causes of repression. They will find that repressed people are easily frightened by the slightest show of force and are unprepared for suffering and self-sacrifice. This is then the time for learning the first lessons of Satyagraha. Those who know anything of this matchless force should teach their neighbours to bear repression not weakly and helplessly but bravely and knowingly. Thus, for example, a State declares an association illegal. The members may submit either because of fear of punishment or knowingly because they do not yet wish to offer civil disobedience. In the latter case, they husband their energy and develop the will to resist non-violently. Individual members of the association will still carry on activities that may not be regarded as in themselves illegal. They will also carry on constitutional agitation to secure legal recognition for their organization. And if in spite of voluntarily working within the four corners of the local laws workers are arrested or otherwise ill-treated, they would cheerfully submit to the sufferings involved. So doing they will examine themselves whether they bear any ill-will or anger towards their persecutors, they will ask themselves whether they feel the presence of God as their true Helper and Guide in their difficulties. Indeed such training if properly and persistently taken will generate in the learners a power of calm non-violent resistance which in itself will become invincible and therefore may render further effort by way of civil disobedience wholly unnecessary.

I am afraid I must plead guilty to being over-confident and hasty in launching previous civil disobedience campaigns. No harm seems to have accrued to the country because I had always my hand on the pulse of the country and thank God had no hesitation in retracing the step taken if I scented danger or discovered an error of judgment or calculation. This much harm must, however, be admitted. The people having become used to laxity about previous preparation now find it irksome to conform to the strictness in the observance of the unexciting rules of prepara-

tion. And yet they are much the most important part of Satyagraha training. Potent and active non-violence cannot be cultivated unless the candidate goes through the necessary stages which require a lot of plodding. If, however, I have succeeded in showing that repression, if properly understood, evokes natural and spontaneous resistance in a Satyagrahi, perhaps this knowledge will role the constructive effort and the waiting of their seeming insipidity. Indeed the fact that these things appear insipid betrays want of appreciation of Satyagraha and the beauty and efficacy of non-violence. In other words, the spirit of Satyagraha has not sunk deep and violence still lurks even though unconsciously in the seeker's breast.

I hope, therefore, that repression, wherever it is resorted to, will not depress the repressed people but will accelerate the pace of the constructive effort. It is necessary so far as it is possible to convince the powers that be of our absolutely non-violent intention. Such conviction is half the battle won. In order to carry this conviction home there must be sufficient curb on our speech and writing as our actions must be non-violent beyond doubt.

New Delhi, 3-4-39

Repression in Travancore

Shri Phillipose, who is specially with me to keep me informed of events in Travancore, has received a revealing wire from the President of the Travancore State Congress. It appears that though the leaders who were arrested and imprisoned in anticipation of the contemplated civil disobedience were released, arrests of others on some pretext or another continue. These are active, well-known workers. What is worse, special police, who are without uniforms and are untrained, are reported to be acting like goondas. They break up meetings by creating rowdyism and beating drums. They molest parties of workers doing constructive work. Thus a party of 11 persons led by Shri Verghese, a well-known lawyer, was brutally assaulted in Quilon on March 31 and robbed of their cash. Several were seriously injured and are laid up.

Assuming that the information furnished to me is correct, it is a serious reflection on the authorities. I can only hope that such repression will die out if only for want of retaliation on the part of the people. Let the workers realize that they have one fruit of civil resistance in spite of its suspension. They have the privilege of undeserved suffering. And, if they can undergo it without malice and anger, they will find themselves nearer their goal than hitherto. At least, I have no reason for revising my opinion as to the necessity of suspension. Indeed this thoughtless repression proves the wisdom of suspension.

New Delhi, 4-4-39

M. K. G.

To Subscribers — Please don't fail to quote your No. when writing or sending money to us. **MANAGER.**

THE RAJKOT AWARD

From

The Hon'ble Sir Maurice Gwyer, K. C. B., K. C. S. I.,
Chief Justice of India.

To

The Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

Dated New Delhi, April 3, 1939.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. F. 6(4) — P (S)/39 dated the 18th of March, 1939, enclosing copies of the Rajkot Darbar Notification No. 50, dated December the 26th, 1938, and a Note sent by His Highness the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on the same date, and stating that, doubts having arisen as to the meaning which should be attached to these documents, my advice was requested as to the way in which they should be interpreted. Your letter further informed me that the immediate point on which my advice was required related to the manner in which the Committee which the Thakore Sahib had undertaken to set up should be composed; and the precise matter in dispute was thus described:

"In regard to this point the Thakore Sahib contends that, while he invited Mr. Patel to submit his recommendations as to the names of the non-official members to be appointed to serve on the Committee, he retained full liberty to make the final appointments of these members himself, that is to say, that he left himself free to accept or reject the recommendations put forward. Mr. Patel on the other hand contends that the Thakore Sahib, by his Note of the 26th of December, 1938, bound himself to accept all the recommendations put forward by Mr. Patel."

I received subsequently (on March 26th) representations in writing from Mr. Patel, and from Darbar Shri Virawala on behalf of the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot. On March 27th Mr. Patel submitted a Reply to the representations made on behalf of the Thakore Sahib; and on March 30th Mr. Patel and Darbar Shri Virawala, at my request, were so good as to furnish me orally with certain further information which I desired to have. A number of documents relating to the matter in dispute were annexed to the representations submitted on behalf of the Thakore Sahib, and Mr. Patel also produced on March the 30th certain other documents which had a bearing on the matter. I am therefore happy to report that all materials have been placed at my disposal which appeared to me to be necessary for the purpose of coming to a decision. I ought perhaps to add that a letter from yourself dated March 30th last informed me that Darbar Shri Virawala, Adviser to the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot, was authorised to represent the Rajkot Darbar in respect of the questions which had been referred to me.

The facts of the case, so far as they are material for the purpose of the present Reference, do not appear to be seriously in dispute. There had been discussions in the later months of last year with regard to the internal situation at Rajkot, more particularly with regard to the most effective machinery for introducing certain measures of reform into the administration of the State. These discussions had not led to any definite conclusion, and towards the end of December an emissary from Rajkot went to Bombay with certain proposals which he communicated to Mr. Patel, inviting him at the same time to visit Rajkot. Accordingly Mr. Patel travelled to Rajkot, where he arrived on the 25th of December, taking with him the draft of a Notification, the work of another hand, which it was hoped that the Thakore Sahib might be prepared to issue. This document, or a document on the same lines, had, as I understand it, already been seen by the authorities at Rajkot, and had been considered at Bombay at a meeting between Mr. Patel and the emissary whom I have mentioned above.

On his arrival Mr. Patel sent a letter to the Thakore Sahib in the following terms:

"25-12-1938.

I have just now arrived at Rajkot. I have acquainted myself with the situation of Rajkot. Your Highness must have known from the papers, the public discussions that took place in connection with the interview between the Dewan Sahib and myself in Bombay. There are strong reasons to believe that all these misunderstandings have intentionally been created for certain specified purposes, and I believe that the settlement is only thereby prevented.

If Your Highness feels that it is possible to remove this misunderstanding by our interview, I am prepared to explain the real situation."

To this letter the Thakore Sahib replied as follows on the same day:

"25-12-1938.

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Thanks for your note received just now.

I shall be delighted if you come and have tea with me at 5 P. M. today.

We shall then discuss the present question in presence of my Council Members.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Dharmendrasinh."

Accordingly Mr. Patel waited upon the Thakore Sahib at the time appointed, taking with him the draft of the Notification; and it is necessary to draw attention to the second paragraph in it. This ran as follows:

no single principle which regulates cases where one person recommends and another appoints. In the case of appointments made under statutory powers it is necessary to consider the terms of the statute; and in the case of appointments made by virtue of some contractual arrangement it is necessary to look at all the terms of the arrangement. When the draft Notification spoke of members being recommended by Mr. Patel "for nomination", it could in my opinion only mean one thing. I have already pointed out that the words of the letter of December 26th are slightly different; but I am satisfied that the intention in both formulae was the same. I have no doubt as to the meaning of the first and in my opinion the slight difference of language makes no difference in the meaning of the second.

Since a question appears to have arisen with regard to the appointment of the Chairman of the Committee, I think it right to say that in my opinion the second paragraph of the Notification of December 26th restricts the members of the Committee to ten and that therefore the Chairman, who is to be appointed by the Thakore Sahib, must be one of the ten and not an additional member.

My terms of reference do not require me to decide the question whether the Thakore Sahib committed any breach of faith in contending for his interpretation of the letter of December 26th; and I express no opinion upon it.

I set out in an appendix to this letter copies of the different documents and letters to which I have referred.

I hope it will not be thought amiss if I venture to add a few words. I have been distressed in the course of my examination of the documents in the case to observe, not on one side only, the imputation of motive, based, as it seems to me, often on little or no evidence. I am constrained to observe that opinions may be strongly held without being dishonestly held, and I permit myself to hope that the Committee, when constituted, may enter upon its difficult task in an atmosphere free from accusations and recriminations. The interests of individuals and of parties are of importance, but I conceive that of no less importance are the interests of the general body of the inhabitants of Rajkot.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd. MAURICE GWYER

Chief Justice of India

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Tripuri Khadi Exhibition

During his recent fast it was a matter of the keenest regret to Gandhiji that in spite of all his desperate efforts he could not keep his engagement to open the Khadi and Village Crafts Exhibition at Tripuri. But he said his absence was more than compensated when Pandit Jawaharlal promptly stepped into the breach and delivered his forceful address explaining the meaning and importance of khadi and the cottage industries in India's economy. Equally edifying is the report that has now come from Shri Shankerlal Banker as to the results of the Exhibition. He writes:

"In spite of the various difficulties and handicaps and your absence from Tripuri the Exhibition proved a complete success. Although the shifting of the date of opening from 3rd March to 6th March resulted in a considerable diminution of the number of visitors, at least 103,000 people visited the exhibition, and the khadi sales came up to Rs. 75,000. The corresponding figures for Haripura session were 236,824 and Rs. 96,808 respectively. Thus although the number of visitors this time was less than at Haripura, the khadi sales were quite satisfactory, proportionately speaking. It is obvious that given another three days the number of visitors and the sales would have risen higher still.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Shri Rajagopalachari, Babu Rajendra Prasad, all visited the exhibition and delivered speeches to arouse the interest of the people in khadi and village crafts. In your absence they all felt that they owed a special duty in the matter, and their example proved infectious.

The total income from the Exhibition amounted to Rs. 22,000, Rs. 12,980 being gate money, Rs. 6,500 rent from the stalls, and Rs. 2,500 proceeds from the sale of tickets for the various entertainments and side-shows on the Exhibition grounds. The total expenditure came to Rs. 14,000. This means a saving of about Rs. 8,000. Out of this Rs. 2,000 will go the Reception Committee leaving a net balance of about Rs. 6,000 to the Exhibition account."

New Delhi. 4-4-39

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

VOL. VII, No 10]

POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1939

[ONE ANNA

BOMBAY HARIJAN (REMOVAL OF DISABILITIES) BILL

The following Bill is going to be introduced shortly in the Bombay Legislature by the Government :

A Bill to provide for the removal of certain disabilities of Harijans

Whereas it is expedient to provide for the removal of certain disabilities of Harijans; It is hereby enacted as follows:

1. This Act may be called the Bombay Harijan (Removal of Disabilities) Act, 1939.

2. It extends to the whole of the Province of Bombay.

3. In this Act unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context —

(1) "Harijan" means a member of a caste, race or tribe deemed to be a Scheduled Caste under the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1936.

(2) "Hindu community" includes Jains.

(3) "Local authority" means a local authority as defined in sub-section (26) of section 3 of the Bombay General Clauses Act, 1904, other than a cantonment authority or the trustees for the port of Bombay.

(4) "Prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under section 8.

4. Notwithstanding any law, custom or usage to the contrary, no Harijan shall on the ground that he is a Harijan —

(a) be ineligible for office under the Crown in India in connection with the affairs of the Province or any office under any local authority, or

(b) be prohibited from —

(i) having access to and using any river, stream, well, tank, cistern, water tap or other watering place, any sanitary convenience, any road or pathway which the members of all other castes and classes of Hindus have a right to use or have access to;

(ii) having access to and using any public conveyance licensed by the Provincial Government or any local authority to ply for hire; or

(iii) having access to and using any building or place used for charitable or public purposes maintained wholly or partially out of the

revenues of the Province or the funds of a local authority.

5. No civil, criminal or revenue court shall in adjudicating any matter or executing any order recognise any custom or usage imposing any civil disability on any Harijan on the ground that he is a Harijan.

6. No local authority shall in carrying out the functions and duties entrusted to it under any law recognise any custom or usage referred to in section 5.

7. Whoever prohibits any Harijan or abets the prohibition of any Harijan from having access to and using any of the places referred to in section 4, in contravention of the provisions of the said section, shall on conviction be punishable with fine which may extend to Rs. 200 and in the case of a continuing offence, with an additional fine which may extend to Rs. 20 for every day after the first during which he has persisted in the offence.

8. The Provincial Government may make rules for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

9. Nothing in this Act shall apply to temples or any religious institutions used for, or dedicated to or for, the benefit of the Hindu community or any section thereof and the said temples or institutions shall continue to be governed by the Bombay Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of Disabilities) Act, 1938, as if this Act has not been passed.

Explanation.—For the purpose of this section the word "temple" shall have the same meaning as it has in the Bombay Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of Disabilities) Act, 1938.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

Government has already taken executive action to allow Harijans equal rights of enjoyment of public amenities, of access to public roads and institutions and of using public conveyances.

The object of this Bill is to penalize any one prohibiting any Harijan from exercising those rights on the ground that he is a Harijan.

The Bill also provides that the social disabilities under which the Harijans are at present suffering shall in no circumstances be recognised by the Civil, Criminal or Revenue Courts or by any Local Authority.

27th March 1939

THE RAJKOT FAST GLEANINGS FROM A DIARY IV

The Fiery Five Days

5th March

Agatha had a long talk with Gandhiji in the morning. In the course of the conversation Gandhiji described to her his philosophy of life. He rebutted the charge that he was apt to condone the shortcomings of his lieutenants out of partiality for them. He attached the greatest importance to purity in his instruments. "A Satyagrahi may not even ascend to heaven on the wings of Satan," he remarked. He characterized the attempts to draw a distinction that was sometimes made between him and his co-workers to disparage the latter, as invidious and unfair. He mentioned the Sardar as a typical instance in point. "He is a much misunderstood and misjudged person. I sense the reason for it too. He has strong prejudices and a rough and ready tongue. There lies the whole trouble. But take it from me, he is incorruptible. I challenge anybody to bring specific allegations against him and I shall stand or fall by the findings of an impartial inquiry into them. I know what these allegations are worth, having myself been victim of the vilest attacks."

Agatha asked him as to what would induce him to break his fast, and whether Lord Zetland's statement in England and the Viceroy's here changed the situation in any way. "If in view of these statements," she added, "the Paramount Power undertook responsibility for seeing that the agreement was implemented and appointed a committee without reference to the present controversy about personnel,—would that satisfy you?" "Yes," replied Gandhiji. "If the Paramount Power gave a public assurance that they would see that I got the constitution in terms of the notification of December 26th and selected a committee that I could accept, I would not insist on the personnel named in my letter to the Thakore Saheb."

Alternatively Gandhiji suggested that he would, with a nominee of the Thakore Saheb who was trusted and respected, undertake to draft a constitution in terms of the notification of December 26th. If any points of difference arose, they could be referred to an umpire.

Referring next to certain other conditions mentioned in Gandhiji's letter to the Thakore Saheb, Agatha asked him whether, in the event of some move being made as above, he would not be prepared to drop them. Gandhiji replied that was possible if the Paramount Power made itself hostage not only for the production of the constitution in terms of the December 26th agreement, but also for the recommendations of the committee being carried out in full.

x x x

Gandhiji felt exercised about Ba. Everybody had expected that, as in the case of his previous fasts, she would be sent by the authorities to stay with him as soon as the fast commenced. In fact on his arrival in Rajkot the State authorities had offered to send Shrimati Kasturba with Shrimatis Maniben and Mridulaben to come and stay with him. He had declined the offer, saying that he would send for them only when his mission in Rajkot was fulfilled. But, other times other manners. Although in his telegram to Gandhiji at Segaon the First Member had intimated that Shrimati Kasturba was being kept in Rajkot as a 'State guest', she was not, without restraint,

Gandhiji in his letter to the First Member on the previous day had asked him as to what precisely her legal status was. Was she to consider herself a free person, or was the expression 'State guest' only a euphemism for 'State prisoner'? In the latter case, under what law or writing was she detained? The question had remained unanswered. Gandhiji repeated the question in a note this morning. No reply was vouchsafed even to this note, but at about 12 noon, to everybody's surprise, she was brought in a State car to Rashtriya Shala and left there. She herself did not know what had happened to her. Beyond saying that the Thakore Saheb wanted her to go to Gandhiji and see him, the First Member had told her nothing. On her pressing the enquiry he had simply said, "Thakore Saheb says you should be with Gandhiji all the time he is in Rajkot." She in reply had said, "I do not know. I had reconciled myself to being in Tramba, but since you ask me I will go and enquire from Gandhiji as to what he would have me to do." Evidently she had been sent in answer to Gandhiji's enquiry. But that was no answer. She had come without her luggage. She had no desire to be specially treated. Gandhiji decided that she should go back to Tramba and rejoin Maniben and Mridulaben who were also detained, so far as he knew, under the same conditions. Gandhiji addressed as many as five notes in the course of the day to Khan-saheb without getting a satisfactory reply to his question. One of his notes was handled three times backwards and forwards between Rashtriya Shala and the First Member's residence before it could finally be delivered. This was exasperating and cruel, to say the least. The Khan-saheb was not to be found at home or anywhere else and no one at his house would take delivery of the note in his absence. Finally Kasturba was sent by Gandhiji to Tramba at 7-30 P.M.

Restlessness and nausea set in towards evening.

6th March:

Gandhiji spent a restless night and there was difficulty in swallowing water on account of nausea.

9 A.M.: In reply to a wire from Mahadev Gandhiji wrote down the implications of his letter to Mr. Gibson of 4th March. Communicated the same to Mahadev over the phone.

Mr. Pearson came at 11 A.M. with a letter from Mr. Gibson containing a telegraphic communication from New Delhi in reply to Gandhiji's letter of 4th March to Mr. Gibson. Gandhiji immediately wrote out a reply, which was typed out by Agatha and delivered by her to Mr. Gibson. She had arranged that Mr. Gibson should see Gandhiji that evening. The interview was fixed for 8 P.M. when Gandhiji would break his silence.

The interview with Mr. Gibson lasted for twenty minutes. After he left Gandhiji had a long talk with Agatha. "Somehow I am able to draw the noblest in mankind," he remarked soliloquizing, and that is what enables me to maintain my faith in God and human nature." Why had he resorted to fasting, was there no other way open to him? He poured out to Agatha his pent up agony. "I know Kathiawad, the land of Kathis, very brave soldiers, but full of intrigue and corruption. How could I clean these Augean stables except through this vicarious suffering? If I was what I want to be, the fast would not have been necessary. I would not then need to argue with anyone. My word would go straight home. Indeed, I would not even need to utter the word. The mere will on my part would suffice to produce the required

effect. But I am painfully aware of my limitations. That is why I have to undergo all this to make myself heard.

"The other way, namely, that of civil resistance, I deliberately ruled out in this case, because, from what I could see, it would have, under the existing circumstances, only served further to arouse the brute in those in power. The aim of a Satyagrahi, on the other hand, always is to put the brute in everyone to sleep. By suffering myself I have saved the suffering on the part of the people which would have been inevitable in case civil resistance was revived.

"There is nothing but an indescribable peace and spiritual exultation within me. There is no trace of ill-will in my heart against anybody. I am making a ceaseless, strenuous effort not to be irritated. My heart is overflowing with goodwill even for Viravala. My fast will be worth while if it serves to move him and the Thakore Saheb to a sense of their responsibility. And, if the Viceroy should in the end decide not to concede my demand, I shall not misunderstand him. I know how difficult it is for Englishmen to grasp the meaning of the fasting method."

Loving messages from friends in India and abroad and anxious telephonic inquiries had begun to pour in from the very outset of the fast. A critical note was struck by Shri Arundale who asked him whether his fast did not amount to violence since its net effect would be to compel the Thakore Saheb either to give up his 'principles' or to face the prospect of becoming the most hated man in India by allowing Gandhiji to fast himself to death. He ended by exhorting him to abandon his fast "with your own great courage and thus preserve your life for India and the Thakore Saheb's honour for his convictions." To this Gandhiji sent the reply that if his fast was divinely inspired as he had claimed, it could not be terrorism. If on the other hand it was only the product of a distorted imagination, his life was not worth saving nor worth praying for. "In asking the Thakore Saheb to keep his promise," he concluded, "I do not ask him to yield his principles. I feel I have courage enough to break the fast if I discover a flaw warranting a breach. If you had studied all the facts, perhaps you would not have characterized my action as you have. Nevertheless I thank you and your associates for their outspokenness. I have no God to serve but truth."

The whole day and till past midnight telephone lines were kept busy between Rajkot and New Delhi on the one hand and Rajkot and Bombay on the other.

Gandhiji's condition had markedly deteriorated during the last 24 hours. Acetone bodies in the urine had increased. There was marked exhaustion and giddiness on an attempt to sit up. The doctors in charge, who were now reinforced by Dr. Thakkar from Bhavnagar, were anxious. The condition being reported to Dr. Gilder he decided to fly to Rajkot and examine Gandhiji. He was accompanied by Dr. Jivraj Mehta.

Earlier in the day Gandhiji having written another letter to the First Member to define the legal status of Ba, Maniben and Mridulaben, the authorities cut the Gordian knot by releasing all of them unconditionally.

7th March:

Another restless night—nausea and retching. The face presented a shrivelled up appearance owing to the growing inability to drink water. The day began with administration of rectal drip

saline. But with all that the mind was as clear alert and active as ever. Even while life was slowly ebbing away from him he retained his characteristic sunny humour unabated. At a particularly critical moment when the horizon seemed the darkest, in answer to a question from Agatha as to what she should do, he remarked, "Shut yourself up in a room with plenty of fresh air and go on your knees and pray!" and then added, "Why not leave it all to God? Let things take their course; you have done all you could."

In the meantime it had become known at Delhi that the Viceroy's reply to Gandhiji was on its way and there was a rush of anxious inquiries from friends and colleagues at that end to know whether the fast would now be broken. Some of them had been in close touch with the Viceroy during the anxious time following upon his arrival in Delhi on the 6th inst., a day before the scheduled time. Shri Bhulabhai had had an interview with the Viceroy on the previous evening. Mahadev was to see him at 11 A.M. Shri Ghanshyamdas Birla had been at work in his own way from the very beginning. In the hour of trial they had found friends and collaborators in quarters and in a manner they had least expected. They all sent to Gandhiji the assurance that so far as they were concerned they were perfectly satisfied as to the sincerity of the Viceroy.

A bulletin was issued at noon over the signatures of Drs. Jivraj Mehta, Gilder, Variava, Thakkar and Sushila Nayyar. The heart had not further deteriorated with the general condition. Everybody heaved a sigh of intense relief, seeing that in the perilous race against time that lay ahead the heart was likely to play a decisive part.

The Viceroy's note in reply to Gandhiji's was delivered to him by Mr. Pearson at 10-45 A.M. "It does seem to provide a basis for breaking the fast, but I must clear up certain points with Mr. Gibson first," he remarked after perusing the note. Mr. Gibson arrived at 11-30 A.M. and was closeted with him for about twenty minutes. At the end of it it transpired that there was still one more hurdle to be crossed. Gandhiji wanted permission for publication of the correspondence that had passed between him and the Government before he could break the fast. That meant further consultation between Residency and New Delhi, further loss of time and further prolongation of the agony of suspense through which the whole country was passing. But there was no other go. At last at 2 P.M. Mr. Gibson's note was received according the necessary permission.

The good tidings was conveyed to friends at New Delhi and elsewhere over the telephone as preparations for the breaking of the fast were proceeding at the Rashtriya Shala. The fast was broken with the usual ceremonies at 2-20 P.M. From 2-30 to 3-20 Gandhiji dictated a long statement to the Press. The prisoners were released at 3-30 P.M. Shrimati Mridulaben and Shrimati Maniben left by aeroplane for Tripuri at the same time. "Your immediate duty now lies there," Gandhiji had told them, and they had to leave even without waiting to take leave of him.

After a spell of much needed sleep Gandhiji had a talk with Shri Dhebarbhai and other workers. "You must quickly get ready your brief of the Rajkot case," he remarked to them. "The real work begins now only."

New Delhi, 1-4-39

Pyarelal

H A R I J A N

Apr. 15

1939

HAVE I ERRED ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some friends have been expostulating with me for involving myself in the Rajkot affair. I sum up their argument below :

"In giving so much attention to Rajkot to the exclusion of all else you seem to have lost all sense of proportion. It was your obvious duty to be at Tripuri. If you had been there, things would have taken a different turn. But you chose to undertake an indefinite fast. You had no right thus to disturb national life without notice. Why should you fast to make a Prince keep his promise? The people of Rajkot were offering civil disobedience. They would have become stronger in any case if you had not suddenly stopped the movement. Surely, democracy cannot be built by your method. And then you, who taught India to shun Viceroy and Governors and such other functionaries who used to fill us with awe, are now found dancing attendance on the Viceroy and awaiting His Excellency's pleasures when great affairs demand your attention elsewhere. You are believed to oppose Federation, but you recognize the Chief Justice of the Federal Court and will not leave Delhi till His Lordship has delivered his award. Truly the ways of Mahatmas are strange."

To the hasty reader this argument must make a forcible appeal. But one who goes a little deeper into the subject and knows the working of Satyagraha should have no difficulty in seeing the falsity of the argument. Nor is there anything new in what I have done and am doing about Rajkot. Geographically Rajkot is a tiny spot on the map of India, but the disturbance which I felt called upon to deal with was symptomatic of a universal malady. My endeavour in Rajkot was meant to nip the evil in the bud. I am of opinion that the result of the endeavour has so far benefited the whole of India. I acted the part of a wise general who never disregards the slightest weakness in his defences. Kheda and Champaran are but instances in point. Whilst they lasted they occupied the attention of the whole of India, and whilst the fight was going on I had to devote the whole of my time and attention to them. It is a rare occurrence to have to deal with the whole front at the same time. **We must distinguish between preparations for war and actual outbreak of a skirmish, be it ever so insignificant in itself. Tripuri was a preparation, Rajkot was a skirmish.**

The fast is a most efficacious weapon in the armoury of non-violence. That it can be used only by the fewest possible persons is no objection to its use. It would be foolish for me not to use the talents given to me by God on the ground that others or all do not possess some of them. I have never heard it said that use of special talents placed at the service of democracy

can retard its even growth. I hold that such use stimulates it as the Rajkot fast undoubtedly has. And why is the Rajkot fast to be condemned, if the nation benefited by the previous fasts? It is open to the critics to say that the previous ones were also criticized. So they were. But my point is that the nation gained by every one of them. What does arrest the growth of the democratic spirit is the outbreak of violence. I must ask the public to believe me when I say that if my fast did nothing else, it prevented much violence.

I have no sense of shame about going to H. E. the Viceroy. I had invited him as the Crown Representative to perform his duty by intervening to enforce performance of a promise by a tributary of the Crown. I had not gone as a petitioner depending upon his mercy. It would have been churlish on my part to have sought his intervention and yet not to respond to his invitation to see him to discuss things. I have already acknowledged the handsome manner in which he acted during the fast. It was open to him to disregard it and take his time in deciding whether and when if at all he should intervene. But he did not do so. He recognized the nation's anxiety. And I have no doubt that his humane instinct too had a share in cutting short his tour in Rajputana in order to determine his action with sufficient quickness. I have no apology to offer for my attendances on the Viceroy. It is part of Satyagraha to lose no opportunity of converting one's opponent or coming to terms with him on strictly honourable lines. I repeated on a small scale with Lord Linlithgow what I did with Lord Halifax when as Lord Irwin he was Viceroy of India.

Lastly, as to my acceptance of the Chief Justice of India as the interpreter of the Thakore Saheb's letter of 26th December last sent to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Thakore Saheb interpreted it one way, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel another way. The Viceroy suggested interpretation by the Chief Justice of India. What was I to do? Was I to say he must not because he was Chief Justice of a Court which was a creation of the Government of India Act? My sense of propriety would rebel against any such objection. Federation has come no nearer by my accepting Sir Maurice Gwyer's nomination as judge of the meaning of a document. If it comes as an imposition, it will come because of our impotence born of our inability to bring into non-violent subjection the forces of violence that are growing in the country and the increasing indiscipline and corruption in the Congress against which I have been raising my voice for the past twelve months.

It may interest the reader to know that Sir Maurice did not interpret the document in his capacity as Chief Justice of the Federal Court but as a jurist of established repute. He who reads the judgment cannot fail to notice the pains he bestowed upon it.

On the train from Delhi to Rajkot, 8-4-39

WHAT TO DO ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Here is an important letter from a Principal who wishes to remain anonymous :

"A troubled conscience seeks the reasoned opinion of others to help to solve the following pressing question: Is the carrying out of the pledge of the Peace Pledge Union (the late Dick Sheppard's organisation for opposing war by the refusal to resort to violence under any circumstances whatever) a right and a practicable course of action in the present conditions of our world?

On the side of 'Yea' there are the following arguments :

1. The world's greatest spiritual teachers have taught and exemplified in their own lives that an evil thing can only be destroyed by good means, and never by evil means, and any sort of violence (particularly that of war, even solely in so-called self-defence) is undoubtedly an evil means, whatever may be the motive. Violence is therefore *always* wrong.

2. The real causes of the present violence and misery can never be removed by war. This was proved to the hilt in the last 'war to end war', and the same will *always* be true. Violence is therefore impractical.

3. Those who feel they must fight to defend liberty and democracy (even though they would fight for no lesser cause) are deluded. War, in modern conditions, even if it ends in victory, means the more certain destruction of such liberties as remain to us than even conquest by an invader might mean; for no modern war can be waged successfully without the complete regimentation of entire peoples. It is better to die in conscientiously resisting oppression non-violently, than to live as a pawn in the regimented society which *must* emerge from another war, whoever may win it.

On the side of 'Nay' there are the following arguments :

1. Non-violent resistance can only be effective in resisting people who are capable of being moved by moral and humanitarian considerations. Fascism not only is not moved by such considerations, but openly scoffs at them as signs of weakness. It has no scruple in wiping out all resistance, and in employing any degree of brutality in order to do so. Non-violent resistance therefore stands no chance whatever against Fascism. Non-violent resistance is therefore hopelessly impractical in present conditions.

2. To refuse co-operation in violent resistance (i.e. to be a C-O in case of war or conscription) in defence of democratic liberty, is tantamount to helping those who are destroying that liberty. Fascist aggression has undoubtedly been encouraged by the knowledge that the democracies contain numbers of people who are unwilling to fight in their defence, and who would even oppose (and thus obstruct) their own Governments if war breaks out or some sort of conscription is enforced. This being so, the conscientious objector to violent means of defence becomes not merely ineffective in promoting peace, but actually helpful to those who are breaking it.

3. War may destroy liberty, but if the democracies

survive there is at least some possibility of regaining part of it, whereas if the Fascists are allowed to rule the world, there is no chance at all. Conscientious objectors by weakening the democratic forces are helping the opposers, and thus defeating their own object.

The solution of this question is obviously terribly pressing for, say, a young man in any conscriptionist country today, or even in Great Britain, menaced as she is. But is it not really just as pressing for those in other countries, say South Africa, Egypt, or Australia which may have to face the possibility of invasion, or in an India which in the event of 'Complete Independence' might be faced with the possibility of invasion by Japan or by a pan-Islamic combination?

In the face of such possibilities (say rather probabilities) ought not even every keen conscience (whether in a young body or in an old) to be certain exactly what is the right and practical way of action? In some way on some (if not every) day this is the problem that every one of us has to face for himself. Can your readers help to clarify the issues? Those who are not sure of the answer they must give when the time comes will be made surer by thinking it out. Those who are sure of their own answer may help others to become equally sure."

Nothing need be said about the arguments in favour of the Peace Pledge's resistance. Those against resistance deserve careful examination. The first argument, if it is valid, cuts at the very root of the anti-war movement. It is based on the assumption that it is possible to convert Fascists and Nazis. They belong to the same species as the so-called democracies or, better still, war resisters themselves. They show in their family circles the same tenderness, affection, consideration and generosity that war resisters are likely to show even outside such circles. The difference is only of degree. Indeed Fascists and Nazis are a revised edition of so-called democracies if they are not an answer to the latter's misdeeds. Kirby Page in his brochure on the toll of the late war has shown that both the combatants were guilty of falsehoods, exaggerations and inhumanities. The Versailles Treaty was a treaty of revenge against Germany by the victors. The so-called democracies have before now misappropriated other people's lands and have resorted to ruthless repression. What wonder if Messrs Hitler & Co. have reduced to a science the unscientific violence their predecessors had developed for exploiting the so-called backward races for their own material gain? It is therefore a matter of rule of three to find out the exact amount of non-violence required to melt the harder hearts of the Fascists and the Nazis, if it is assumed, as it is, that the so-called democracies melt before a given amount of non-violence. Therefore, we must eliminate from consideration the first and the fatal argument if it could be proved to have any content in it.

The other two arguments are practical. The pacifists may not do anything to weaken their

own Governments so as to compel defeat. But for fear of so doing they may not miss the only effective chance they have of demonstrating their undying faith in the futility of all war. If their own Governments go mad and make martyrs of war resisters, they (the Governments) must suffer the consequence of the unrest of their own creation. The democracies must respect the liberty of individual non-violent conscience however inconvenient it may be. From that respect there will spring hope for the world. This means that they put their conscience and truth before their country's so-called interest. For, regard for one's conscience, if it is really such, has never yet injured any legitimate cause or interest. Therefore, it comes to this that a pacifist must resist when he feels strongly that, whether so-called democracies live or die, the tug of war will never end war and that it will only end when at the crucial moment a body of pacifists have at any cost testified their living faith by suffering, if need be, the extreme penalty. I know the point for me to consider is not how to avoid the extreme penalty but how to behave so as to achieve the object in view. Where the very disturbing but potent factor of faith is part of one's conduct, human calculations are of no avail. A true pacifist is a true Satyagrahi. The latter acts by faith and therefore is not concerned about the result, for he knows that it is assured when the action is true.

After all, what is the gain if the so-called democracies win? War certainly will not end. Democracies will have adopted all the tactics of the Fascists and the Nazis including conscription and all other forcible methods to compel and exact obedience. All that may be gained at the end of the victory is the possibility of comparative protection of individual liberty. But that protection does not depend upon outside help. It comes from the internal determination to protect it against the whole world. In other words, the true democrat is he who with purely non-violent means defends his liberty and therefore his country's and ultimately that of the whole of mankind. In the coming test pacifists have to prove their faith by resolutely refusing to do anything with war whether of defence or offence. But the duty of resistance accrues only to those who believe in non-violence as a creed — not to those who will calculate and will examine the merits of each case and decide whether to approve of or oppose a particular war. It follows that such resistance is a matter for each person to decide for himself and under the guidance of the inner voice, if he recognises its existence.

Rajkot, 9-4-39

Some Latest Books

Gandhiji — Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence	1	0	0	3
— Cent Per Cent Swadeshi	1	8	0	3
Educational Reconstruction	1	4	0	3
C. F. Andrews — The True India	2	7	0	4
Available at Harijan Office — Poona 4.				

AUNDH STATE ADULT LITERACY DRIVE

A correspondent writes :

"7,000 adults are already able to read, thanks to the persistent efforts of the Aundh State Adult Literacy Board. On behalf of this institution which is an unofficial organisation, a batch of 60 volunteers has undertaken a tour of one of the talukas of the State. This taluka is Atpadi near Pandharpur. The 60 volunteers have divided themselves into 4 groups — each group shouldering the responsibility of villages. To help these volunteers in their work there is a travelling magic lantern show. The magic lantern keeps on travelling from one centre to another every day and the group leader makes its use as he thinks fit. For example, the magic lantern being a good attraction to the peasants gives the volunteers the necessary human material. Rajkumari Sundartai Pant is travelling in person from centre to centre performing Hari Kirtans in which she is an expert. The central theme of the Hari Kirtans is literacy and its necessity. A band of volunteers follows on the heels of the magic lantern show and the Hari Kirtans. The members of the show or the Hari Kirtan and the band after their performance become additional volunteers for the literacy drive. In every village the volunteers call upon the literates of the village and the school children to become the 'necklace volunteers' for the literacy drive in that village. Within the last one month and a half about 4,000 people have begun to learn. This volunteers' tour will easily double the number.

"In every village you will come across a big placard with the primary letters in bold type. In every village at night you will feel an atmosphere of enthusiasm and joy. The peasant in the beginning is sceptic, diffident and above all suspicious. Never in his life before has he been approached except for being deceived and robbed. The greatest obstacle in the path of volunteers is suspicion and lack of confidence.

"Persistent efforts and love above all will win in the end. The task that has been undertaken is gigantic; but the more difficult the task is the more inspiring is the victory. Following are the approximate figures of adults learning and almost literate. Aundh proper 600, Aundh taluka 3,000, Kundal proper 400, Kundal Taluka 3,000, Atpadi proper 300, Atpadi Taluka 6,000. In all at this moment the number of literates has increased by about 12,000, i.e. literacy is 50%."

Books on Absolute Pacifism

	Price	Postage
Dick Sheppard — We Say 'No'	2 7	0 3
J. Middleton Murry — The Necessity of Pacifism	2 7	0 3
Aldous Huxley — Ends and Means	5 14	0 6
— An Encyclopaedia of Pacifism	0 6	0 1
Richard B. Gregg — The Power of Non-violence	2 0	0 4
Available at Harijan Office — Poona 4.		

A QUARTER IN NEW DELHI!

As we were driving past the site of a statue about to be put up in a spacious quarter of New Delhi, my English friend said: "I wonder if the late King George's wishes had been consulted he would have preferred to have his statue over here to having all the expense of it to be devoted to adding to the amenities of the Harijan sweepers in New Delhi." The friend had evidently seen those quarters and was speaking with knowledge. And as we talked we wondered if H. E. the Viceroy who is known to be a good man had ever visited the quarters of the sweepers, his fellow-citizens, situated not very far from the Viceroy's House. But I checked the thought and asked myself if many M. L. A.'s had seen the quarters, and next asked myself if I had seen them myself! "Oh, but where is the time?" And if I had not the time, how could I expect others to have the time? I was in some such mood like this when I was requested by a friend to go and address a meeting of the sweepers in Panchkuan. I readily agreed not because I was very eager to address a meeting, but because I wanted to make a public confession of my failure to make the acquaintance of my own brethren, the sweepers, though I was living so close to them. And when I addressed the meeting I made the confession and took the earliest opportunity of visiting these quarters and acquainting myself somewhat with their condition. The meeting was quite good and was held in the compound of a temple which has been specially built for them from Shri Jugalkishore Birla's and Harijan Sevak Sangh's donations, on the land given free by the Government. What made me particularly happy was the presence there of a large number of Bengali friends who had their *kirtan* after the meeting and distributed sweets in celebration of the visit of a saintly lady in their midst. I was told that the temple compound is used by them for such purposes often enough, and I was very happy that the temple had thus become literally a meeting-ground between the Harijans and non-Harijans. There was another thing too that delighted me. It was the number of workers taking interest in their welfare, especially Lala Banwarilal, President, New Delhi Balmiki Hindu Sabha.

It was with this friend that I visited their quarters and had a closer view of them than I could have at the meeting. The only part of the quarters that I liked was the open space between the rows of their tenements. Little children have a full run of it and have the fullest benefit of it during the dry months. But the quarters? They may be good enough for towns where cleanliness and sanitation scarcely engage the attention of the residents. But they are a shame to New Delhi. A few furlongs away from this *basti* are the police quarters in striking contrast to them. But are the sweepers any the less necessary and useful members of the community than the police? There is per-

petual *divali*—feast of lights—in the rest of New Delhi but not more than one or two lamp-posts are grudgingly given to these folks. "The children read in the light of these lamp-posts and have their school in the open," I was told in another *basti*.

And the hovels? There are seven *bastis* of the sweepers in New Delhi, the biggest being the Panchkuan. The rooms are $9\frac{1}{2}' \times 9\frac{1}{2}'$ with a verandah of $5\frac{1}{2}'$. These rooms have no windows. There is only one aperture about four square feet on the top of the wall which lets in some air and less light. In some *bastis* there are walled enclosures which afford them some elbow room, whereas in the biggest *basti* there are no such walled enclosures. In some *bastis* there are *chulas* for cooking, with a smoke chimney in the wall. Ordinarily these tenements are inhabited by five (husband and wife and three children) and in one or two cases I found that there were as many as seven people staying. How they manage to stay in these hovels with any sense of decency Heaven alone knows. In Panchkuan *basti* with a population of nearly 550 there are only 13 latrines and only two taps of water.

The salary of these sweepers is Rs. 12 per month,—I wonder what is the minimum salary of an office peon, I think it is much more—and their little children work with them as helpers without any remuneration. When these children grow up and get qualified to be appointed as sweepers it is with the greatest difficulty that they can get the job and scarcely ever without a payment of something like Rs. 25 as gratification to the *daroga* or the *jamadar*. Out of some 25 *jamadars* there are only four who have risen to this rank from amongst the sweepers. Their pay is Rs. 20 to Rs. 25. The sweepers poor people are never treated as permanent employees and can be discharged at any time without notice. They live in perpetual fear of the *jamadar* and *daroga* who in some cases lend them money at exorbitant rates of interest. If the other employees of the Municipality are permanent servants with the advantages of privilege and casual leave, holidays, provident fund, etc., why should these sweepers be cheated of these elementary rights? And when they get old and disabled and hence out of work, they have not even these hovels to end their lives in. The uniform—consisting of a *kurta*, a *pyjama* and a turban—is miserable and the warm jersey they get once in two years is no credit either to the humanity of the Municipality.

Is it impossible to improve these conditions? It would be perfectly possible, if the other citizens of New Delhi were wide awake, if they made up their minds to deny themselves some of the amenities that they enjoy, unless they are shared by their sweeper brethren, if they would even take the trouble of visiting these poor folks' quarters periodically, of taking some interest in the health, education and welfare of their children, and of devoting part of their leisure to doing some welfare work for them.

New Delhi, 7-4-39

M. D.

A HARIJAN TOUR

(By Rameshwari Nehru)

III

Indore was the second biggest State we visited. It is well known in the world of the Harijans and Harijan sevak for its declaration of temple entry made a few months ago. That declaration has not been fully effective owing to the opposition of orthodoxy. The Harijans are still debarred from entering temples. A sort of a compromise has been arrived at by which the Harijans can go up to a certain limit which is indicated by a rope in the Gopal Mandir, the biggest temple in the State. It is evident that this arrangement cannot last long, as compromises of principles are never enduring. The declaration has on the whole had its effect. There is an extraordinary awakening in the whole State in relation to this question of untouchability which has become a live matter for people to deal with. The local branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangh during the last year, especially the last six months, has been very active. The State Government has also taken up the work of the removal of untouchability in earnest. A Central Harijan Uplift Committee has been appointed by the State, which is working in close co-operation with the Harijan Sevak Sangh. In fact, some of the office-bearers are common to both the organizations. District committees are working under this central committee and pracharaks have been engaged to work amongst the Harijans of each district. Economic and social surveys are being undertaken and the beginning of a great drive for the removal of untouchability as well as for bettering the condition of the Harijans has been made. I was struck by the earnestness of some of the workers and the pracharaks. At Mahidpur an excellent night school is being run under the able guidance of Shri Namjoshi where Harijans are being given vocational training in addition to literacy. Some good schools are maintained by the Harijan Sevak Sangh in Indore city as well as in other parts of the State. For the first year a grant of Rs. 5,000 has been made by the State to the Central Harijan Uplift Committee for its work. A special committee of the Harijan Sevak Sangh engages adult Harijan workers in their leisure time in playing games along with the Caste Hindus. We saw them happily enjoying such games. Special attention is paid to drills and physical exercises. All this raises their cultural level and teaches them to live happy and clean lives. The Harijan Sevak Sangh of Indore is fortunate in its secretary Mr. Yarde who with a vision and a long view is able with his co-workers to conceive and execute good plans for the amelioration of the Harijans.

We spent altogether four days in the State and visited Indore, Mahidpur, Maheshwar and Khargone. Women's and students' meetings were

held at Indore and public meetings were held at all places. On the way to Khargone public meetings were arranged at Mandleshwar and Kasrawad. Everywhere the response was excellent. In some of the places in the interior, the reluctance of the Caste Hindus to sit alongside of Harijans was evident. We were happy to be successful in persuading some to cast off their prejudices and sit along with the rest.

We were unfortunate in not being able to meet the Maharaja Saheb as he was in England. But we interviewed the Prime Minister and represented to him the needs of the Harijans as we found them. The two main points on which we laid most stress were:

1. The increase in the annual grant from Rs. 5,000 to at least Rs. 25,000 to the Central Harijan Uplift Committee.

2. The introduction of prohibition.

The nature and method of work adopted by the Indore workers needed prohibition. Their work would be so much facilitated, if prohibition were introduced.

The amount of Rs. 5,000 a year for the stupendous work of Harijan reform is very low. If the amount is not immediately raised, I am afraid the scheme whose outlines have been laid out with so much promise will be still-born. And it should not be difficult for a State with an annual income of approximately one and a half crores to increase the grant.

(To be concluded)

To Readers

Readers will oblige us if they send us addresses of their friends and acquaintances who are interested in the causes sought to be advanced by the *Harijan* and who are therefore likely to respond if approached with a request to subscribe to it.

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Manager

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 22, 1939

[ONE ANNA

THE WAY OF SATYAGRAHA

At the end of five days' heart-to-heart talks with the Muslim friends, often continuing till midnight, and shorter talks with the Bhayats and having failed with them, Gandhiji put his signature to the letter to the Thakore Saheb submitting seven names of the Sardar's representatives. His hand shook as he did so. He never dreamt at that time that within thirtysix hours of the despatch of his letter his faith in God and ahimsa would be put to test. Ever since his arrival here on his mission of peace Gandhiji had made it a point to hold daily the congregational evening prayer on the Rashtriya Shala grounds. The practice was kept up during the fast.

On the evening of the 16th instant a report was brought to Gandhiji that the Bhayats and Mussalmans of Rajkot were going to hold a black flag demonstration at the evening prayer. There was also a report that a garland of shoes had been got ready for the occasion. He made light of the fears of those who brought the report. He had full faith in the Mussalman and the Bhayat leaders who had friendly discussions with him during the last five days. But in case the worst came to the worst he would welcome it. Accordingly, he gave peremptory instructions that anybody approaching him, no matter with what intent, should be given free access and not obstructed in any way.

He motored as usual to the Rashtriya Shala prayer ground. Almost simultaneously with it the demonstrators too, numbering about 600, arrived on the scene with black flags and placards bearing inscriptions some of which were highly offensive. They lined the fence enclosing the prayer ground from the main road. The Sardar happened to be away at Amreli that day and so missed the show.

Gandhiji bowed to the demonstrators, as is his wont, before he sat down to prayer, which was conducted as usual. All the time the prayer was going on, the processionists kept on an unseemly demonstration of shouting and yelling. The creation of disturbance at the prayer time under the very eyes of the Bhayats and Mussalman representatives who had sat with him in conference only the other day was for him the "unkindest cut of all". The prayer over, he rose to go. The demonstrators had by now begun to pour

in through the entrance of the narrow passage leading to the prayer ground. Gandhiji, instead of going by car as usual, decided to walk through the crowd so as to give the demonstrators full chance to say or do to him whatever they pleased. At the entrance the crush was too great to allow further progress. The pushing and jostling by the demonstrators at the rear on either side of the gangway was growing apace. The dust and the din added to the confusion. Friends tried to form a protective cordon. But Gandhiji waved them off. "I shall sit here or go alone in their midst," he told them. All of a sudden he was seized by an attack of indescribable pain in the region of the waist, and felt as if he would faint. This is an old symptom in his case that seizes him whenever he receives an acute mental shock. For a time he stood in the midst of that jostling crowd motionless and silent, his eyes shut, supporting himself on his staff, and tried to seek relief through silent prayer, a remedy that has a never failed him on such occasions. As soon as he had sufficiently recovered, he reiterated his resolve to go through the demonstrators all alone. He addressed a Bhayat, who stood confronting him and who, he subsequently learned, was besides a police officer in plain clothes,—“I wish to go under your sole protection, not my co-workers'." Some Bhayats had already noticed his condition. They now bade the rest to make way for him, and leaning on the shoulder of the Bhayat friend in question, Gandhiji walked to the waiting car. "This is the way of Satyagraha," he remarked as the car drove off, "to put your head unresistingly into the lap of your 'enemy', for him to keep or make short work of just as he pleases. It is the sovereign way, and throughout my half a century of varied experience it has never once failed me."

Two Mussalman representatives from the Civil Station came to see him soon after, according to previous appointment. "You were less than fair to yourself and to us in exposing yourself to such a risk. Anything may happen in a motley crowd," they remarked to him with reference to the happenings of the evening.

Gandhiji in reply described to them how such risk-taking had become a part and parcel of his life. There were at least half a dozen occasions in South Africa and in India when he had risked his life like that, and he had never

regretted doing so. In all cases the assailant or the would-be assailants had ended by becoming his friends. "But should the worst happen after all," he concluded, "what privilege can be greater for a Satyagrahi than to fall with a prayer in your heart for those whom you wanted to serve but who under a delusion took you for an 'enemy'?"

Rajkot, 13-4-39

Pyarelal

DEVELOPMENT OF COIR INDUSTRY IN BOMBAY-KONKAN

(By H. S. Kaujalgi and V. L. Mehta)

(Continued from p. 71)

When the school was first opened, it was rather difficult to get these students. But now they are coming in numbers, and Shri Kallapur is obliged to refuse admission to many. Within ten days after their admission to the class, girls from 12 upwards and grown-up women are able to prepare at least 400 feet of the twist per day for a work of 7 hours. Some intelligent young girls have reached up to 800 feet per day, and one of them can turn out 1,000 feet per day.

Up to now 15 students have been trained and discharged and fresh students are taken up. A demand for opening a school came from Mavinkurve, a village of coir workers. So, in January, the most efficient young woman was sent to Mavinkurve as an instructor on Rs. 10 per month, with one spinning wheel and one twisting machine. There the number of students is now seven. Later on, two more training schools have been added in villages, one at Hosad and another at Rengni Rote. These classes are run by students trained at the Honavar School and will be helpful in widely diffusing knowledge of the improved processes.

It has been found that coir workers who see the School working can easily appreciate the utility and superiority of the device of wheels as compared to the spinning done merely on the palms of the coir worker. So there will be no difficulty in getting students or in training them. The real difficulty comes after the training is completed. The spinning wheel and the twisting wheel together cost Rs. 15 and one set of these can give work to 9 coir workers. The condition of these coir workers is so poor that it will be impossible for them to invest even Rs. 15 in purchasing this set. The main question before the local workers, therefore, is how to supply these trained students with the sets of wheels. It is proposed to adopt either or both of the undermentioned methods in providing these wheels:

(1) If a set of 8 or 9 students agree, the School will give them a set of these wheels and get ourselves paid by weekly instalments. These instalments even should be taken in the form of twisted coir. By some calculation it has been found that it takes three months to recover the

full price of the wheels from the coir workers. If the School is to follow this method, it will have to keep up its establishment and school continuously for a year or two. This presupposes that the present arrangements for the continuation of the coir school will have to be extended to the next year also.

(2) Obviously, the School cannot be there for all time to come. An attempt has been made to have a purchase and sale society of coir workers at Honavar. This society will be expected to supply the coir workers with the sets of wheels and get the price paid in instalments and in the form of coir twists. There was one coir society here formerly, but it was only a credit society and ended in failure. But as the proposed new society will be a purchase and sale society, it is hoped the mistakes committed in the case of the former society will not be repeated.

The twists turned out by the students are not very finished during the first week of their training. Yet even these twists are superior to the hand-made twists turned out even by the experienced coir workers with their palms. The bundles of these twists are stocked at the workshop, and though Shri Kallapur did not want to put the amateur attempts on the market in the beginning, he feels quite confident of getting and maintaining a steady market for his output. As a matter of fact, the P. W. D. of the district has placed an order for Rs. 1,600 worth of twisted coirs to be supplied before the end of May next. So, at present, there is no difficulty in finding a market for the twists turned out in the school as well as the twists that will be turned out in future by the trained workers in their own homes. An expert from the Industries Department has visited our workshop at Honavar and has opined that our coir is in no way inferior to the Travancore coir. The instructor who has come from Travancore had a surprise in the fact that the coir twists turned out by the beginners on the wheels were of a superior variety. In Travancore there are two varieties of twists, one called Vaikam and the other called Anjango. Anjango is superior to Vaikam. The instructor said that our twists resembled the Anjango type. As in the case of cotton, perhaps, the twists at the school even in the beginning turned out of a superior type due to the fact of the coir being of a superior variety.

After carding the fibres, some rough fibres are left over and they are stocked separately to be turned into thicker twists. In order to find a use for these thicker twists, the rope-making device is set up in the workshop itself. It is very easy to learn and practise the work of rope-making, and it is interesting to record that the rope-makers were found in an unexpected quarter. Some students of the local New English School, of ages between 13 and 18, took a fancy for this work and began to

attend the workshop every day after the closing of the school and on holidays. Usually, they get busy with the work for one hour between 5-30 and 6-30 P. M. They take the coir twists in the workshop and attach them to the rope-making device, prepare the rope nicely and efficiently, tie it neatly and keep it in the workshop after attaching a label showing the length, the number of twists and the names of the workers that prepared the rope. They are paid according to the length and thickness of the rope prepared by them. Three or four boys attend to the work every day and between them they earn 3 to 4 annas. The ropes are readily sold, and we are obliged to get prepared two more rope-making devices in order to give work to all those students that require work during their off-time.

. When the proposals were first submitted, the question of matting looms was intended to be taken up later on. However, the coir instructor, Shri M. K. Parameswaran, was so enthusiastic about the mattings that it was decided to get prepared one matting loom as an experiment. The loom was prepared under the direction and according to the instructions of Shri Parameswaran. The loom was set up and the first matting was turned out towards the end of December. A market was found for it immediately and for the rough mattings used for drying fish there is already a market on hand. So one loom will find full work in turning out these fish-drying mattings. Two able-bodied students have been taken up to learn the weaving of matting, and it is hoped that they will be fully trained in this art before the Travancore instructor returns to his place. Being encouraged by the success of the first loom two more looms have been prepared for the same work. These looms are prepared locally at Rs. 50 each. Naturally, to work these looms it will be necessary to engage and train some more students. The art of weaving is not as easy as the art of spinning and preparing twists. The students will have to be trained and given practice also for at least six months, which will be possible if the grant is continued for the next year also.

So long the coir and coir products of Honavar had earned a bad name in the market, for their third-rate quality. So, whenever superior qualities of coir, coir twists and coir mattings were required, they were invariably ordered from Cochin or Travancore. But the centre expects to supply at least part of the goods from the products of the School.

When the weaving of matting was taken in hand, the School felt the necessity of dyed coir. At present, Shri Kallapur has somehow got over the difficulty through his own ingenuity. But it has been decided to send somebody to Bombay to learn at the Haverro Trading Co. the dyeing of coir and also of buttons. As the Haverro Trading Co. charges no fees for the instruction provided, only the travelling and boarding expenses

of the student to be deputed to Bombay will have to be met from the scheme.

At present, the workshop is located in a building rented for the purpose. It consists of one big hall measuring 25' x 40'. But to supplement the space, a temporary shed has been erected at a cost of Rs. 44 on land adjoining the building. This shed is erected only for the dry season. It will not be suitable in the rainy season. It will be necessary to erect slanting sheds with sufficient roofing and also with side mats to guard us against the winds and rains of the rainy season. Negotiations are in progress for securing an open space as early as possible, and if these succeed, the shed should be ready by April.

In order that the work can be carried on in the year 1939-40 on similar lines, the Government of Bombay propose to place a grant of Rs. 2,500 at the disposal of the A. I. V. I. A. The grant, however, will be used not merely for continuation of the work taken in hand during the first year, but for its extension. It is proposed to instal more looms and to add to the range and variety of the products. The main object of providing training will not, however, be lost sight of. As it is not the object of the scheme to convert the workshop into a demonstration factory, stipends will be made available to ten selected students each to be trained for a period of six months.

The initiative in launching the scheme and the energy and enthusiasm that have made it serviceable to cottage workers in surrounding villages are purely local in origin, and without the friendly sympathy and support of the local public to the efforts of the local representative of the A. I. V. I. A., an extension of the scheme would not have been found possible within six months of its inauguration. This detailed description of one among the many attempts made in different parts of India to revive and develop local industries is intended merely to emphasise the need for local initiative and effort and the equally paramount need for a sympathetic and responsive administration to stimulate such effort, especially when its sole purpose is to bring about an improvement in the tools and processes of local artisans.

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John S. Hoyland — The Cross Moves East (A Study in the Significance of Gandhi's Satyagraha)	...	3—7	0—3
J. B. Kripalani — The Gandhian Way	2—0		0—3
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H A R I J A N

Apr. 22

1939

THE TRAGEDY OF TALCHER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The reader will recall the twenty to twentyfive thousand refugees of Talcher State in Orissa. They are living under great difficulties in the forests of Angul in British Orissa. I rely upon these figures because they are vouched for by Thakkar Bapa and Shri Harikrishna Mehtab. Both of them have a reputation to lose. Moreover Thakkar Bapa is purely a humanitarian and social reformer of long standing. He does not dabble in politics.

Only a few days ago it was announced in the Press that a settlement had been arrived at and that the refugees were about to return to their homes. This news was immediately contradicted and it was stated that the Raja of Talcher had refused to honour the pact entered into by Major Hennessey, Assistant Political Agent for Orissa States North.

This was the pact signed on 21st March last:

"1. Reduction of the Miscellaneous Cess from 5 as. to 3 as. per rupee of rent, and an undertaking that after the settlement to be started about next November, the combined rent and cesses will not be higher than the Angul rent and cesses with the same classes of land.

2. The abolition of Monopolies on the necessities of life except hides, skins, horns, ganja, opium, bhang and liquors.

3. State administrative machinery should not be used for enforcing fines, etc., levied by Ecclesiastical Courts and Panchayats.

4. Compulsory labour (*bethi*) should be abolished except when necessary for public purposes and then on payment of wages at ordinary rates.

5. The abolition of special taxes (poll tax) on industrial castes.

6. There should be no victimization of refugees on their return to the States.

7. Constitutional Reforms enabling the people to participate in the administration through their representatives will be introduced as soon as the schemes are approved by the Political Department.

8. There shall be no interference with freedom of speech and meeting provided that there is nothing subversive or disloyal to the Ruler or his administration in those speeches or meetings.

9. People should be allowed to kill wild animals in the State on their own property without any penalties or fees."

There were present at the time Major Hennessey, F. R. S. A., I. A., Bar-at-Law, Major Gregory of the Military Intelligence Department, Shri Harikrishna Mehtab, Adjutant Woods of the

Salvation Army, and the Revenue Commissioner representing the Orissa Government.

Major Hennessey, I understand from Thakkar Bapa, was quite confident that he had the authority of the Raja of Talcher to sign the pact. How the Raja can now refuse to endorse it is difficult to understand.

But the mystery deepens when one recalls the terms of the sanad under which the Raja holds Talcher. Here are the relevant clauses of the sanad issued to the small Orissa States by the present Viceroy on 26th February 1937:

"3. That you shall do your utmost to suppress crime of all kinds in your State.

4. That you shall administer justice fairly and impartially to all alike.

5. That you shall recognize and maintain the rights of all your people and on no account oppress, or suffer them in any way to be oppressed, and that, in particular, you shall charge yourself personally with the welfare of the aboriginal population of your State.

6. That you shall act in accordance with such advice as may be given to you by the Agent to the Governor-General, Eastern States, or such other Political officer as may be vested with authority in this behalf by H. E. the Viceroy."

Under clause 6 of the sanad the Raja is bound to act in accordance with such advice as may be given to him "by the Agent to the Governor-General, Eastern States, or such other Political Officer as may be vested with authority in this behalf by H. E. the Viceroy."

The Raja has therefore no option but to carry out the wishes of the Assistant Political Agent. The question is, why is there all this delay in carrying out the pact? The interests of over 20,000 refugees living on sparse food and practically without shelter are at stake. Delay is not only dangerous; it is criminal.

Rajkot, 18-4-39

(Continued from p. 97)

on me. I have prescribed a well-trying remedy. And I am quite capable of saying, "Go on repeating it, for it is never-failing." I am not likely easily to advise resumption of civil disobedience. There is too much violence and untruth in the air to warrant resumption anywhere. And in the case of Travancore, as I have said, resumption is superfluous.

With reference to the alleged goondaism by the State, the public are bound to put implicit faith in the allegations, unless there is an impartial inquiry made. Surely the mere denial by the authorities, no matter how often repeated, can carry no conviction. Nor will it serve the intended purpose if a local whitewashing commission is appointed. Confidence can be restored and truth brought to light only if the inquiry is made by outside judges of unimpeachable impartiality.

Rajkot, 17-4-39.

UNHAPPY TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is the substantial translation of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Travancore State Congress in the first week of the month:

"The Working Committee records its appreciation of the decision taken by the Acting President and the Council of Action to suspend C. D. pursuant to the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. The Working Committee desires to emphasise the need at this juncture for local and taluk committees to concentrate on the constructive work and strengthen the organisational side of the movement.

Rural reconstruction: All Congress Committees are therefore directed to continue to work for the spread of khadi and Swadeshi and against the use of alcoholic drinks and tobacco. Each taluk committee may also undertake such other rural reconstruction programme as is particularly suited and is of immediate benefit to the taluk.

Khadi: The Working Committee appoints a sub-committee consisting of Sjts. Elankath Ramakrishna Pillai (convener), G. Ramachandran and K. M. Bhoothalingam Pillai to submit an exhaustive report on the facilities available in the State for the spinning and weaving of khadi and to submit a scheme for the same. This Committee is further directed to choose and recommend further centres where work can be immediately commenced.

Indigenous weaving: For the purpose of encouraging indigenous weaving (which is an important industry in the State) the Working Committee constitutes Sjts. R. Shankar (convener), K. S. Thangal and M. G. Koshi as a sub-committee to submit a scheme for the same.

Official goondaism: The Working Committee views with deep concern the rowdiness that is being inspired to suppress the State Congress activities. The Committee recalls the hooliganism instigated by the Police in the State Congress meetings during the months of May and June last year. Until the release of political prisoners in November last, State Congress meetings were sought to be prevented either by prohibitory orders or by hooliganism or by declaring the State Congress illegal. After the release, though numerous meetings were held before the middle of January, there were no disturbances whatever. In the meantime the Government began recruiting what is called the Special Police. These special Policemen have no uniform and their pay was fixed at Rs. 5 per month. Towards the middle of January 1939, these special Policemen commenced attending meetings at Neyyattinkara and Parur taluks.

These so-called Policemen and the rowdies under them have since been endeavouring to break up State Congress meetings. On March 11th a dozen drunken rowdies attempted to break up a State Congress meeting at Thodupuzha by caterwauling and by staging a mock fight among themselves at the meeting. There was a repetition of the same disorderly behaviour on the 15th at Kuthattukulam, where the President was stripped naked on the platform. On the 19th at Quilon drunken rowdies broke up a State Congress

meeting by beating drums and creating other disturbances. On the 20th at Nagercoil rowdies threw mud on the people. On the 22nd at Kuzithura one of the drunken hooligans threatened to stab the President with a knife. On the 25th at Thodupuzha rowdies brought kerosene oil cans to the meeting and began drumming them to the tune of obscene songs.

Even after announcing on the 22nd the suspension of Satyagraha, volunteer jathas and meetings for constructive work have been subjected to goondaism. On March 30th at Parur a State Congress meeting had to be dispersed owing to rowdiness. Even the refreshments that were being taken for the President were forcibly snatched away by the rowdies. On April 1st, at Quilon, a constructive work jatha was set upon by rowdies on the public road and robbed of their money. The leader of the jatha, Sjt. P. J. Verghese, an Advocate, suffered serious injuries.

Exhortation to workers: Last November, when the political prisoners were released, it was believed that we had at least secured the liberty to hold public meetings. The present situation, however, is worse than what existed in August last when the State Congress was declared illegal. The Committee deeply appreciates the firm faith in non-violence evinced by those who attended the recent State Congress meetings. This rowdiness is the result of the persistent policy of repression continued by Government even after the suspension of Satyagraha. Not only is the Government unwilling to grant any of the demands of the State Congress but it is continuing to arrest State Congress workers on some pretext or other and endeavouring to obstruct even the carrying out of the constructive programme of the Congress. Whatever be the force of the repression and the extent of rowdiness that the Government may release, the State Congress will continue its work awaiting further instructions from Gandhiji. While protesting against the hooliganism inspired and encouraged by the Government the Committee exhorts the people to carry on the work of the Congress with courage and with non-violence."

I would like the workers to realize that events there have more than justified suspension of civil disobedience. The authorities have provided them with ample opportunity for the exercise of patience and restraint. They have also provided them with opportunity for suffering without civil disobedience. If, therefore, the workers can go through the ordeal without losing faith or heart and prosecute quietly and resolutely the constructive programme, Swaraj will come automatically. This is a bold statement; some will call it ridiculous. Nevertheless it comes from the deepest conviction.

What worries me, however, is the statement in the concluding paragraph that "the State Congress will continue its work awaiting further instructions from Gandhiji." This declaration of faith in me is both touching and embarrassing. Let the workers know that whilst my advice and guidance are always at their disposal, I have no further instructions to give till new light dawns

(Continued on p. 96)

RAJKOT EVENTS

Ajmer Station, 8-4-39
His Highness Thakoresaheb—Rajkot
Reaching Rajkot Sunday morning connection
with action to be taken pursuance award.

GANDHI

* * *
(Translation)

Anandkunj,
Maherban Thakore Saheb, Rajkot, 9-4-39
You must have received my wire sent from
Ajmer yesterday.

It is necessary now for you to appoint the
Committee in terms of Sir Maurice's award.

It seems to me that you will desire to include
the four names you have already notified. So
long as the Sardar's nominees have a bare majority
on the Committee, he will gladly accept those
names. Thus, if the four names remain and the
three officials are to have the right to vote,
the Sardar will have to nominate eight members.

If you withdraw the four names, the Sardar
will have to give seven names. Will you kindly
let me have your opinion? Will you please also
let me know who the three officials will be and
of them who will be president of the Committee?

Blessings from MOHANDAS

* * *

Palace Rajkot,
Dated, 10th April, '39

Dear Mahatma Gandhiji,

I am in receipt of your letter of 9th inst. You are right in supposing that I should wish for the inclusion in the Committee of the four gentlemen who were appointed by me to represent the Mahomedan community, the Bhayats and the Depressed classes. I consider it to be of the utmost importance that these communities should be effectively represented and these particular representatives were selected after the most careful consideration. At the same time the expedient suggested by you, viz. the enlargement of the Committee merely to give Mr. Patel's nominees a majority, is hardly now practicable. What now has to be done is to take action in fulfilment of the terms of my Notification No. 50 dated 26th December 1938, in the light of the award of the Hon'ble the Chief Justice of India who has observed that the Notification restricts the members of the Committee to ten. As stated above it is certainly most essential that the important Mahomedan and Bhayat communities should, like other communities, have proper representation. It was with this object in view that I included in the list published in my Notification No. 61 dated 21-1-39 the names of two suitable representatives of Mahomedan community and one of Bhayats. That you shared this view is clearly evident from the assurances which you gave to the deputations of Mahomedans and Bhayats which came to see you on February 28th and the letter you wrote to the President of the Giranias' Association on March 11th. These assurances were, as you will remember, to the effect that the representatives already nominated on their behalf would certainly be included in the Committee. In view of these assurances I have no doubt that you will advise Mr. Patel to include these names in the list of seven non-official members who, in accordance with the Chief Justice of India's decision, are now to be recommended by him.

I also earnestly hope that the name of Mr. Mohan Mandan will be included in his list as this gentleman, besides being a representative of the Depressed classes, has for seven years been

the elected chairman of the Rajkot Municipal corporation and is obviously a person who should be on the Committee.

I am sure you will agree that the matter of primary importance is not to secure a majority for any particular party but to ensure that a really representative Committee, effectively representing the various interests in the State, may now be set up consisting of persons fully qualified to undertake the very responsible duties which will devolve on them.

I am awaiting Mr. Patel's recommendations and when I have received them, I shall appoint the three official members, who will of course have the right to vote, and decide who shall be the President of the Committee.

Yours sincerely,
DHARMENDRASINH

* * *

(Translation)

Anandkunj,
Namdar Thakore Saheb, Rajkot, 14-4-39

I am able to answer your letter dated 10-4-39 only today.

It pains me to note that you have shaken your responsibility off your shoulders. The Muslim and the Bhayat names to which you refer were nominated by you. My promise therefore meant and could be interpreted to mean only that I on my part would help you to fulfil your promise, even if the Chief Justice's Award went against you. It passes my understanding how anyone can interpret my promise to give what I had no power to give. I am acting only as the Sardar's and the Parishad's trustee. It is obvious that I may not give anything outside the terms of my trust. Therefore, my promise can only mean that if you desire to retain the names in question, I would help you on behalf of the Sardar to do so subject to the majority of the Sardar's names remaining intact. I hold that it is impossible to put more meaning into my word. Unfortunately you have taken an extraordinary step and thrust upon me the responsibility of accommodating in the Sardar's list the names of your nominees. What pains one is that you should misconstrue my promise in a manner that would render nugatory the right secured by the Sardar.

Therefore, although after your letter the only thing that remained for me was to send you seven names on behalf of the Sardar, I entreated three out of the four nominees named by you, to allow themselves to be included among the Sardar's nominees and to work as one team with the rest. But my entreaty has ended in failure. I have exhausted all effort to honour your nominations if it were at all possible. You have mentioned a fourth name in your letter. I did not think it necessary to put Shri Mohan Mandan to the trouble of coming to me to discuss things, as he is not a Harijan.

The exclusion of the above 4 names, however, does not mean that the representatives nominated by the Sardar will not guard the special and legitimate rights of Muslims, Bhayats, Harijans or any other section. These members recognise no caste distinctions so far as the Committee and service of the people are concerned. They have before them only the cause of the Rajkot people as a whole. They are on the Committee because the party they represent conducted the fight for the rights of the Rajkot people. You appreciated their endeavour and gave the right of nominating the names of 7 Rajkot State subjects outside the officials, to the Sardar, or the Parishad. These names are as below:

1. Shri Popatlal Purushottam Anada, B.A., LL.B.
2. „ Popatlal Dhanji Malaviya
3. „ Jamnadas Khushalchand Gandhi
4. „ Becharbhai Walabhai
5. „ Jethalal H. Joshi
6. „ Vrajlal Mayashankar Shukla
7. „ Gajanan Bhawanishankar Joshi, M.A., LL.B.

Let me once more entreat you to listen to me. You say that you are unable to enlarge the Committee. This is not right. The Chief Justice's award does not mean any absolute obligation to limit the number of the Committee to ten. The two parties can make any alterations by mutual agreement. The Sardar is still desirous of helping you to keep your four nominees. The only condition is that the Parishad's majority should not be affected in the extended Committee. According to the Chief Justice's award, the Sardar has a majority of 4 at present. Instead of that, for your sake and for the sake of avoiding bad blood, the Sardar is willing to reduce it to a majority of one. Can you expect anything more ?

In your notification of December 26th, the time limit for the Committee to complete and submit its report to you was fixed at one month and four days. May I remind you that the limit may not be exceeded ?

During the second Satyagraha struggle there were confiscations, fines and other repressive measures. It is hardly necessary to remind you that these should be now cancelled.

Blessings from MOHANDAS

[This letter is written by my consent and the names given here should be taken as submitted by me. VALLABHBHAI PATEL

* * *

Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press on the 15th inst. :

There has been for me unusual delay in sending on behalf of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel names of seven representatives to sit on the Reforms Committee in terms of the Thakore Saheb's notification of December 26 last and in terms of the Chief Justice's Award. The delay shows the measure of my anxiety as well as Sardar Patel's to include in the list the Thakore Saheb's four nominees whose names he had published in his now defunct notification of 21st January last. In accordance with the Award his nominees automatically dropped out, but the Thakore Saheb could have retained them with the co-operation of Sardar Patel. My first act on arrival in Rajkot on the 9th was to offer to His Highness in writing the Sardar's co-operation in retaining the names. To my regret and to my astonishment the offer was summarily rejected. The public knows from the Thakore Saheb's reply, which was handed to the Press on his behalf, in what terms it was rejected. He has allowed to be inferred that the Award left no scope for increasing the number of members of the Committee. On the face of it this is not right. With mutual consent there is ample scope for adjustment. The Thakore Saheb is not bound by the Award not to increase or even decrease the number on the Committee, if in wanting to do so he secures the Sardar's co-operation.

When this unfortunate decision became known to me, with the fullest co-operation of the Sardar I set about exploring means of accommodating at least two Muslim representatives and one Bhayat representative among the seven. This could not be done unless they could see their way to agree to work as one team with the Sardar's other nominees. If this condition

could not be fulfilled, the very object of giving the Sardar, i.e. the Parishad, the right to select all the seven members could be easily frustrated. But in spite of making all efforts it was humanly possible both for the Sardar and me to make, we failed and, therefore, the public will find that all the four nominees of the Thakore Saheb have been omitted.

This, however, does not mean that the Committee will not represent all interests that could have been covered by the four nominees and several other interests, not specifically represented, for I have not known a single such committee in the world which could cover specifically and sectionally all imaginable interests. The very essence of democracy is that every person represents all the varied interests which compose the nation. It is true that it does not exclude, and should not exclude, special representation of special interests, but such representation is not its test. It is a sign of its imperfection.

I do not claim perfection for the Rajkot Committee, but any attempt on the part of the Sardar to accommodate all the special interests, without the indispensable safeguard that I have suggested, would have failed to produce a constitution which could be satisfactorily worked in the interests of the whole of the people of Rajkot. I venture to suggest that the Sardar's nominees have been selected after fulfilling the first indispensable condition of team work, so that they would all make a conscientious effort to represent each in his own person the whole of the interests of the people of Rajkot. Therefore, it will be doubly the duty of the seven members to safeguard and protect all the special and legitimate rights of the Muslims, the Bhayats and the Harijans of the Rajkot State.

As to the Harijan representation, I may say that Shri Mohan Mandan, the fourth nominee of the Thakore Saheb, an estimable citizen of Rajkot though he is, is in no sense a Harijan any more than the seven nominees whose names have now been submitted to the Thakore Saheb on behalf of the Sardar.

The Girasia Association has accused me in forcible language of a breach of promise in excluding their representative from the list of seven. All I can say is that they have hopelessly misread and misunderstood my letter of March 11. I do not propose at present to go into the immediate circumstance in which I hastily penned my reply to their note, but it has got to be read in conjunction with the statement with which I left Wardha on what I have described as a mission of peace. I then stated, as an indispensable condition of acceptance of any permutation and combination that might be offered for the composition of the Committee, that on it the Sardar's nominees should have at least a bare majority of one. The letter of March 11 has got to be read together with that condition. Nothing whatsoever happened on March 11 to make me waive that condition.

Assuming for the moment that I forgot to incorporate the condition in my letter, the Girasia friends would be expected to read my letter with the missing condition. But I go a step further, that to read into my letter the meaning that the Girasia Association gives it, is to frustrate the very object which was sought to be secured by the Thakore Saheb's letter to the Sardar. With the meaning that he attached to it and which meaning the Chief Justice's Award has fully upheld, I had no right to throw away that precious right. I should be guilty of a breach of trust if I did so. It should be remembered that

the fast was taken for the purpose of vindicating the Sardar's position and, therefore, if you like, to repair the breach of faith which I had imputed to the Thakore Saheb. The Award has done it. Is it to be expected that at a time when I was proceeding to Delhi in the full expectation of the Sardar's contention being upheld, I was to undo in advance the effect of such a happy termination of the Delhi visit? I have more than fulfilled my promise contained in my letter of March 11 addressed to the Girasiya Association by offering to reduce to one the majority of four which the Award gives to the Sardar's nominees. I think I deserved better treatment from the Association. All their appeal should have been to the Thakore Saheb to seize the opportunity given by me of rehabilitating his nominees. Instead of choosing that obvious course, they have chosen the wrong course. I have reminded the Girasiyas that, when I returned from my self-imposed exile at the end of 1914, I gave them ample proof of my friendship and concern for them. They had first met me in Bhavnagar. Since then they have been off and on seeking my guidance and advice. Many of them know that it has been always at their disposal. But no mischief is yet done. As I have said, they may rest assured that all their just rights will be respected by the Sardar's nominees.

* * * *

"What Hurt Me Most"

Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press on the 16th inst :

What has hurt me most about this evening's demonstration is that the demonstrators chose what was for me a solemn hour of the day. For years all India knows I have offered without practically a breach my evening prayers in open congregation. Why did they seek my prayer time to molest me, and what had the numerous men, women and children, who at the end of the day had come to offer their humble prayer to the one and only God of us all, done to deserve such interference? Why was it not enough, seeing that I do not go out except for prayers, to shout their slogans and wave black flags as I entered the prayer ground? Even that would have been bad enough. But they continued vigorously to shout their slogans throughout the prayers. And they were all my countrymen. Their cries pierced me like arrows whilst I was trying to concentrate my mind on the words of the prayer. I have not attained the power of meditation which makes one impervious to all disturbances from without. They knew that if they had invited me to attend their meeting in order to witness their hostile demonstration and their wrath, weak as I have been, I would have gone there and tried to appease them.

I maintain I have not committed any breach of promise. To my knowledge, throughout my public and private career, I have never broken a promise. Here the very motive for a breach of promise is lacking. But lest I might have made a promise, however hastily, which could bear another meaning than the one I had put upon my letter to the Bhayats of March 11th, I asked as many legal friends in Rajkot as I could get together and warned them to give their unbiased opinion and told them that their reputation would be lost if they sought to support without full cause my own reading of my letter. I have their reasoned and unanimous opinion in my possession,

fully supporting my meaning to the exclusion of any other.

I fear the demonstrators have not served their cause by their unwarranted interference with the prayer of innocent men and women. There are tremendous difficulties in the way of getting due fulfilment of the award of the Chief Justice. I am not free to go into these difficulties at the present stage. But I appeal to those who feel grieved at my conduct in excluding certain names from the Sardar's list to bear with me. They may adopt all the just means to redress their grievances. The method they adopted today was very far from being just.

* * * *

Who is Who on the Committee

[The following is a short 'Who is Who' of the seven members whose names have been submitted by the Sardar in his letter of the 15th inst. to the Thakore Saheb as nominees of the Parishad on the Rajkot Reforms Committee. Editor, *Harijan*]

1. Shri Popatlal Purushottam Anada, B.A., LL.B. :— A leading member of the Kathiawad Bar, a prominent citizen, a member of the Praja Pratinidhi Sabha for more than a decade and for some time its President; suffered imprisonment during the last struggle; debarred from practising as a lawyer in the State courts for participation in the movement. The State accepted his nomination on the Reforms Committee announced by it in January.

2. Shri Popatlal Dhanjibhai Malaviya :— A leading and influential member of the mercantile community; the President of the local Seva Sangh (Social Service League) since its inception; for some time a member of the local Municipality and Praja Pratinidhi Sabha. The State accepted his nomination as in the case of Shri Anada.

3. Shri Jamnadas Gandhi :— Was connected with the Satyagraha movement in South Africa; studied economics for some time in the London School of Economics; Principal of the Rajkot Rashtriya Shala (national school) for more than a decade; an ardent reformer, he did not hesitate to jeopardize the very existence of the Shala by his uncompromising insistence on admitting to it Harijan boys on the same terms as others.

4. Shri Bechar Walabhai Wadher :— An old and silent constructive worker; has taken interest in Harijan service; is conducting an elementary boys' school of his own; a member of the Praja Pratinidhi Sabha since its inception.

5. Shri Vrajlal Mayashanker Shukla :— Left college in boycott days of 1921; since then a whole-time national worker; for a decade teacher in the Rashtriya Shala; President of the Youth League and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Rajkot Praja Parishad.

6. Shri Jethalal Harikrishna Joshi :— Left college during boycott days of 1921; teacher in Rashtriya Shala for more than a decade; Secretary of the local Seva Sangh; member of the Executive Committee of the Kathiawad Political Conference as also of the Rajkot Praja Parishad.

7. Shri Gajanan Bhavanishankar Joshi, M.A., LL.B. : One of the secretaries of the local Ramkrishna Mission.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1939

[ONE ANNA

THE RAJKOT FAST GLEANINGS FROM A DIARY V

The Aftermath

8th March:

The Fast ended, Gandhiji was impatient to proceed to Delhi, where the next step in the prosecution of his mission would have to be taken. But the doctors definitely ruled that he could not undertake a journey before Monday the 13th March. Accordingly he sent a wire to the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy to say that he hoped to reach Delhi on the 15th.

Agatha had an interesting talk with Gandhiji in the morning and then in the afternoon. In the course of it she asked him the question, "Now that the Paramount Power has been appealed, to to intervene, would it be consistent with this attitude to go on with the anti-imperialist cry? In other words, would it be right from your viewpoint to make use of the machinery set up by the imperialist power whilst you are pledged to the anti-imperialist goal?" Gandhiji explained to her that the inconsistency to which she referred was in appearance only. Non-violent non-cooperation did not mean mechanical isolation or complete avoidance of contact with the opponent under all conditions. In seeking intervention of the Paramount Power he had put the Paramount Power on the trial and given it a chance to do the right thing. "The Paramount Power has so far constantly been helping the Princes in their misrule. But it owes also an obligation to the people. The people of Rajkot have now asked the Paramount Power to meet that obligation. Not to do so when an opportunity occurs would be not non-cooperation, it would be folly. It may even lead to the strengthening of the Paramount Power. Although non-cooperation is one of the main weapons in the armoury of Satyagraha, it should not be forgotten that it is after all only a means to secure the co-operation of the opponent consistently with truth and justice. The essence of non-violence technique is that it seeks to liquidate antagonisms but not the antagonists themselves. In non-violent fight you have to a certain measure to conform to the traditions and conventions of the system you are pitted against. Avoidance of all relationship with the opposing power, therefore, can never be a Satyagrahi's object, but transformation or purification of that

relationship. The people of Rajkot would never be able to end the dominance of the Paramount Power through non-violent means if they said, 'We shall not touch it even with a pair of tongs; we shall refuse to meet it even for the sake of converting it.' The field of co-operation between the Paramount Power and the people of the States was likely to grow rather than diminish with the growth of non-violent strength and consciousness among the people. In fact he foresaw a time when the Residents and Political Agents in Indian States would become true trustees and servants of the people on behalf of the Paramount Power and be made use of by them as such.

The Congress had advised the country to boycott the reformed legislatures at the beginning of the non-cooperation movement. It regarded them as a trap and a snare. But as a result of phenomenal awakening that had taken place among the masses as a result of the schooling they got through successive civil disobedience campaigns, and the ensuing relative transformation of relationship between them and the Government, in 1937 it decided to capture the machinery of Government in the seven provinces where the Congress commanded a majority. His seeking the intervention of the Paramount Power in the present case, therefore, did not necessarily imply any fundamental change in his outlook. On the contrary it was a further step towards the ending of that system as it exists and functions today.

Agatha left Rajkot in the evening.

Rajkot, 22-4-39

Pyarelal

More Temples Opened

The Bombay Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh announce that the undermentioned temples in Bombay city have been declared open to Harijans. This brings the total number of temples open to Harijans in Bombay to 61.

1. Shri Maruti Mandir, On the Corner of Kamathipura 8th Street and Bazar Road.
2. Shri Laxmi Narayan Mandir, On the Corner of 7th Street, Kamathipura Bazar Road.
3. Shri Panch Mukhi Maruti Mandir, Kamathipura 5th Street.
4. Shri Maniamma's Mandir, Kamathipura Bazar Rd.
5. Shri Khandoba's Mandir, Kamathipura Bazar Rd.
6. Shri Sudamma's Mandir, Kamathipura Bazar Rd.
7. Shri Pochamma's Mandir, Kamathipura Bazar Rd.

NEW CHINA AND THE KHADI MOVEMENT

(By C. F. Andrews)

When I opened the April number of *Asia* imagine my surprise to see a picture of two charkhas and one handloom in China being used by the Chinese unemployed refugees just in the same manner that we now see them used in the villages of India! I turned at once to the article, which was written by Mrs. Pearl S. Buck, the last Nobel Prize Winner for Literature. It is called "Free China gets to work." It has a sub-title, "The New Industrial Co-operatives can supply an economic base for prolonged Resistance and for Reconstruction after the War."

"China," Mrs. Pearl S. Buck writes, "is beginning her real offensive against Japan. It is, characteristically, not an offensive of arms, but of industry. In doing so she is meeting Japan's attack at its most crucial point. For Japan's keenest thrust has not been military but economic. ... The economic front is the one on which China has been most nearly defeated. If the Chinese can survive this war *economically*, they can win it... The one weapon, therefore, against Japan's increasing possession of China's economic life is the establishment as quickly as possible by the Chinese themselves of new centres of industry which can absorb the many working people now without work and set them again to producing Chinese goods for Chinese to use. This is more than mere relief."

The illustration (which cannot be produced here) represents one of China's Industrial Co-operatives, now in working order, for the spinning and weaving group in Southern Kiangsi. "Its equipment," says Mrs. Pearl Buck, "is primitive, but portable. In numerous cases, the operators have to be first instructed in the lost arts of their forefathers."

Looking at the picture, we notice how very primitive indeed are the two charkhas in the forefront, and also how very elementary is the handloom that is being employed. One could wish that along with the Indian Medical Mission, which has played such a noble part in expressing Indian sympathy with China, there could have been at the same time some help given, at least, in the lost art of spinning, which India has herself been recovering during the last twenty years. Might there not, at least, be sent to Western China (via the new rapid Burma route) some models of the latest and best form of charkha which the Chinese enthusiasts among the younger people might use as their own models for the hand industries in the Co-operatives. Better still, if some Chinese could come over to this country to learn the best methods of spinning and weaving, and at the same time some Indian experts, if that were thought necessary, be sent over by the new route to Western China as teachers of every process whereby the raw cotton may be made into durable cloth.

IN IMPERIAL DELHI

When the Harijans in the *bastis* of old Delhi—or the Imperial Delhi—found that I had visited their brethren in New Delhi they asked me why I had omitted them. I had been told that their monthly wage was a trifle more than that of the New Delhi sweepers, but their quarters were worse, and I had thought that if I wrote about the latter and something was done to improve their conditions something would also be done for the former. But when I was asked why I had omitted them, I readily accepted the suggestion and visited two or three of their *bastis*. I am glad I did so. I remembered too that Shrimati Nehru and others had written in these columns about them. And though it is now a week since I visited them I have not yet recovered from the shock I received at the sight of man's inhumanity to brother man. Shrimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was good enough to accompany me, and I am quite sure that if we had stayed long in these habitations unfit for human beings, she would have fainted there. The quarters of the sweepers in New Delhi are a paradise as compared with this purgatory, and I thought that in being passive witness of the conditions in which these servants of an ungrateful humanity manage to live, we were sharers of the disgrace that attaches to every resident of Delhi.

The bazaar where the quarters we visited are situated is called the Nava Bazaar or Shraddhanand Bazaar. The latter name was given, I suppose, after the assassination of Swami Shraddhanand to commemorate his revered memory. Little did the city fathers know that when they associated the great Swami's name with the bazaar they were oblivious of this little hell that the bazaar held within its bosom, and that unless they had done away with this hell they were hardly honouring the Swami's memory.

For even hell is not the word for it. In the narrow space of a square are huddled together on the three sides of it tenements the inside of which was completely dark. The man who took me in struck a match so that I might not tumble against something. In that dark cell I was told were living ten people—three brothers with their wives, two children and the parents! I had not the heart to ask them *how* they managed to live there, but I wondered if three—or rather six—were earning a wage, why they all shared one hovel. I was soon told that only one brother with his wife earned a wage and all the rest were unemployed! Wage Rs. 26—to feed ten hungry mouths. Right in the centre of this square was another square containing the latrines and lavatories of these unfortunate people. Between the entrance of the hovels and the walls of this inner square there is only the distance of a few feet so as to allow one to walk round. We walked round the privies and saw every one of the twenty and odd cells, and sighed for fresh and less smelly air. But it was in vain. For in

the little open space in the yard were lying iron carts stinking with muck and filth. It was the poor scavengers' fault that they removed the filth, and they must pay for it by keeping the carts close to their hovels! And if the hovels were pestilential, surely, they would be made none the worse by these stinking carts! How human beings could bear to live, cook their food, eat, and breed in these surroundings was more than we could comprehend. But they did so all right and the citizens of Delhi do not feel any sense of shame in suffering them to live in these conditions. In torrential rains, we were told, these people sought refuge in the privies in the centre!

We were taken to another *basti*. The hovels were the same size, but as they were outside the gate and alongside the city wall there was plenty of open space in front of them and we heaved a sigh of relief. But no. As we walked along we found that with the exception of a few of these the whole row of them abutted on an open sewage drain several feet deep. The little space between the city wall and the drain which should never have been left open has been utilised by the greedy city fathers for building these hovels on. Beyond the drain is New Delhi, but lest the sight of the hovels and the drain should offend the denizens of New Delhi, a thick hedge-row of trees has been grown there to separate the Old from the New. Little children and even men and women have in the dark been said to have fallen into this drain with sad results, but no one has had the commonsense of even covering the drain up. It is too expensive I suppose.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and I wondered what to do. It was no use seeing the Congress members of the Municipality. They are too few to make their voice felt. But then they have no business to be on the Municipality. We had talks with responsible officials. They are sensible of the shame. We were told that the Viceroy had seen the *basti* near the Ajmeri gate I have just described. We were also told that Harijan *bastis* alone were not execrable, there were numerous other *bastis* which are equally execrable, but there was no immediate help. We were shown an improvement scheme under which some four hundred odd families were going to be moved to better localities and put into better houses. Only a few of these were Harijans. There is no chance of the residents of the *bastis* I have talked of being moved in the very near future. We said there were vast open spaces on the outskirts of old Delhi and wondered why they were not utilised for the purpose. 'How could they be acquired and how are we to secure amenities like water for them after we have moved them?' we were told.

And yet we wondered why this problem of housing the people who are responsible for the health of the city should be so baffling. If there was an outbreak of plague, would not the bulk of them have to be shifted to open spaces? And yet these *bastis* are no better than plague-

spots. There are vast open spaces like, for instance, the Lady Willingdon Park where the lawn is kept green by water taps perpetually running. What right have the citizens to the use of these nicely laid out parks if a section of the population is compelled to live in filth and misery? We were told that it would be impossible to provide amenities for them if they were moved out, and that if they lived far away from the town they would find it difficult to come to the quarters they are serving today! But if these parks can be kept green, why cannot a few water-pipes be put for these sweepers in their new *bastis*? And if schools should not find it difficult to collect children from distant parts of the city by means of motor buses and motor lorries, why cannot the Municipality make such arrangements for its scavenger employees? The Government is making munificent grants to colleges for having their magnificent buildings on the Ridge. Why cannot they make a similar grant for humble huts for the most useful of citizens? If there was the will to improve their conditions, there would surely be found the way. But there is *not* the will. And so far as the citizens themselves are concerned there is *no* conscience.

If I was a permanent resident of Delhi, I should try to rouse the conscience of those responsible for this state of things by some drastic step. A strike or any other form of Satyagraha would be thoroughly justified. I have not had a talk with the unfortunate sweepers. Perhaps familiarity with the conditions in which they are living day in and day out is their curse. But it is I think the duty of everyone to rouse their sense of indignation against this intolerable wrong.

I am writing with a full sense of my responsibility. When Wheatley, the leader of the Socialists from the Clyde, became a member of the first Labour Government in England, and had his first interview with the King, the King asked him why he was a revolutionary. "Then Wheatley told King George the story of his life. He had been born and brought up in conditions of the most sordid poverty. He was one of the eleven persons who lived, not merely for a month, but for years in a single roomed house in Lanarkshire. In this overcrowded slum Wheatley lived with his parents till he was twenty-four years of age. When he was twelve, he was taken from school and sent to work in the coal mines. The King listened with a friendly sympathy to the terrible story. He was surprised and shocked. 'Is it possible,' he said, 'that my people live in such awful conditions?' Then, as he was bidding the Socialist Minister goodbye, he said: 'I tell you, Mr. Wheatley, that if I had to live in conditions like that, I would be a revolutionary myself.' (*The Tragedy of Ramsay MacDonald*-by L. MacNeill Weir.)

In all conscience, the quarters I have described should be either burnt down or razed to the ground. Will the citizens of Delhi and others responsible for these intolerable conditions wait on, until some revolutionary arises out of these wretched people and rouses them to their sense of duty?

M. D.

H A R I J A N

Apr. 29

1939

I AM DEFEATED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Rajkot seems to have robbed me of my youth. I never knew that I was old. Now I am weighed down by the knowledge of decrepitude. I never knew what it was to lose hope. But it seems to have been cremated in Rajkot. My ahimsa has been put to a test such as it has never been subjected to before.

I have given fifteen precious days to have the Committee contemplated in the award of the Chief Justice of India. But I seem to be as far from it as ever. I have found unexpected difficulties in my path. The award was acclaimed throughout India as a complete victory for the Sardar. But it has been effectively used against me for accusing me of a breach of promise to the Muslims and the Bhayats. The promise that the Thakore Saheb had made was on my return from Delhi transferred to my poor shoulders. The plain meaning of all I had said could only be that I should help the Thakore Saheb to carry out his promise, though, according to the award, I need not. Whatever the reason might be, both the Muslims and the Bhayats relieved the Thakore Saheb of the duty of fulfilment of the promise.

Failing to placate the Muslims and the Bhayats, I sent the Thakore Saheb seven names of the Parishad. In reply I was called upon to prove that six out of the seven names were Rajkot State subjects. One would have thought that I would at least be given an inkling of the objections. If every statement made by men presumed to be fairly honourable could be challenged, it might take a year to finish an inquiry into the facts of each case. But I have sent the required proofs.

When I seemed to have come to the end of my resources and my patience, I sent a letter of complaint to the Resident as the local representative of the Paramount Power seeking his aid in terms of the Viceregal assurances given to me. He invited me to an interview. And whilst we were discussing the ways and means an idea flashed across my mind that I should end the agony by foregoing the right of nomination of members of the Committee, and so I made what I thought, and the Resident admitted, was a sporting offer. It was that the whole Committee should be selected by the Thakore Saheb to report in accordance with the terms of the notification of 26th December last, provided that its report should be shown to the Parishad, and that if they found that the report did not carry out the terms of the notification, their dissenting note and the original report should be sent to the Chief Justice

for his decision. The Resident sent my offer to Darbar Shri Virawala, but H. H. the Thakore Saheb has turned it down.

Agonising experiences of the fifteen days have resulted in my making the discovery that my ahimsa should be voted down as failure if the Thakore Saheb and Darbar Shri Virawala were to feel that they had to give anything under pressure from above. My ahimsa demanded that I should remove that feeling. And so when the opportunity came to me, I tried to assure Darbar Shri Virawala that I took no delight in invoking the assistance of the Paramount Power. Apart from ahimsa, my connection with Rajkot should impose that restraint on me. I assured him that my spontaneous offer to Mr. Gibson was an effort in that direction. He immediately retorted: 'But if you are not satisfied with His Highness's Committee's report, you claim the right to scrutinise the report in the light of the notification, and if the Parishad dissents, you want to have the report and the dissent to be examined by the Hon. the Chief Justice of India. Do you call this removing the feeling of pressure? Why not trust His Highness and his adviser through and through? You may not get all you want, but whatever you get will be charged with his goodwill and will carry a promise of full delivery. Do you know what the Parishad people have said about the Thakore Saheb and me? Is that the way of a people desiring reforms from their Prince?' There was bitterness in his speech and contempt for the Parishad people. But with the sudden consciousness of my imperfect handling of ahimsa, instead of parrying the blow, I recognised the force of his argument as showing want of faith in the essential goodness of human nature and littleness of my own belief in ahimsa. And so our conversation went on and covered many proposals. But it was inconclusive. I was no nearer solution of the tangle. Nevertheless, I parted with the feeling that we had come to know each other better, and that in trying to woo Darbar Shri Virawala I was on the right track.

And so I presented this new line of approach to my co-workers. They had more than once told me that Darbar Shri Virawala was the source of all the evil that had descended upon Rajkot, and that his removal would mean for them full Swaraj. I had no difficulty in showing them that what they were thinking of was good government, not self-government. At this meeting, which only took place yesterday, I told them that if they accepted my explanation of ahimsa, they would have to set their heart not on getting rid of Darbar Shri Virawala, but on converting him. This they could do only if they would set about finding his good points and working at them. They must develop infinite faith in the capacity of ahimsa to neutralise every person of himsa. True ahimsa lay in running into the mouth of himsa. If cows could be credited with intelligence, it is conceivable that given a sufficient number of such cows, who would run into the tiger's mouth, the latter would

lose the relish for cow flesh and change his nature. They must, therefore, shed their fear of Darbar Shri Virawala and their disbelief in the power of ahimsa to achieve the seemingly impossible.

They listened to this (to them) new doctrine with attention. I did not ask them whether they were convinced. I hope they were. They would quite legitimately have asked me: 'Are you yourself so convinced of the correctness of this extraordinary attitude you have commended to us as to tear the award to pieces and simply rely upon the goodness of Darbar Shri Virawala's heart?' If they had asked this question, I would have been obliged to say: 'I have not yet found the requisite courage. Ahimsa accrues only to the courageous.'

And so I have left empty-handed, with body shattered, hope cremated. Rajkot has been to me a priceless laboratory. My patience has been sorely tried by the tortuous politics of Kathiawad. I have asked the workers to confer with Darbar Shri Virawala, to forget me and Sardar Patel, and if they get enough to satisfy their least wants, they may accept the offer without reference to either of us. I have told Darbar Shri Virawala, 'I am defeated. May you win. Placate the people by giving as much as possible and wire to me so as to revive the hope which I seem to have lost for the moment.'

On the train to Bombay. 24-4-39

POPULAR VIOLENCE IN RAMDURG

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have said not a word about Ramdurg up to now. I had a wire from Dr. Hardikar not to commit myself till I had heard from him. And Rajkot left me not a moment for any other work. I have only now on the train read the report prepared by Shris Divakar, Kaujalgi and Hardikar. I have also a revealing note from Shri Divakar. I have studied Shri Gangadhar Rao Deshpande's note on the tragedy. I had a visit from Shri Munnavali, President of the Praja Sangh, and Shri Magadi. The report of Shris Divakar, Kaujalgi and Hardikar is a dispassionate document and satisfactory in so far as it goes. This is its conclusion:

"In the end we feel that the officers have acted tactlessly to a great extent and allowed the police to have their way. We believe that they could have controlled the situation if they had acted a little more patiently and put the workers of the Praja Sangh on their honour as they had done many a time. But though there was provocation, we do not think that it was so great as to arouse the brute in man and it must be laid at the door of the high inflammable temper of the people. They seemed to have readily believed the rumours and got infuriated.

But there is absolutely no justification for any kind of violence even under the greatest provocation. In fact, the greater the provocation the greater is the opportunity and necessity for showing a non-violent spirit. That being our ideal we cannot defend any slightest violence under any circumstances. The events only show that the Praja Sangh had no control over the forces of violence which were hiding in the people. It is a matter for the deepest regret, and this tragedy is sure to act detrimentally against all popular movements in States. It is a clear warning

to all workers in the field and everyone must realise that before one feels sure that the people are rightly trained and disciplined in non-violence it is unwise to begin any great mass movement."

A study of the evidence before me leads me to the conclusion that whatever the provocation, the popular fury was wanton, cruel and deliberate. Over two thousand villagers had collected with the set purpose of wreaking vengeance. They were intent upon releasing the President and the other prisoners. Congressmen cannot escape blame for the savagery of the people. The villagers were having the wrong lesson given to them. Ranpur in Orissa was the first finger-post. Ramdurg is the second. No one has denied the fact that the Rajasaheb of Ramdurg was a friend of the Congress. He deserved better treatment. I am not just now concerned with the truth or otherwise of the evidence on provocation. There are grave enough charges. But it has never been the Congress policy to plead provocation, howsoever grave, in justification of popular violence. We shall lose all if we play with this fundamental provision of the Congress. I had remarked before the Ramdurg outbreak that I smelt violence in the very air I was breathing. I am very sensitive to the slightest exhibition of violence or untruth. They are twins.

I am quite clear that the Provincial Congress Committees as well as the Working Committee when it is formed must take strong measures to purge the Congress ranks of violence in thought, word and deed. What little I read of the public press shows that there is often a departure from truth and non-violence. How this evil can be remedied I do not know. The press managed or owned by Congressmen might be amenable to moral control. I am, however, inclined to think that the greatest mischief is done by Congressmen working in the villages. It ought not to be difficult to bring these under rigid discipline.

I suggest an impartial inquiry into the events. The Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee should entrust it to a High Court Judge. If the Rajasaheb will help, the task will be easy. But even if he does not, there should be no difficulty in getting at the truth.

There is another untoward result of the Ramdurg movement. It has taken a communal turn. There are two parties, Brahmin and non-Brahmin. My own feeling has hitherto been that Karnatak had remained fairly free from the curse. But the cuttings and papers that have been sent to me show that the evil has gone deep enough to demand an immediate remedy. I have been asked to offer guidance in the matter. It would be presumptuous on my part to give any guidance without a proper study on the spot of the tension. I can only suggest that if there are enough Brahmins and non-Brahmins interested in removing the tension, they should tour the affected area, find out causes and deal with them. The tension is a symptom of the growing spirit of violence in the country.

On the train to Bombay, 24-4-39

right on the hill top commanding a lovely view of the lake below.

The revenue of the state is Rs. 9,51,000 and population is 1,12,872. In all these parts the proportion of the Harijans to the general population is roughly between 1/5th to 1/6th. There is no branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangh either here or in the neighbouring state of Rajgarh. Nor is any Harijan work being done by any other agency. An organisation called the Mitra Mandal is the only public body working in these parts which are so cut off from the rest of the world owing to their being unconnected with any railway system. Whatever little public work is done in the state is the result of the exertions of the few friends belonging to the Mitra Mandal. Some of them have promised us that they will start work amongst the Harijans and will keep us in touch with their work in future.

One little school for the chamar children was started by the state a week before our arrival. A small beginning for the spinning work has also been made by organising spinning amongst a few destitute women. We could not meet the ruler of the state as he was not at Narsinghgarh. The Dewan Shri Jagdish Singh refused to give us permission for holding a public meeting. He nevertheless allowed us to address the Harijans. Consequently in the Harijan locality a very good meeting was held which was attended not only by hundreds of Harijans but by several Caste Hindus as well. We pressed on the Dewan Sahab the necessity of the state interesting itself in the welfare of the Harijans, and he promised to engage a social worker on behalf of the state who would look after the needs of the Harijans. He has requested us to supply him with one such worker.

After having spent one day at Narsinghgarh we motored 30 miles, through a most fertile soil with fields of cotton growing on both sides, to the adjoining state of Rajgarh. Rajgarh is situated on the banks of a little river whose waters are preserved by means of a weir, thus giving the river the shape of a running lake. The palaces and the state guest-houses are scattered all over the surrounding hills. This lovely little capital is maintained with great care and has a very trim and tidy appearance.

The ruler of this state is a minor who lives at Indore. The administration is carried on by a council whose President is also the Dewan of the State. The population is 9,34,891 and the annual revenue Rs. 11,50,000. Dewan Devi Singhji was courtesy personified. His officers escorted us wherever we went and gave us all information. There was not a trace of Harijan work or any other public work in this state. A few members of the Mitra Mandal who had come with us are likely to start some Harijan work. We visited the Harijan quarters and found that

sweepers were ill paid and other Harijan castes suffered from unemployment. The next day we visited Beawara, a district town of the state, and found acute distress of unemployment. Men and women came forward with despair in their eyes complaining that cheap Japanese shoes had killed their trade. The leather and shoe-making work was no longer profitable and whole families were suffering from want of work and bread. They even could not find odd wage-earning work on the roads or elsewhere. The same complaints were made by Koris and others who were weavers by profession. They said they could not give their full time to weaving for want of a market and there was no other work to do.

Both verbally and in writing we asked the state to (1) impose a heavy customs duty on Japanese shoes (2) organise spinning amongst the Harijans (3) raise the pay of the sweepers (4) give them educational facilities by giving the students scholarships and by starting schools for them.

We have also suggested that the state might send one or two men to the tannery at Wardha for training in tanning and leather work.

In the evening an open air public meeting was held which was attended by over a thousand men. It was an excellent attendance considering that the population of the town was only six thousand. The time of the meeting which was after sunset was most inconvenient for it was bitterly cold. Her Highness the Maharani though living in strict purdah came with other inmates of the palace and attended the meeting sitting in her car with closed doors and drawn curtains. We impressed on the audience the need of the removal of untouchability as well as that of boycotting all foreign shoes and cloth.

I wish the All India Spinners' Association could start their work in this state amongst the Harijans and give them some relief in their great distress.

Books on Absolute Pacifism

	Price	Postage
Dick Sheppard — We Say 'No'	2 7	0 3
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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ONE ANNA

A WORTHY ATONEMENT

The conflagration that surrounds Gandhiji on every side is not without its redeeming features. If it were so it would certainly consume him. But everywhere there are in evidence features to soothe and comfort and hearten which often make him utter the memorable words of the Gujarati Poet:

Happiest are those that plunge in Fire,

The lookers-on are all but scorched by flames.

These thoughts arise in me as I begin to think of the storm that is raging over the proposed introduction of Prohibition in Bombay. The Parsis—some of them, certainly not all—have organised an agitation against it, and there have been protest meetings and processions. Gandhiji has had quite a fair number of letters too, a few full of anger but most of them courteous. Last week, however, I had a different kind of letter from a Parsi friend who has been with us through thick and thin for the last 20 years, but whom his long ailment has disabled from taking active part in our movements. Had he not been bed-ridden, he would I am sure be with Dr. Gilder bearing the brunt of the campaign and helping to educate Parsi public opinion. Here is a gist of what he writes :

"I am writing to express the depth of my agony over what is happening in Bombay. Some members of my community have raised a storm of protest against the campaign of Prohibition which I am sure cannot but be of lasting benefit to all, particularly to my community. Let me assure you that the agitation is sure to be short-lived. A community which has produced so many philanthropists is bound to realise sooner than later the essentially humanitarian aspect of this sacred movement and bless Gandhiji one day for having saved the community from spiritual ruin. I have no doubt in my mind that Gandhiji and Dr. Gilder have taken a step which was most urgently needed for the benefit of the community. I need not say that my wife and I always pray for success of the sacred movement, and, by way of penance for what some of my co-religionists have done in order to keep the drink evil alive in India, I send you a humble contribution which I would request you to use either for the Prohibition or the Harijan cause.

Let me add that the objection raised against Prohibition on the score of religion is absurd.

For us it is painful in the extreme that the name of religion should have been dragged in support of an unholy movement.

My contribution is by way of penance both for what we have done in the past and what we Parsis are doing today. But let me assure you that the agitation is confined to only a few of us."

The amount of the contribution is Rs. 1,000. It is really worth a hundred times the actual amount, for I know that it represents the hard-earned saving of several years, and perhaps means a cut on our friend's future budget. A worthier act of atonement than this cannot be thought of. Let us hope it will rouse the dormant consciences of many of us and help in carrying further forward this civilising and purifying movement.

M. D.

SCRAP THE EMPIRE TO SAVE DEMOCRACY

Empire Or Democracy by Leonard Barnes is a cool, dispassionate, ruthless, and by far the best, and is the latest, analysis of imperialism in all its aspects, and of British imperialism in particular—defined as "the forcible subjecting to British rule of India, Ceylon, tropical Africa, and West Indies, and the rest of the so-called dependencies and mandated territories". Every chapter contains a careful marshalling of facts and the conclusions flowing from those facts, and all chapters from the first to the last are one unbreakable chain of reasoning leading up to the conclusion that if democracy is to be saved, the Empire and all it means must go by the board.

Empire a Class Interest

The Empire is really not worth much, says the author, if only the Britisher would for a moment sit down to think coolly and disengage himself from the mass of self-deception that has been sedulously cultivated. Thus in a series of chapters he examines the question, "What are Empires worth?" in its several aspects, viz. of investment, trade and jobs. Take the aspect of investment :

"The *Economist* (November 20th, 1937) estimates that the average rate of yield on British capital overseas has varied between 5 and 7 per cent. of the nominal amount of capital. Take the intermediate figure of 6 per cent. as the probable yield on the £ 639 million, and you find that the whole dependent Empire brings Britain in an investment income of

about £ 38 millions a year. This is less than one-fifth of our total overseas investment income, and less than one-hundredth of our total national income. If the investment yield from all the dependent Empire were suddenly cut off, our position would be like that of a man whose income was reduced from £ 400 to £ 396 a year.... We may say that the dependent Empire (including the great territories of India and tropical Africa) no longer plays a part of any special importance in our national economy from our investment point of view. Britain still receives from it, by way of tribute on past lendings, some £ 38 million a year, most of which goes into the pockets of a few big industrial and financial concerns and which cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be thought to compensate the common people of this country for the overhead costs of maintaining imperial rule."

As regards trade the author says:

"Our present system of preferential Empire trade is valued not as such a common benefit, but as a private privilege from which certain industrial and merchant interests actually profit in their particular businesses, and from which others hope to profit in theirs."

As regards jobs, the author concludes from a study of the figures that "one of the main advantages of the Empire is that it enables middle-class persons to live upper-class lives, on condition of their removing to the tropics to do so. Furthermore, the pressure on the labour market for the middle classes at home is very appreciably reduced by this outlet." The general conclusion is that though the Empire is of value to Britain, "it is none the less false to assume that inside Britain there exists a single homogeneous community to all of whose members the maintenance of the imperial system is of equal benefit. The people who gain directly from the Empire are certain numerically small groups embodying particular commercial, manufacturing, investing and professional interests; the people who gain indirectly are all those who are concerned to preserve the existing economic and social order. To those numerically much larger classes whose interests are bound up with the radical reconstruction of that order the Empire is, on the other hand, a grave disadvantage." Therefore at best the Empire is a class interest, which is buttressed up by all kinds of devices — a crude call to hero-worship, sensational story, adventure and the sporting spirit. "The drum", for instance, is a work of art produced to emphasize the assumption "that Britain has fared forth to the ends of the earth, conferring gratuitous benefits on all and sundry, and that the proudest moment in the life of a brown-skinned oriental is when he catches sight of a Union Jack unfurling above him." Whether one agrees or not fully with the Marxian solution of the question, there is no doubt that the Britisher clings to the Empire with a persistent faith which is reckless of moral consideration or which with an amazing self-deception turns the opposite of moral into moral.

How the Trust Is Fulfilled !

The reader need not be detained over the chapters on 'What it feels like to be a colony'. The story of the occupation of Zululand, Rhodesia, Uganda is more or less known. How they are governed is not so well known. We need not go into the figures of education. A paragraph about health and nutrition in Rhodesia is cruelly eloquent: "Let us turn to the annual report of the Medical Director in Southern Rhodesia. We there find that during the year ending November 1935, for instance, some 75,000 Africans were employed in the mines of the colony. In this labour force the total casualties from disease during the year amount to 41,630 or about 55 per cent." And as regards civil liberties in the colonies, the following paragraph will suffice:

"Since the last war, and hand in hand with the closing of the economic door to foreign nations, the common law liberties of Africans have been trenched upon so far that very little of them remains. The new penal codes relate to personal movement, to the right of association and combination, to freedom of speech and writing, including the importation of literature, gramophone records, etc., and in practice they widen in a remarkable way the legal meaning given to the word sedition.... Colonial Governments have been given unfettered discretion to intern or deport natives without trial and without bringing specific charges; to break up and confiscate the funds of any political or industrial organisation; and to prohibit or disperse summarily any gathering of natives. Any native association, for example, whose members undertake not to accept wages below a certain level may be declared illegal."

As regards taxation, the author remarks: "What are we to say of British Eastern Africa, where the average cash income per family is estimated to be £3 per year, of which one-third is paid to the Government in direct taxation alone (hut tax and poll tax)?" Besides these there are many indirect taxes. And what is the return? There is the Maize Control Scheme which benefits only the European farmer, and in Southern Rhodesia, which was occupied for gold, and where gold has been mined for centuries by Africans, the best of the land with all the minerals has been siezed by the British, and though the law does not expressly prohibit Africans from mining, they are refused licences to mine and they are required to work as servants for European miners at from 6d. to 8d. a day. As regards Kenya, "the estimates of Government revenue and expenditure in that colony show, for example, that more than two-thirds of the expenditure on roads is spent in the areas where the land is owned by Europeans." The black man bears a triple burden: "The black man's burden is not only the mining companies that spirit his gold and copper away like conjurors; not only the trading combines that manipulate against him the price of the cocoa he sells and the price of the cotton goods he buys; but also the white Sahibs who take up

the residence in his country and live on and off his land. Less lucky than Sinbad he carries three old men of the sea upon his back."

M. D.

(To be concluded)

FOR LOCAL BODIES TO COPY

Sussex is one of the counties of England. It has, in common with other counties, a Rural Community Council, a non-official body serving the people. A few months back the *London Times*, briefly reviewing the social welfare activities of the Council, said: "For seven years the Council has been supporting the people's efforts to build for themselves the kind of village life they want. One service deals with the prevention and care of tuberculosis. Here aid is given in problems arising from housing, occupation, and so on, and a bungalow is maintained for the use of ex-patients. Child welfare is also within the Council's purview, and in this it is helped by voluntary organizers. Health publicity on an extensive scale is done as well." "The most interesting part of the Council's programme," the review goes on to say, "is the preservation of rural industries As an example of its practical measures, the Council publishes an illustrated list of 120 Sussex craftsmen and the goods they make."

I have got before me this beautifully printed booklet of 15 pages, entitled "One Hundred and Twenty Sussex Craftsmen: the Goods they make meeting the requirements of house and garden and farm and where, in Sussex, they are working." It gives elaborate lists of things required in an average house, in a garden, and on a farm, which are made by handicraftsmen in Sussex. Another list gives classified addresses of various artisans living in the county—blacksmiths and brick-makers, weavers and wheelwrights, spinners and silversmiths, stone masons and wood workers, hurdle makers and fencing contractors. There is hardly any requirement of the village life that is left out. The eight photographs given in the booklet show a spinning wheel, a farm cart, a fine example of wrought iron gate, and a potter, a blacksmith and a broom-maker at work. The short descriptions under the pictures breathe a sort of justifiable pride in the skill of the handicraftsmen. Of handwoven goods, for instance, it is said: "There are more professional hand-weavers in Sussex than in any other County of England. The standard of work is remarkably high, and the stocks very varied, ranging from light-weight dress fabrics to heavy hangings for the house. Prices compare favourably with those of machine-made goods." Of the potters it is said: "Sussex potters have an excellent sense of 'form'. The shapes of Sussex hand-thrown pottery are more beautiful than the monotonous shapes of mass-production. From hand printing to fine carving the art of the true craftsman enters into all sidelines as well as all main lines of craftsmanship. Prices are not prohibitive." And thus of the farm cart: "Prices are fully competitive, for the

best workmanship in the world." Of the trugs, a speciality of Sussex, it remarks: "The Sussex 'trug' is the most useful form of 'basket' whether for house, garden or farm. This purely Sussex industry is centred at Herstmonceux from where Sussex trugs have been sold in all parts of the world for over one hundred years." "Thanks to the advertising done for it by the Council, the craft now flourishes, and Sussex trugs are sold all over the country."

"Wattle-making," says the review in the *Times*, "is another rural occupation which is being fostered. Wattles are hurdles constructed of hazel rods woven between upright stakes. Making them is one of rural England's prehistoric crafts.....The smiths have been hard hit by the mechanization of farming, but they are being encouraged to turn their skill into new directions such as the making of ornamental iron-work."

Even more remarkable is the enthusiasm and thoroughness that the Council brings to bear on its self-chosen mission. Here is the letter addressed by the Chairman of the Rural Industries Committee of the Council to the people of the county:

"I constantly hear it said that some Sussex Resident, Statutory Body, Professional or Commercial Firm—has placed orders or bought goods outside Sussex 'because we did not know that they were made in Sussex'.

If at any time you fail to get your requirements through the Pamphlet herewith, please send a post-card to the Sussex R. C. C., Old Bank House, Lewes—and we will do our best to put you in touch with a Maker of the Goods you require. The Council has no commercial interest in the matter. Its function is to bring the Sussex Purchaser and the Sussex Maker together, and thus answer the question 'Why go outside Sussex for your needs?'"

This is a laudable effort at inculcating in the people the spirit of Swadeshi and rural-mindedness, worthy of imitation by our local bodies like municipalities and local boards and social service associations. Its usefulness, even in a mechanized country like England, has been duly recognized. "Bodies like the Community Council," observes the *Times*, "can often put new life into old village occupations by finding ways in which they can fulfil some modern requirement. Young men are thus induced to learn the craft and remain in the country instead of drifting to the towns." In our country, where the need of putting new life into moribund village industries is much more urgent and widespread, there is much that our local bodies can do in this direction, if only they resolve to meet their requirements preferably from local handicraft products and make it a part of their function "to bring the District Purchaser and the District Maker together, and thus answer the question, Why go outside the District for your needs?" Will they hearken to the call and respond?

C. S.

H A R I J A N

May 6

1939

JAIPUR PRISONERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Jaipur Durbar *communiqué* on the treatment of Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj and the other prisoners reads like a laboured defence of the *status quo*. The question about Sheth Jamnalalji is simple. It is admitted that he is locked up in an out of the way place where the water is said to be 'heavy' according to the Indian notion. It is admitted that the place is difficult of access. He has been given no companion. Why this isolation? Is he a dangerous character? Is he an intriguer? One can understand detention as he chose to defy the ban on his entry into his own birthplace.

The authorities know that Shethji is an ideal prisoner. He believes in meticulous observance of jail discipline. It is cruel to isolate him as he has been isolated from the outside world. The greatest want of prisoners is the companionship of their equals in thought, manners and customs. I suggest that without much ado he be transferred to a place which is easily accessible and healthy and where he is allowed company.

The special pleading with reference to the Satyagrahi prisoners in Lamba is much worse. They admit that the place selected for their incarceration is an old snake-infested fort. But they point out that in spite of the place being snake-infested no one has as yet been bitten by the reptiles! Must the Jaipur Durbar's conscience wait for snakebites before it is stirred to action? It should be remembered that these prisoners were transferred to Lamba because they had the presumptuousness to hunger-strike for better treatment. The strike would have continued but for my intervention.

The much larger question of the object of Satyagraha still remains unsolved. And yet it is not at all large. It is aimed at getting the Praja Sangh recognized. The Durbar have laid down the impossible condition of recognition, viz., that its officials should not be members of any political organization outside the State. Thus Sheth Jamnalalji himself could not remain President of the Sangh because he is connected with the National Congress. Satyagraha has been suspended at my instance in Jaipur as in many other States. It would not remain suspended for ever. I entertain the hope that the States concerned will placate the advanced and awakened section of their people. And I suggest to the Jaipur Durbar that they are going the wrong way by keeping them locked up even though their Satyagraha has been suspended. In any case what I must call the inhuman treatment of the

prisoners, including Sheth Jamnalalji, might surely stop at once.

Sodepur, 30-4-39

HEART-SEARCHING

As on the previous occasion, before leaving Rajkot Gandhiji called a meeting of the Parishad workers on the evening of 23rd April to explain to them the working of his mind and to tell them what he expected of them. The following is a gist of his talk:

" Labour Not Wasted "

" As you know for the last fifteen days I have striven hard to find a solution to the Rajkot tangle. But I am sorry to have to confess to you that in this I have failed. I am most grieved over our failure to arrive at a settlement with the Bhayats and the Mussalmans. But I have the conviction, and I want you to share that conviction with me, that our labour has not been wasted. Providence has its appointed hour for everything. We cannot command results; we can only strive. And so far as I am concerned it is enough satisfaction for me to know that I have striven my utmost to discharge the duty that rested on me.

In making my 'sporting offer' to Mr. Gibson yesterday, I know I was making a big surrender. I could have demanded that the Thakore Saheb be made to implement his promise in full, and if I had insisted on it, the Paramount Power would have probably been forced to intervene. But I felt that such a course, though legitimate, would under the circumstances not be the best course for any of the parties concerned. And so I chose instead the alternative of putting your head into the lap of the 'enemy'.

" Acid Test of Our Ahimsa "

Let me explain to you the working of my mind in making that offer. I hold it to be an axiomatic truth that true ahimsa never fails to impress itself on the opponent. If it does, to that extent it is imperfect. All the time that I have been engaged in the Rajkot question this question has been forcing itself upon me: 'Why has our ahimsa failed to gain recognition from the State authorities?' In South Africa the conceding of the first demands of Satyagrahis did not leave any ill-feeling behind it. For 8 long years General Smuts fought uncompromisingly against the claims of the Indian community. But in the end he recognized the justice of the claims. What was possible in South Africa should be possible in Rajkot too. There we were a handful of Indians pitted against the entire Boer population. Here numbers are on your side. There our fight was against a Government. But here you have only to gain entrance into the heart of one man. Surely there must be something seriously wrong about us and our ahimsa if we cannot even do that. To say that there can be no peace in Rajkot so long as Darbar Virwala is there, is to speak not the language of ahimsa but of himsa. Your and mine ahimsa.

is today on its test. I want you to rise to the full height of the occasion.

I have been holding a silent court of inquiry within myself. How is it that I came to Rajkot on a Mission of Peace but have ended by antagonizing Darbar Virawala and the State authorities? I had banked upon the ancestral family relationship existing between me and the Thakore Saheb, but instead I had to seek the intervention of the Paramount Power. 'What a lapse from grace this,' I said to myself. I feel crest-fallen and humbled. Should I absolve the Paramount Power altogether from its promise? I have been thinking furiously on these lines. But my self-confidence seems to have deserted me for the moment. However, I leave these thoughts with you for what they are worth to ponder and think over. Capacity to convert the heart of Darbar Virawala is the acid test of your ahimsa as it is of mine.

The discovery I have made is this. No matter what concessions you succeed in getting from the State authorities, it is only to the extent they are the result of a true heart conversion on their part that you will be able to enjoy or digest them. But your ahimsa to be effective must shine through your speech, your action, your general behaviour. A votary of ahimsa must cultivate a habit of unremitting toil, sleepless vigilance, ceaseless self-control.

"Turn the Searchlight Inward"

Let me explain my meaning further by an illustration. Yesterday I was engaged for five hours in a talk with Darbar Virawala. He was the same as before. But I had gone there with the dawn of a fresh spirit, as a result of all my heart-searching upon me. My reaction to him this time was different. 'We are after all weat nature has made us, and it is no use quarreling with nature,' I said to myself, and I tried to get as much as I could to get under his skin, to view questions from his angle. I did not mince matters and even told him some home truths. But there was no irritation on my part or resentment on his. It was a different atmosphere. I told him that I was prepared to be locked up with him in a room till a settlement was reached. But for that mutual trust was necessary which I on my part had lost with reference to him. I feared him and distrusted him. I therefore invited him to remove my fears and to convert me.

I have not the time to share with you all the recollections of this interview. But there was one thing in this interview that galled me and to which I wish to draw your particular attention. He had an unmixed contempt for the Parishad people. I had noticed this before too. But now it hurt me. Why should your Satyagraha excite his contempt of all things? I can understand ahimsa inspiring a kind of fear, the sort of fear that a mother feels when her child gets offended and goes to sleep hungry without taking food. But genuine Satyagraha should never excite contempt in the opponent even when it

fails to command regard or respect. This is not super-refinement on my part. Satyagraha is nothing if not a ceaseless quest after perfection. A Satyagrahi therefore turns the searchlight inward relentlessly to weed out the defects that may be lying hidden there still. Thereby he increases his capacity to serve the cause he has espoused a thousandfold.

Implications of Ahimsa

I have asked you always to rely upon your own inner strength instead of banking upon outside help. But I now want you to go a step further. You must now cease to look for guidance from without. Satyagraha should become to you an independent inspiration. It should be intolerable for you and me both that you should depend in every little thing on my advice. You must make a firm resolve that you will now arrive at a settlement according to your own inner light and conviction, and that too with Darbar Virawala, not without him. You may drop ahimsa if you find that it does not suit you or is likely to make cowards of you. But if you decide to follow the path of ahimsa, then you should know that it will be an empty name unless it aims at the conversion of the heart of the opponent.

Let me offer you a few concrete suggestions in this connection. If you accept the approach that I have indicated, I would like all the seven of you, whom the Sardar has nominated, to go to Darbar Virawala and tell him that you have decided to relieve me of all responsibility in connection with Rajkot, that you would like likewise to relieve the Paramount Power, too, of its responsibility in this behalf and rely instead entirely on your capacity to induce him to implement the notification of December 26th. Ask him to tell you as to what you should do to win his heart. Hold yourself in readiness to drain to the last the bitter cup of personal indignities and humiliations." It was only when I had learnt to reduce myself to a zero that I was able to evolve the power of Satyagraha in South Africa.

Ahimsa must express itself through acts of selfless service of the masses. I cannot think of a better symbol of or medium for its expression than the spinning wheel.

Ahimsa is a science. The word 'failure' has no place in the vocabulary of science. Failure to obtain the expected result is often the precursor to further discoveries. It is in that spirit that you should approach and pursue your present mission."

A Correction

In the issue dated 22nd April, on page 93, in col. 1, line 5 from bottom, read "Bhayat" instead of "Bhayats".

Educational Reconstruction

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A WAIL FROM ERANDOL

Shri Sitaram Birla, the energetic Secretary of the East Khandesh District Congress Committee, who has been taking a keen active interest in the local paper-making craft at Erandol, writes the following pathetic letter:

"There is at present a big stock of handmade paper lying unsold with the artisans. It is worth approximately Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 2,500. The manufacturers are always in want of money and have to mortgage the readymade paper at an exorbitant rate of interest. Last year your article in *Harijan* helped us to clear off a large quantity of paper. This year the stocks have again accumulated and the demand is insignificant. Till recently hardly four factories kept working and employed 30 to 35 persons. But since the inception of the village industries movement and the coming of the Congress into power, the number of factories working regularly has risen to ten, and 120 to 125 persons—men as well as women—now find a living through this work. All these artisans and labourers are able to earn a minimum wage of one anna per hour for a standard quantity of output in various processes. Thus their wages conform to the policy of living wages laid down by Gandhiji.

In former times the Erandol paper had a good local market and was also in demand in the Nagpur area. Up to 1938 about Rs. 2,500 worth of paper was exported annually to those parts and was preferred for use by merchants for their account books owing to its toughness and durability. But last year the retail dealers there misled them by saying that the manufacture of paper at Erandol had stopped altogether. As a result there is no longer any brisk demand for our paper in that area. A few merchants still get their paper directly from us, but their demand is naturally very limited. Those who were in the habit of using our paper need to be informed that paper has not only not stopped being made at Erandol but is made in a larger quantity than ever before. The quality too has considerably improved, and a few new varieties have also been introduced. May I appeal to the readers of *Harijan* to place large orders for paper with us and help in clearing the accumulated stocks?"

Let us hope the appeal will not fall on deaf ears. It is remarkable how the birth of the village industries movement and the coming into power of the Congress have inspired new hope in the artisans (who, incidentally, in this case are all Mussalmans) and how they have begun returning to the occupation as soon as it showed the least signs of revival. The public will fail in their duty if they belie the hopes of these artisans and let the industry decline again for sheer want of encouragement. Even a few of our big commercial concerns, if they so decided, would be able to consume the whole stock of paper at Erandol and such other manufacturing centres. The prices of this paper, it is true, are a bit higher than mill-made paper; but these handicraftsmen are entitled to that much protection in the shape of higher prices, and those who can afford to pay them should not grudge the poor artisans a few additional coppers earned by a hard day's labour.

The constant want of capital which compels the artisans to mortgage their paper acts as a great handicap in the further development of the industry. It is to be hoped that the

Government or the A. I. V. I. A. or both will take early steps to remove this difficulty by providing the artisans with working capital and assisting them in marketing their ware by taking over their readymade product on easy terms and thus replacing the usurer who today charges exorbitant rates of interest and thus derives a benefit out of all proportion to the service that he renders.

C. S.

RAJKOT CORRESPONDENCE

(1)

Rajkot, 29-4-39

Mahatma Gandhi—Calcutta

I am sincerely grateful to you for rightly advising the leaders of agitation to approach me as a ruler together with other members representing various interests who kept aloof from agitation in the State and settle things between ourselves. If they do so, I assure you I and my officers will do our utmost to meet their legitimate and reasonable demands. Nobody realises more than myself your anxiety in the matter, and I am most anxious to see myself in a position to send you a wire saying that we have settled things amongst ourselves and removed cause of your disappointments. My ardent desire is to come to a settlement as early as possible. The situation today is, sincere efforts are being made by all opinions of public and State to compose differences. Wishing you and Kasturba in excellent health.—THAKORESAHEB

(2)

Calcutta, 30-4-39

H. H. Thakoresaheb—Rajkot

Grateful your wire. Nothing will please me better than to find that you and your people have come to honourable understanding without any outside intervention. My wife and I keeping fairly well.—GANDHI

(3)

Rajkot 29-4-39

Mahatma Gandhi—Calcutta

Am grateful for letter of twentysixth. My statement being of prior date kindly request not to misunderstand. Am doing utmost for settlement. Ninety-nine out of hundred people in city most anxious immediate settlement. Dhebar and his few followers are an obstacle. Dhebar going Bombay consult Vallabhbbhai. This is strongly resented by His Highness and public as it causes delay and brings Vallabhbbhai in again in spite of your advice to keep him aloof. Most earnestly request advise Vallabhbbhai not to interfere and delay settlement. Instruct Mahadevbbhai to await telephone call between eight and ten p.m. today.—VIRAWALA

(4)

Calcutta, 30-4-39

Darbar Virawala—Rajkot

I shall not misunderstand you and shall hold you to your promise to come honourable settlement. Ask you not be angry Dhebarbbhai who is good man. Neither Sardar nor I have any desire interfere with mutual honourable settlement between His Highness and people. Expect reach Rajkot about twelfth unless meanwhile you send me good news.—GANDHI

A HARIJAN TOUR

(By Rameshwari Nehru)

V

On the way from Ratlam to Banswara we stopped at Dohad for the night. This was the last railway station from which we again had to take to the motor road. Dohad is the centre of the Bhil Seva Mandal started by Thakkar Bapa. Here we saw their newly built headquarters and on the way stopped at two ashrams situated in the midst of Bhil villages. In these ashrams workers were living along with their families and were running neat little boarding houses for the Bhil boys as well as doing propaganda work amongst the general body of the Bhils. In these areas I made my first acquaintances with this community. I was charmed with their simplicity, naive and unsophisticated ways. Their condition, as is well known, is even worse than the Harijans'. They hardly know the use of the bedding and their men scarcely wear any clothing. I went into a few Bhil huts in Barwani State and was agreeably surprised to see the dwellings faultlessly neat and tidy. One of the huts I visited was more or less a pattern for the rest of them. There was a separate shed for cattle and a separate one for poultry. Grains and cereals were neatly stocked in huge barrels made of bamboo. There was a place for the water jars also. The mistress of the house was full of smiles and welcome. Goodwill freely emanated from her. There was not a trace on her face of reserve or suspicion or fear. She was the veritable unquestioned mistress of the house. The husband, grown-up sons and daughters-in-law all shrank back and only she maintained the conversation. I do not think any educated woman from a highly civilized society could have played the hostess better. This house was perhaps one of the richest I had seen among the Bhils. Generally the most grinding poverty is their lot. And yet, these children of the forest have nothing to complain, nothing to nurse anger against. It seemed to me as if in them I saw a living embodiment of the idea of ahimsa. I once asked a whole body of men who looked miserably poor, if they had any grievances. With their large innocent eyes they looked at me and looked at each other and said that they had all the wanted. Only if there could be a readjustment of the time at which *bancharai* (grazing fees) was demanded from them, they would be grateful. They were perfectly willing to pay the grazing fees which they considered to be the legitimate due of the State; only they wanted to give it at a time when they had the money. The question at once arises whether this should be considered true ahimsa and whether it is not one's duty to teach discontent in such areas.

We covered a distance of sixty miles on a dusty and broken tract through a barren and hilly country before we reached Banswara. We did not find much enlightenment or education in

the State. Nothing is done by the State for the Harijans nor is any other organization working in any sphere. This State and its neighbour Dungarpur are so unapproachable that it is difficult for outsiders to come in and bring the new light. That is why the new life and the new ideas have not touched the people here. But there is one young man Chamanlal by name who unconnected with any organization is doing work on his own against great odds. He is running a little Harijan school towards the expenses of which he is paying even the little money given to him for his own maintenance by his relatives and depends for his food on his friends to whom he goes by turns. This young man is keeping a small library also from where he distributes papers and literature to the people. A well-attended public meeting was held. It was addressed by the Dewan, Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta. In the evening a women's meeting was addressed by us.

We visited the town of Partapur about 30 miles from Banswara where a good Harijan school has been maintained by the Rajputana Sangh for the last five years. We visited the Harijan quarters and addressed a public meeting.

In this State, out of a population of 225,000, only 7,000 are Harijans. There is a fair number of Bhils. The revenue of the State is Rs. 700,000 out of which only Rs. 15,000 are spent on education.

From Banswara we went on to the adjoining State of Dungarpur. These two States have many points of similarity with each other. Dungarpur is fortunate in having a devoted worker in Shri Bhogilal whose work in the State has made a great difference. Shri Bhogilal has started a Seva Dal in the State and with his band of selfless workers is doing excellent work amongst the Bhils and the Harijans. Out of a population of 227,000 only 12,000 are Harijans, but there is a very big population of the Bhils. Naturally, therefore, more work is done amongst the Bhils than amongst the Harijans. The Seva Dal is running 10 schools with 600 children in the very heart of the Bhil villages where the workers are permanently residing. Carding, spinning and weaving are taught in these schools as well as reading and writing. The object of the Seva Dal is to teach the Bhils the use of self-spun and self-woven cloth. We saw a few schools and one hostel where Bhils and Caste Hindus and Harijans were residing together. The change coming into the lives of these Bhils was quite visible. Thousands of them had collected at different places where meetings and functions were arranged, some having come from a distance of 10 to 15 miles. They were all told that Thakkar Bapa had given them years of devoted service, and so they came in their masses to give him welcome. Thakkar Bapa said that the desire for education and the great awakening which he found amongst these Bhils was not to be seen even after twenty years of work amongst the

Bhils of the Panch Mahals area where his Bhil Seva Mandal was working.

The public meeting here was perhaps the most crowded throughout the tour. It was held in an open square in the middle of the city. Not only was the vast square full of men and women but the roofs, balconies and verandahs of the houses all round were filled with people. Women had come in large numbers. In spite of this large attendance, the meeting was perfectly quiet and orderly. One good Harijan school aided by the Rajputana Sangh is maintained by the Seva Dal.

The State is co-operating with the Seva Dal. But the financial aid so far has been very meagre. His Highness the Maharaja Saheb was good enough to give us an interview. We implored him to give more encouragement to Bhil and Harijan education. The annual revenue of the State is Rs. 700,000 out of which Rs. 25,000 are spent on education. It is hoped that this amount will be further increased and that much of the Seva Dal work will be taken over by the State.

(To be concluded)

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

The A. I. C. C. passed the following resolutions at its recent session in Calcutta :

1. In view of the imminent danger of international war, the A. I. C. C. reminds the country and all others concerned of the national policy in regard to war, which the Congress has often proclaimed. This policy will be strictly adhered to, and the Congress is determined to oppose all attempts to impose a war on India and use Indian resources in a war without the consent of the Indian people.

The Committee has noted with disapproval the despatch of a small body of Indian troops towards Aden, as this can only mean their employment for British imperialist purposes.

The Committee, in particular, records its complete disapproval of the attempt being made by the British Government to amend the Government of India Act with a view to concentrating all power, in the event of a war emergency, in the hands of the Central Government which functions completely as an agent of British imperialism. While the Congress is not interested as a rule in amendments to the India Act and has worked for the whole Act to be ended, it cannot tolerate an amendment which strikes at the very basis of Provincial Autonomy and renders it a farce in case of war, which, in effect, creates a war dictatorship of the Central Government in India, and which makes the Provincial Governments helpless agents of imperialism. Any attempt to impose such an amendment on India must and will be resisted in every way open to the Congress. The Provincial Governments are warned to be ready

to carry out the policy in this respect as may be determined by the A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee, as the case may be.

2. In pursuance of the resolution passed at the Tripuri session of the Congress regarding reform of the Congress machinery, the A. I. C. C. appoints a Sub-Committee consisting of the President, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Narendra Deo and J. B. Kripalani to recommend measures for the purification of the Congress in terms of the Congress resolution.

3. The All India Congress Committee notes with grave concern the promulgation of an Order-in-Council regarding reservation of the Highlands in Kenya for Europeans, which is a violation of all announcements and assurances by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Government of India, perpetuates the policy of racial discrimination, and is an insult to India. The All India Congress Committee also places on record its opinion that the Government of India have failed to do their duty to Indians in Kenya. The All India Congress Committee is further of opinion that the situation in Kenya cannot be met by any efforts on the part of the Government of India and requests the Working Committee to take necessary steps in this behalf.

4. This meeting of the A. I. C. C., while appreciating the strenuous efforts made by Mahatma Gandhi to secure the release of political prisoners in Bengal, notes with regret the failure of the negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi and the Huq Ministry on the matter. The time during which Mahatma Gandhi expected to secure the release of all political prisoners is over. In view of the stiff and callous attitude of the Bengal Ministry and the policy adopted by it, the release of long term prisoners has become an almost hopeless question. In the opinion of the A. I. C. C. there is no longer any justification to detain in jail prisoners who have been convicted during an emergency period mostly under special powers, and especially so when the prisoners have openly expressed their aversion to terrorism.

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. therefore resolves to make the release of political prisoners in Bengal and the Punjab an all-India issue and instructs the Working Committee to devise ways and means for starting a movement all over India for the release of these prisoners.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1939

[ONE ANNA

GANDHI SEVA SANGH

Champanan

Champanan was the first place to come upon the map of political India of the last twenty years. The indigo planter and his oppression of the ryots were better known than Champanan during the century before the advent of Satyagraha. A riot of the oppressed ryot created for a moment a ripple on the surface; it was suppressed and soon forgotten. Sixty such riots are said to have taken place during the century, but the planter, with his oppression and multitude of unwarranted exactions, was unconcerned. It was the easiest thing to quell a riot.

An ignorant but persistent old peasant from Champanan had perhaps heard of the Satyagraha in South Africa and of the South African leader's visit to the Lucknow Congress. He waylaid him there, narrated to him the tale of the peasants' woes in a way to move his heart, and persuaded him to go to Champanan. Babu Brajkishore Prasad, Babu Rajendra Prasad and others who were then known as legal luminaries had also attended the Congress. Not to them, however, but to this ignorant peasant Rajkumar Shukla belongs the credit of having brought Gandhiji to Champanan.

Gandhiji had never been to Bihar before this. But he had only to see the peasants' bent and lean frames, their sunken eyes, and their tattered clothes to have a measure of the blight that had descended on this fair, well-wooded, well-watered land. 'No more riots,' he told them, 'but something more effective than riots I have brought for you.' His presence was an eyesore to the authorities, for his reputation had preceded him. For the first time in India the people found that one of them had gone to a distant part of the country to befriend his woebegone, fear-stricken brethren, and when he was ordered by the authorities to desist from his humanitarian mission, he hurled defiance at them. That was a signal of awakening to the rest of the land. But he laid down drastic restrictions. Champanan must fight its own battle and should not look for men and money from outside nor should it look to the Congress to make common cause with its campaign. But that restriction was enough to draw the brightest Bihar talent to his help. The late Maulvi Mazhar-ul-Haq, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Babu Brajkishore Prasad, Prof. Kripalani and a host of others rushed to Champanan and

consented to act as clerks, burning midnight oil, taking statements from the thousands of ryots who came with their tales of woe. On the part of the planters was alarm, exasperation, anger, but those who came in contact with Gandhiji failed to discover anger in his eyes and were disarmed. A sympathetic Governor, Sir Edward Gait, realized the situation, got the Government to announce a Commission with Sir Frank Sly as Chairman, and with Gandhiji as one of the members. The Commission swept aside the century-old oppression and with it also went its authors. The ryot began to breathe freely and suddenly realized that he should not be cowed down. But Gandhiji could not stay in Bihar to consolidate the work he had done.

Whenever Gandhiji has visited Bihar, especially the district of Champanan, thousands upon thousands have thronged to have a glimpse of him whom they regard as a miracle-worker. They storm station platforms, ride on the roof of running trains, and make a peaceful journey impossible. That adoration waxes with the time, but must be a problem to the workers. How is this overflowing energy to be harnessed? Will they remain for ever the same blindly adoring masses? The face of Champanan was changed in 1917, but a fresher change is needed. The fifth session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh has attracted larger crowds than any previous session, thousands have sat waiting from the small hours of the night for Gandhiji's *darshan*. But it has been so all these years. Can we not make them more active citizens, help them to live cleaner lives in cleaner villages? In countries with diametrically different ideologies there is not wanting this adoration and this homage to a unique leader. But are not the masses there far more organized, far more conscious of the task ahead of them? We may not copy the Nazi or Soviet ideology, but we who swear day in and day out by the constructive programme might copy some of their methods of constructive work.

This is not to say that no work has been done. The very fact that the workers could collect several thousand rupees locally and build a beautifully spread out village of grass huts is no small credit to them. Bihar women who until a little while ago never went out of their homes — or out of their kitchens and inner apartments — have broken through their *purdah* and quite a number of them had offered their

services as willing workers. It was a pleasure to see them run the kitchen and the vast dining hall. But we have not yet touched the masses. They throng for *darshan* but will not go to see an exhibition or to a lantern lecture. The figures of attendance at the Delang exhibition last year and at the exhibition here would be a study in contrasts. Not more than a few thousand have seen the exhibition this year. Awakening there is, a consciousness of strength and perhaps a false sense of rights is also there, but no education in civic sense, no discipline, no corporate and ordered life. The Bihar workers have yet an uphill task before them.

Gandhi Seva Sangh

When Gandhiji was in jail in 1922-23 and the constructive work of the Congress was at its lowest ebb, Jammalalji thought of forming an organization of people pledged to carry on Gandhiji's programme of constructive work with truth and non-violence as their creed. For years together only three members of the Working Committee were members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, and Shri Jammalalji resigned as *Sevak* and became *Sahayak* of the Sangh three years ago because he felt that he could not stand the test of the ethical and spiritual implications of the Sangh's policy. Had it been a political body he would have had no reason to resign his membership. At Hudli in 1937 even the question whether members might contest elections was hotly discussed, and even this year the question whether the Sangh should have its own political party was discussed and ruled out. The bulk of the members are rural workers and many are engaged in exclusively khadi, Harijan and educational activities. The fact is that though the Sangh has as its members those who are actively engaged in political work, it is not a political organization. It has no membership fee, it does not run its candidates either for the provincial or A. I. C. C. elections or for the Assembly elections.

Neither is the Sangh a religious order with rigid rules and iron discipline. It is an association of seekers — *sadhaks* — and strivers after self-purification. They have their morning and evening prayers at which they repeat the elevenfold vow — non-violence, truth, non-stealing, purity, non-possession, body-labour, control of the palate, fearlessness, equal respect for all religions, swadeshi, exclusion of untouchability — and their life, if they are true, must be a conscious attempt to live these vows. Workers in various fields and belonging to various organizations have joined this in order to live a truer, simpler, and more self-examined life than a purely political life connotes. It is a loose organization in that it has no home or members' residential quarters, and it has no minimum educational or similar qualification for membership. While it has as its members ex-presidents of the Congress, its own president has been nothing more than a four-anna member of the Congress. Every year

they meet for, if I may say so, spiritual communion, and though they have no elaborate resolutions, they share their experiences, discuss difficulties in day-to-day work, and go away with spiritual provision to help them through the next year.

This Year's Meeting

When one realizes that the Sangh is no political organization, one easily understands its programme of work for six or seven days at the annual gatherings. Its deliberations do not last for more than three hours a day during which resolutions are discussed but hardly ever put to vote. Two days are devoted to members asking questions arising out of their work or the situation in the country and Gandhiji or the president answers them. Gandhiji by his talks stimulates self-introspection in them, and members are invited to discuss what Gandhiji has said.

There are side-shows too. Thus, this year there was the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition, Basic Education Exhibition, popular lectures to village folk, and so on. In the daily routine is a programme of manual work by members for two or three hours—manual work which would be of some direct benefit to the villages in the neighbourhood and which would also be an example in self-help. This year too we had this programme. But it has got to be more organized, for it is being done in a more or less haphazard manner. We have men's meetings but no attempt has yet been made to have village women's meetings in villages and have them addressed by women workers and leaders. A most inspiring part of the programme is half an hour's spinning by the members in silence. This leaves room for improvement. Slivers of the best and uniform quality must be given to the members; the time should if possible be doubled, and the results declared, if possible, every day, or at any rate at the beginning of every session. Statistics are kept but I do not know what happens to them. Out of the six or seven days two may be set apart for visits by members to the villages in the vicinity, and notes of their visits may be compared. The discussions in the pandal should be more business-like, there should be more economy of time, and care should be taken that no one takes a spiritual or ethical discussion to morbid lengths. In the kitchen and the dining hall there may be more scope for co-operation and mutual help. The members are treated as guests of the province which invites the Sangh, but they may well be invited to help in the cooking and serving.

The President's Address

The President, as usual, tried to think aloud in his address. Shri Mashruwala is a man of finely spiritual and sensitive temperament and he is always frank in his observations, and acute in his criticisms. He deplored the triple

violence in the land. "It appears in communal disturbances, repression in Indian States, and in Congress organizations. It is spreading among the so-called educated people. Our schools and colleges must own their share of the blame. Communism and communalism are now rampant even within their sacred precincts. The average youth of the last generation had no communal feeling in him, though he was an orthodox member of his community. The average youth today is neither Hindu nor Mussalman in his outward conduct but is anti-Mussalman or anti-Hindu in his outlook, and communal hatred breeds goondaism. The schools and colleges have also developed a neo-civilisation which ridicules all self-restraint and makes a religion of licence and libertinism. These fan the flame of other disruptive forces and might well become a formidable menace."

He had toured the country during the year and he gave two instances of commendable and enduring work and of the method of identifying oneself with the masses. The one was the revivalist movement among the Bhils in East Khandesh under the leadership of Gula Maharaj, a devotee who died about a year ago. He had brought about a revolution in the lives of ignorant, illiterate aborigines who had given up drink and meat-eating and were leading pure lives. "We often complain of want of response from the people. But Gula Maharaj made no such complaint. For he was the true image of their ideals, the realisation of their dreams, their guide and their guru. In Gula Maharaj we have an illustration on a small scale of how Gandhiji has been able to work the revolution in this country. When a man's spirit becomes so enlarged that he feels identified with his people as though they were his own limbs, he acquires the power of moving and controlling the people in the same way as we move and control our limbs. I saw this vividly when I saw more than five thousand lamps being waved simultaneously at Morgaon in response to the silent movement of the Guru."

Then he gave the instance of the work at Vinayashram in Andhradesh. "Shri G. Sitaram Sastri, who is known for his simple and abstemious habits and whose life might well become a recluse, does not live like a recluse. He mixes with the people, does not keep himself aloof from their various ceremonies—even though he may not believe in them—and thus feels at home with them and makes them look upon him as one of them. He thus slowly but surely works for reform, and as they must have him at the ceremonies they cannot resist his suggestions for improvement. His Ashram is thus not like a segregation camp in a village but an intimate part of the village whence it may derive light and inspiration. It is perhaps one way of applying the teaching of the Gita—'The wise man should lead the people by performing all acts himself which he wants them to perform.'"

The following resolution was passed by the Sangh after thorough, mature and prolonged deliberation:

"The object of the Gandhi Seva Sangh is to serve the people through constructive activities in accordance with Gandhiji's principles. As, for the fulfilment of that object, it is necessary to participate in political activities also, the Sangh has always permitted its members to take part in politics. But, inasmuch as, even political activities must also be conducted on the foundation of truth and non-violence, the attention of the members of the Sangh is emphatically drawn to the following self-evident rules of conduct, viz.,

1. That the members must follow Gandhiji's policy and teachings;

2. That they must not only personally observe truth and non-violence very scrupulously, but should also refrain from taking advantage of any acts of their other colleagues if they are inconsistent therewith, and should, to the best of their ability, endeavour to make them observe the same principles;

3. That in all political elections a member must not compete with or oppose another member of the Sangh."

A New Technique

The usual practice every year has been to invite Gandhiji to deliver what may be called the inaugural address which sets the members thinking and indicates the lines on which resolutions may be adopted. This followed the president's address and the resolution was adopted, as I have said, after the members had discussed the various aspects of the questions mooted by the president. Last year at Delang Gandhiji had invited them to be members or organisers of a Peace Army to quell the communal riots which were fast becoming the order of the day. This year he chose to take the members a step further in self-introspective analysis. He described during this discourse what he called his new technique. In the ultimate analysis it consists of taking one's *ahimsa* to the utmost extent possible, i. e. divesting oneself of all trace of rancour or ill-will towards the opponent. He laid down a few tests of Satyagraha and explained why he had advised suspension of the movement in the States. The reader will find the address summarised at length elsewhere in this issue. If I have understood the technique, as it is shaping in Gandhiji's mind, I should like to explain it in different language for further elucidation. God manifests himself in various forms, and, as the Gita says, even the seemingly hideous forms are but manifestations of Him. If we accept this, we should try to see God even in the evil-doer, and you cannot see Him unless you address yourself to discovering the best in him. Excellence lies in appealing to the best in your opponent—you cannot do so unless you are saturated with *ahimsa*, and the moment you get at the best in him, he throws off his mask and reveals himself

in his godly attributes. Therein lies his conversion and the glory of *ahimsa*. It was this, I think, that Gandhiji tried to bring home to the members in his many utterances before the meeting of the Gandhi Seva Sangh.

Brindaban, 7-5-39

M. D.

H A R I J A N

May 13

1939

IS NIRA OBJECTIONABLE ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Among the fourteen points that Parsi friends have raised against the prohibition campaign there occurs this strange passage:

"Mahatmaji persuades the Parsis to drink (nira) sweet unfermented toddy, but the Parsis very well know the properties of nira. Moreover the British Government had already tried this nira drinking experiment free of tree-tax, but it failed because nira produces cold, flatulence, diarrhea, etc. The experiment was already tried in Mahatmaji's Ashram at Segaoon and there fatal results were pronounced."

I do not know what the Bombay Government tried. But I do know what nira is doing and has done to those who are trying it. It is wholly wrong to say that the experiment at Segaoon Ashram failed and that it produced fatal results. It has never been known to have produced any of the bad results ascribed to it by the writer. On the contrary nira is still being freely drunk by many in Segaoon and that with profit to their health. Moreover it is turned into syrup or *gud*, and in that condition I and many others use it almost daily. As *gud* it is sold in large quantities. It is better relished than sugarcane *gud* because of its being less sweet. As to the deaths that occurred in Wardha, not in Segaoon, the investigations have clearly showed that the deaths were due not to nira drinking but to cholera. Nothing has been shown to establish any connection between the deaths and nira. Supposing the patients had developed cholera without drinking nira, would it have been right to say that cholera was induced by the ordinary food that they had eaten? I may mention that several people had taken in Segaoon with impunity the same nira that had been taken in Wardha.

If the thirteen other points are based on as weak a foundation as this (No. 13) is, surely there is no case against prohibition. And I make bold to say that the rest are no stronger. I have picked out the thirteenth in the hope that my personal testimony may put the opponents on their guard against making statements they cannot substantiate. Opposition based on reason must always command respect. This one seems to me to lack that essential quality.

Brindaban, 7-5-39

Notes

More Testimony

Since October 1937 up to the end of March 1939, at Segaoon, experiments in popularizing nira, the sweet unfermented fresh juice of date palm, have been conducted. A large number of people of all castes and creeds and following different occupations used it as a beverage. Some drank it continuously for good many days.

During the Tripuri session of the Indian National Congress more than 1,000 people hailing from different parts of India drank nira. Many amongst them took it daily for a week. Nira is being given as a beverage at Brindaban in the Champaran district; both date palm and palmyra nira is being supplied.

In none of these places have any complaints of any deleterious immediate or after effects been reported so far. On the contrary nira has served as a laxative to many patients of chronic constipation and a cough cure for children. Some experienced an improvement in their health as indicated by the increase of weight when nira was taken continuously for a month. An eminent nutrition expert has found nira to be an equivalent to sugarcane juice as a beverage.

The three survivors from the cholera attack at Wardha who were supposed to be poisoned by nira still drink it without any detriment to their health.

Since 1923 the use of nira as a beverage was lawfully recognized by the Madras Government for 14 years without any relaxation. More than a lakh of palmyras were allowed to be tapped in Salem District with permission to use the nira as a beverage and also manufacturing *gud* from it in 1938. In Bengal also the Government has legally recognized nira as a beverage and exempted it from the Excise Tax. The Orissa Government as well has allowed the consumption of nira drink tax-free. Of late the Bihar Government has encouraged the popularizing of nira drink through private efforts without demanding any State dues. Nira has been consumed in all seasons all the year round, without any abnormal effects being experienced.

Gajanan Naik

"Race Poisons"

The following taken from a recent issue of Arthur Mee's weekly, *The Children's Newspaper*, will be read with interest:

"One of the most momentous reforms of modern times is being aimed at in Germany, and we shall do well to take note of it.

The Hitler Youth Organisation, embracing youths from 14 to 21, boys and girls, has now a membership of 8,000,000. It includes for practical purposes all the children of Germany.

This great body of young people is now being taught to avoid alcohol and tobacco.

If the teaching is successful there will arise in Germany a new generation uncontaminated by what are truly race poisons, the alcohol in strong drinks and the nicotine in tobacco.

There is no question whatever that alcohol and nicotine are injurious to growth, and we know how many young girls and boys in our country (England) are persuaded that it is manly or womanly to indulge in drinking and smoking. Too commonly we meet quite young women and men whose nerves have been so impaired that they constantly fly to cigarettes; their fingers are stained and wherever they go they leave their smoke and ash.

If Germany can raise up new generations untainted by these poisons she will have won more than battles in building a healthy people; and we need hardly add that, whether in peace or war, a healthy body and strong nerves form a tower of strength.

Both alcohol and nicotine directly affect the nerve centres. Nicotine is such a powerful poison that a drop of it will kill a man. Both alcohol and nicotine are *dopes*, and their use is encouraged by extensive advertising.

We do not mean that a strong adult cannot take mild doses without particular harm, but we do urge very strongly *that no boy or girl should dream of taking them even in the smallest quantities.*"

C. S.

THE NEW TECHNIQUE

[I summarise below Gandhiji's address to the fifth session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh which met at Brindaban in Champaran, Bihar. M. D.]

My Laxity

"I shall choose as the text of my address today one or two things I said in my statement issued on my departure from Rajkot. Kishorelal Mashruwala has rightly dwelt at length on the principal implication of *ahimsa*, viz., that the *ahimsa* in us ought to soften and not to stiffen our opponents' attitude to us; it ought to melt him; it ought to strike a responsive chord in his heart. If the function of *himsa* is to devour all it comes across, the function of *ahimsa* is to rush into the mouth of *himsa*. In an atmosphere of *ahimsa* one has no scope to put his *ahimsa* to the test. It can be tested only in the face of *himsa*.

Now I knew all this, and I have been trying to put it into practice, but I cannot say that I have done so always with success. I cannot say that I have always succeeded in melting the hearts of my opponents. Rajkot brought a keener realisation of this fact in my own mind. I was asking myself why we had failed so far in converting Durbar Virawala. The answer came straight to me that we had not dealt with him in the way of *ahimsa*. We had sworn at him, and I had shown indifference over the language of Satyagrahis. I may have controlled my tongue but I had not put a similar control on the speech of others.

The thing dawned on me as in a flash when during my interview with Mr. Gibson, the Resident, I made what he admitted was 'a sporting offer', of leaving it to the Thakore Sahab to form his own Committee. It was then that I discovered what I have called the new technique.

It is not without its dangers, for the simple reason that I have had to cry a halt to everything that was going on. I had, during the Rajkot struggle, sought the intervention of the Crown Representative by approaching him during my fast, and since then I had been approaching the Resident, his representative in Rajkot. When I made the 'sporting offer' I wondered if I might not forget the Paramount Power and confine my attention to the State alone. But perhaps the courage is lacking for such a bold step. I have not yet made up my mind that I should not approach the Paramount Power in the Rajkot affair, that I should ask the people to tear up the Gwyer Award, and start their work with the State on a clean slate. My Satyagraha then would be addressed to the State alone, and I should lay down my life in the effort to convert the authorities in Rajkot. Then all my experiments should be confined to that unique laboratory — Rajkot. Those experiments would be more complete in terms of *ahimsa*. At the root of my faint-heartedness, if it is that, is something lacking in my *ahimsa*.

"Ahimsa-ites"

Now take the Congress corruption. Why should there be so much corruption in the Congress? How can we with all that corruption deserve the name 'Congressmen'? Some of you are known as 'Gandhi-ites'. 'Gandhi-ites' is no name worth having. Rather than that why not Ahimsa-ites? For Gandhi is a mixture of good and evil, weakness and strength, violence and non-violence, but *ahimsa* has no adulteration. Now as *Ahimsa-ites* can you say that you practise genuine *ahimsa*? Can you say that you receive the arrows of the opponent on your bare breasts without returning them? Can you say that you are not angry, that you are not perturbed by his criticism? I am afraid many cannot say any such thing.

You will answer back saying you never claimed to practise *ahimsa* quite to that extent. If so I will confess that to that extent my execution was defective. *Ahimsa* magnifies one's own defects and minimises those of the opponent. It regards the mote in one's own eye as a beam and the beam in the opponent's eye as a mote. We have acted to the contrary.

On the question of the States we have wanted to reform their administration and to convert the rulers, not to destroy them. But our speech has often belied our profession.

Though I made that Statement about Rajkot, let me assure you that I am not going to leave Rajkot in the lurch, nor to desert my co-workers and suffer them to be demoralised. If I were to do so it would be a sure sign of dotage, and I am aware of no such thing coming over me. On the contrary I am praying that the workers there may grow every day in strength. I am only pleading for a radical change in the technique.

Corruption in Our Ranks

Having said this I come to the policy of the Gandhi Seva Sangh. If you have followed what

I have said so far, you have perhaps realised that we shall have to remodel ourselves somewhat. We shall have to examine ourselves critically and find out whether we have stood the test. If in doing so we are found wanting, it would be better to reduce our numbers. 20 genuine members with a heart-belief in truth and *ahimsa* are better than 200 indifferent ones. They will one day drag us to destruction, the 20 may one day increase to 200 genuine ones.

Has not corruption crept into the Sangh too? Have not the members given way to hypocrisy, suspicion, mutual distrust? I do not know all the members, I know the names of only a few, and I am not speaking from personal knowledge; I am speaking from limited experience. Jammalalji is unfortunately not here today. He has often shared with me his experience of many institutions with which he is connected. Why should it be difficult to run them smoothly? Why can't we, with any amount of confidence, fling our workers from one part of the country to another to take charge of the work there?

Living Faith in God

All this I say not to find fault with you, but in order to drive home the necessity of discipline and strict observance of our own principles. Now a Satyagrahi should have a living faith in God. That is because he has no other strength but that of his unflinching faith in Him. Without that faith how can he undertake Satyagraha? I would ask any of you who feels that he has no such faith to leave the Gandhi Seva Sangh, and to forget the name of Satyagraha.

Symbol of Non-violence

How many of you have a living faith in the spinning wheel? Do you believe in it as a symbol of non-violence? If we had that faith, our spinning would have a potency all its own. Spinning is even more potent than civil disobedience; the latter may provoke anger and ill-will, spinning provokes no such feeling. My faith in the wheel I declared 20 years ago. I am declaring it again with the added strength of my 20 years' experience. If you feel you have no such faith, I would again ask you to forget Satyagraha.

Shri Prajapati Misra said that he had been able to introduce some spinning wheels in villages within a radius of five miles from here. What is there in this to be proud of? Laxmibabu has organised a good exhibition, but there was nothing there to send me into raptures. Bihar which boasts of so many good workers should have no home without a spinning wheel. We can change the face of Bihar if we all knew what a potent force the spinning wheel is. I am not talking of the thousands of our starving sisters who must spin for their bread, but I am talking of those who profess to believe in truth and non-violence. The moment they realise that spinning is the symbol of non-

violence, it will serve as a beacon-light to them, it will inspire all their conduct; they will regard all waste of time as criminal, their language will be free of all offensive expression, they will not think an idle thought.

Virtue of the Wheel

By itself the wheel is a lifeless thing, but it becomes a living thing when we attribute certain virtues to it. Even *Ramanam* is by itself lifeless, but it has become a living symbol of the Deity because millions upon millions of people have consecrated it. Even a sinner may turn the wheel and add to the nation's wealth. I know people who have told me that the music of the spinning wheel has stilled their lust and other passions.

It is because I have invested the spinning wheel with that power, that it has become so essential to the Satyagraha of my conception in India. When I wrote *Hind Swaraj* in 1908 I had not even seen a spinning wheel; in fact I had even mistaken a loom for it. But even then it was for me a symbol of non-violence. Let me therefore repeat that I do not want people to launch Satyagraha if they have no such belief in the spinning wheel. They may offer Satyagraha on their own, but I could be of no use to them.

Congress Corruption

As regards the question of corruption in the Congress, the best way in which we can help to eradicate it is by purifying ourselves. The problem in its organisational aspect will have to be tackled by the Congress. Truth and non-violence are no less articles of its creed than yours. The Congress can change it, you may not.

Limited Use of Propaganda

I come now to what is called the "Gandhian" ideology and the means of propagating it. The propagation of truth and non-violence can be done less by books than by actually living those principles. Life truly lived is more than books. I do not say that we may not issue books and newspapers. I only say that they are not indispensable. If we are true devotees of truth and *ahimsa*, God will endow us with the requisite intellect to solve problems. That devotion presupposes the will to understand our opponent's viewpoint. We must make a sincere effort to enter into his mind and to understand his viewpoint. That is what is meant by non-violence walking straight into the mouth of violence. If we are armed with that attitude of mind, we may hope to propagate *ahimsa* principles. Without that, book and newspaper propaganda is of no avail. You do not know with what indifference I used to run *Young India*. I did not shed a single tear when *Young India* had to be stopped. But Satyagraha, which it was intended to help, survived it. For Satyagraha does not depend on outside help, it derives all its strength from within."

Brindaban, 7-5-39

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

(By C. F. Andrews)

In one of the most recent modern books, called *Disgrace Abounding*, written by Douglas Reed, and published by Jonathan Cape, there is a chapter on Germany's policy towards the Balkan States, written from a British point of view. The writer shows how these States have quite recently been brought, one by one, within the political orbit of the third Reich, and how this has begun to prove more and more an economic suzerainty also. They are becoming bound, without any chance of escape, to supply the economic needs of Hitler and his armies. They give him the raw material that he so badly needs, and receive in return machinery and manufactured articles.

The author has spent years of his life in these countries and he writes from an intimate experience. In his chapter on the 'Balkan Markets', there is no sensation at all, but hard, cold facts, which show what is happening today.

"They (the Balkan States) had no choice," he writes. "They were already the prisoners of a most astute economic system. They were being forced to remain peasant countries, to grow food for Germany and to take from Germany in exchange the things that German workmen made.... Their lands were to serve as granaries and larders and fuel tanks for the mighty militarist Reich, their sons as hewers of wood and drawers of water for her." "Thus began," he goes on, "that beautiful process which you can see in operation today anywhere you choose to go on the Danube — at Vienna, at Budapest, at Belgrade, anywhere. Upstream labour the large convoys, laden to the waterline with grain for Germany, the Swastika flag fluttering at the mast. Downstream come more swiftly the other barge convoys, laden with German tractors and machinery for the Danubian and Balkan States.... It is, say the Germans, the most natural and perfect process in the world... But at the end of the process lies political dependence, the loss of national freedom for the small states.... Soon the whole Danube will be under German rule."

I have quoted in outline this passage, because it shows clear how intimately political and economic dependence are intertwined with one another. Substitute Britain for Germany, and India for the Balkan States, and it is not difficult to see how close the parallel becomes, and how impossible it was, while India was politically dependent on Great Britain, for her to gain her economic freedom. The cotton excise duties, imposed on India on behalf of Lancashire by the British Parliament, were only one of the examples of the process.

"It is, say the Germans, the most natural and perfect process in the world." These have been the sentiments, repeated over and over again by Englishmen, with regard to the same relationship between Britain and India. Yet note what this Englishman writes, "At the end of the process lies political dependence and the loss of national freedom."

SCRAP THE EMPIRE TO SAVE DEMOCRACY

(Concluded from the last issue)

Main Features

Cutting through the tangle of shibboleths and masked words like "trusteeship" and "Commonwealth" the author sums up in Mr. J. A. Hobson's words the main features of imperialism:

(a) A country acquires colonies primarily because its exporting and financial classes demand new markets and fields of investment.

(b) This demand arises because home production tends to outrun home consumption.

(c) Surplus production arises because we tend to save a larger proportion of the national income than can usefully find expression in new capital.

(d) Oversaving in this sense means simply that too large a share of the general income is put into the hands of the employing and owning class, and too small a share into those of the working class.

(e) Political democracy has educated the working class up to the point where it now understands that a democratic system cannot work without substantial economic equality in income and ownership of property.

(f) The defence of capitalism is thenceforward bound up with the destruction or enfeeblement of civil liberty, popular franchise and representative government both at home and in the colonies.

"Snuggling up to Hitler"

As such it contains within it the roots of war, the very negation of the democratic principle and therefore of the possibilities of peace. If the defence is that in Britain at any rate there is no such thing as sharp class-divisions, and that the condition of unprivileged masses has improved, the improvement has been gained, says the author, at the expense of other populations — "at the expense mainly perhaps of Indians and Africans, but of Germans, Italians and Japanese too." The cost of maintaining that social economic structure is not only militarism, imperialism, continuous crises and almost continuous wars, "there are also such things as competitive currency devaluations, extravagantly high tariff duties, foreign exchange control, trade quotas and embargoes." The remedy for this is the creation of economic democracy "making employees their own employers in a manner comparable with that in which political democracy professes to have made the governed their own governors. Responsibility for production and distribution must vest in the community at large in order that responsibility for domestic and foreign policy may vest in the community at large."

But there is no such will for true democracy, no genuine will for peace, and hence the policy of what the author describes as "snuggling up to Hitler". There is no will to offer resistance to Hitlerism for there is the lurking fear of communism springing up as a surprise out of the war. The

author defines the issue thus : "The impulses that drive Hitlerism to the domination of 300 millions of Europeans spring from the same economic and psychological sources as the impulses that drive the rulers of Britain to maintain dominance over 400 millions of Asiatics and Africans. Durable peace is impossible while either set of impulses remains unsuppressed. There will be no such peace in Europe while we hold India and Africa in bondage." In brief, the British and French imperial policy has bred Hitlerism, and Hitlerism cannot disappear until the British and French empires do not disappear. The British and French have to snuggle up to Hitlerism for fear of having communism at home and losing the Empire. Colonial emancipation is thus the only solution for the preservation of international peace and democracy."

Freedom of India — First Step

What are then the concrete practical steps by which the principle of colonial emancipation can be applied to the British Empire?

The most obvious and important step is the independence of India — "popular Indian responsibility for the defence policy and the foreign policy of India with a constitution framed by popularly elected Indians themselves." A free India would be a most important factor in a collective defence system, and it would be the only answer to Hitler's demand for the return of colonies.

The writer next discusses the terms of Indian independence and in doing so agrees generally with the proposals of Congress leaders. The principal proposal is the instruction from the British Government to the Viceroy to collaborate with the Indian people for the summoning of a Constituent Assembly, and the Constitution as framed by the Constituent Assembly to be the subject of a treaty between India and Britain, involving an Act of Abdication on the part of the British Crown in respect of India and ratification of the treaty by the House of Commons.

On the defence question he has laid down two propositions to which it would not be easy to raise substantial objections:

(a) That the Indian liberationists are active allies in the defence of democracy in Britain, and that consequently it would be suicidal for democrats to oppose liberationism in India;

(b) That the military security of the Indian people is a problem utterly distinct and separate from the defence of British imperial interests in India.

He discusses both these in his brilliantly lucid way and concludes that "there can be only one form of guarantee for the defence of the people and territory of India," viz. the pooling of Indian defence in the defence of an "open" group of States within the League, with France, the Soviet Union and Britain as the nucleus, based on arbitration, non-aggression, mutual

assistance, economic co-operation, and an agreement to solve the colonial problem by way of the abolition of the colonial status."

All this involves a free India—free meaning "not merely enjoying autonomy in respect of internal affairs but free to conduct its own foreign policy, to make its own arrangements for defence, and to accept membership of the League of Nations within its own right."

The writer has some interesting suggestions to offer regarding the emancipation of the African colonies—his time limit being 20 years, the first ten years to be devoted to preparing the peoples by means of mass education, civil liberties, and popular franchise; and the second ten to building up African economic interest, to completing the manning of services by Africans, and so on.

The whole thing is a bold venture in the solution of a difficult problem. But the value of the book for us lies in the clearest possible statement of the moral and political and international aspects of the imperial problem. After the empires have shed their ill-gotten and indigestible gains the way would be paved for a League of Nations based on mutual friendship and co-operation and vowed to abandon the law of the jungle. Schemes for colonial emancipation would then be easier to evolve than now. So far as India is concerned it is gratifying to think that there are British democrats who are prepared to make the serious suggestion of immediately declaring Indian Independence in the very interests of British democracy. Whether we are morally ready today to compel Britain to sign a treaty with us is a question. We have our grave problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity without which we cannot have a Constituent Assembly, and without a living faith in non-violence we cannot declare with any acceptable confidence that we are capable of defending ourselves against internecine strife and external aggression. When we have achieved that faith, we shall have achieved Hindu-Muslim Unity too, and we may then bid fair to lay down our terms of an honourable treaty.

M. D.

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HARIJAN

10 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ONE ANNA

ANARCHY OF THOUGHT

The following is an accurate account of the argument I had with a youth having a quick but unbalanced intelligence. I have been obliged to omit names and places for obvious reasons. I reproduce the argument in the hope that it might be of use to youths in a similar difficulty.

"I have believed," said the friend, "in the cult of violence." He gave me his history and seemed to hide nothing from me. "But," he proceeded, "I am often sorely tried when someone threatens Gandhiji's life, it does not matter who he is and how. I then feel like shooting him. And I can tell you I am a good shot."

"By Jove!" I exclaimed. "You are a khadi-wearer and a Congress worker, and you talk like this!"

"Sir, I believe in Mahatmaji's principles; I am quite *pakka*, but there are occasions when one loses one's patience."

"And yet you call yourself *pakka*!"

"Non-violence is good, but not for all occasions."

"Quite right, according to you. But then you ought not with that belief be in the Congress."

"But there is a thing called 'justice', and my principle is that where there is no justice *ahimsa* has no scope. Or I would say that when *ahimsa* fails to secure justice, we must try *himsa*."

"You evidently seem to have no doubt that *himsa* would secure justice?"

"Yes. The revolver would compel it."

"Well, then, if you are in a mood to argue and understand, let me tell you that it would have a contrary effect. Not only will your remedy fail but our fate would be sealed, we should be worse off than ever."

My little boy who was following the conversation eagerly here put in: "Why don't you say, 'Whether you get justice or not, you would lose Bapu'?"

"Do you see what the boy says?" I asked the friend.

"How would that happen?" he wondered.

"Gandhiji would have to declare an interminable fast to expiate for your crime. We would thus not only lose our battle but lose Gandhiji. That is, in trying to save Gandhiji you would succeed in killing him."

He paused, and began to think. After a moment he said: "That would be terrible. But would not Gandhiji see that I had no ill-will against the wrong-doer, and that my pain over the injustice was unendurable?"

"Yes, even so argue the terrorists. But Gandhiji's pain would be no more endurable than yours, and that is why he has sought the way of non-violence including fasting. But whether you believe it or not, you must know that the very shock of your action would be enough to kill Gandhiji."

He remained silent. "Let me now come to your talk of justice," I said. "I hope you agree that honesty and truth are as important as justice."

"Yes, I do think so."

"Well, then, I would ask you to resign your membership of the Congress, if you are honest. And then if you have the courage of your conviction, declare your views boldly."

"How can I express them openly?"

"You have not then the courage of your conviction?"

He winced. I said, "No, I appeal to you to examine yourself. If you see the error of your thinking, give it up. Otherwise leave the Congress. You are doing no service to it. And let me tell you that it is people of your way of thinking that are responsible for what happened, say, in Ramdurg and Ranpur."

"Yes, I have read what Mahatmaji has written in *Harijan*."

"To what purpose?"

He had no reply. But I pursued the matter. "Let me now come to your theory of *himsa* for justice. Supposing he whom you accuse of injustice honestly feels that he is unjustly dealt with, according to you he would be justified in taking strong measures including shooting."

"But they are wrong and I am right."

"Who is to determine that? You are right according to yourself. They are right according to themselves."

"I see what you mean."

"If you see it, I have nothing more to say."

"No, you have been very good. You have corrected many of my wrong notions. And what has really gone straight home to me is the fact that if I did anything foolish, it would kill Mahatmaji."

"And not what I said about justice? You evidently think that you have a right to kill the wicked — परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम्?"

"Yes. That is what the Gita says," he said beaming with joy. And with that he pulled out of his pocket Hindi translation of Gandhiji's *Anasakti Yoga*.

"I see that you are happy at the mention of the verse. But do you know that it is God who says so, and not Arjuna? It is God alone who can decide what is just and what is unjust and who knows whom to punish and how. The Biblical saying is also the same — Vengeance is mine; I will repay."

Again he plunged in thought. "I have read many other Gita commentaries. But I like Gandhiji's best."

"If so, then you should have no doubt as to what I am saying." He opened his Gita, and showed me the sentences he had marked in Gandhiji's commentary on the verse I had quoted.

"You have marked the sentence that suits you, but omitted the next sentence," I said.

"But Gandhiji says, 'You can do everything with selflessness'."

"Yes, but he says it is God alone who may kill with selflessness—without *abhimana*."

He was again thankful that he had this talk with me and he promised to write to me to say that his views had been changed. Then he added: "But you are curious people. If I tell you everything you will send me to jail, as Gandhiji sent Prithwisingh to jail."

"Let me again correct you. Gandhiji did not send him to jail. He decided to go to jail. He was completely converted and therefore he surrendered himself to Gandhiji, knowing that he would have to go to jail. And let me also tell you that though other prisoners are anxious to be released he has never even once pressed Gandhiji to secure his release. He is making a serious study of books in order to consolidate his conversion and he is making the best use of his time in jail."

"But Gandhiji sent Bhagatsingh to the gallows and Batukeshwar Dutt to jail!"

"I see that your mind is in a complete state of anarchy. Gandhiji sent neither of these to jail. He failed to save Bhagatsingh from the gallows, it is true, but let me tell you he was responsible for Batukeshwar Dutt's release."

"I belong to their party, but I am now in the Congress."

"But without having changed your views?"

Again he winced. He knew that I was not going to leave him in peace.

"No, as I have told you my views are changed. But as you have talked at such length may I bespeak your indulgence a little more?"

"By all means."

"At the Gandhi Seva Sangh meeting you resolved that you want to perpetuate the zamin-

dari system. If it is so good, why not introduce it in the Bombay province?"

"Again you betray the anarchy of your mind. You do not read correct reports, you do not read carefully, and all that appears in newspapers seems to you to be gospel truth. There was no such resolution by the Gandhi Seva Sangh. No such thing has been said by Gandhiji. He would radically change the present system, and even destroy it if necessary, but he will not destroy the Zamindars or the Princes. His ambition is to convert both, as I am just now trying to convert you."

"I see. He gave such an assurance to the Orissa Zamindars, but I understood him to say that he would perpetuate the Zamindari. I do not depend on newspapers, I am a regular reader of *Harijan* (English and Hindi), but there are things we sometimes don't understand."

"Well, then, now tell me what you will do. Resign the Congress membership, or alter your creed?"

"I have altered my creed. I will pray for you when you are in Rajkot, and as soon as you get back to Wardha I should like to spend some time with you."

"Tell me if you have anything more to ask."

"We must do something. Why not an ultimatum to the British Government? It would create a revolution and the English would have to yield."

"Haven't we an internal revolution already with our ever-recurring Hindu-Muslim riots? By revolution, I suppose, you mean chaos and bloodshed? We have had enough bloodshed, haven't we? And we have now our quarrels with the States. With this internecine conflict, we should be exceptionally well fitted to fling a challenge at Government and have a revolution!"

A sense of shame seemed to creep over his face. He is a very fine youth. Our talk covered many other topics, which convinced me that he was transparently honest. He said that he could not claim a following but that he had a large number of friends of his way of thinking. "You have convinced me of my error. I shall turn over a new leaf, and let you know of the progress of my mind from time to time," he said with deep earnestness. "What you said about Gandhiji fasting himself to death if we did any foolish thing has entered my soul, and you take it from me that I am converted."

His loose thinking and his impatience depressed me, but his adoration of Gandhiji captivated me. We may do anything, but we may do nothing to pain Gandhiji, nothing to deceive Gandhiji. Even that is a sure enough anchor, and he left me in no doubt that he would hold on to it.

M. D.

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A HARIJAN TOUR

(By Rameshwari Nehru)

VI

On our way to Partabgarh, the next State we visited, we passed through Udaipur but did not stop there except for a couple of hours. We were prohibited from holding any meetings there, as the State did not approve of "an outside agency" doing any kind of propaganda in the State. They were afraid that our activities might "disturb public tranquillity". Under these circumstances we thought it best to drop out Udaipur. We, however, made it clear to the State that we did not consider ourselves as an outside body as we held the whole of India as indivisible and claimed the right of service in all its parts, that our mission was one of peace, and that our record of the past six years' service was not marred by a single instance of the disturbance of "public tranquillity".

We were at Partabgarh only for a few hours. A Harijan Samiti is running a school there which is aided by the State as well as by the Rajputana Sangh. Excepting the sweepers, all other Harijan castes can go to public schools and a few of them actually attend them. The Samiti is working for the welfare of the Harijans in other ways also. H. H. the Maharaja Sahib very kindly promised to give schools and scholarships to the Harijans. Out of an annual revenue of Rs. 600,000, the State is spending Rs. 20,000 on education. The population of this State is only 76,540.

Kotah being on the main railway line has much more life than the other Rajputana States we visited. Its population is 685,000 and annual revenue Rs. 51,77,257. It has a college and a high school and a very good girls' school and a fair number of primary and middle schools. But the State does not pay any special attention to the education of the Harijans. The pay of the sweepers is very low though their living quarters are decent. The Harijan Sevak Sangh was running 3 or 4 schools about two years ago. In course of time they all ceased to work and the Sangh committee was also dissolved. A new committee was formed and a new school was started about a fortnight before our visit. The State has started a co-operative bank for the sweepers. It has got 21 members already and it is hoped that the membership will soon increase. H. H. the Maharaja Sahib gave us an interview and we pressed for facilities of education for the Harijans and better service conditions for the sweepers.

Jhalawar is in the neighbourhood of Kotah and is much smaller than the latter State. Its annual revenue is Rs. 1,700,000 out of which Rs. 40,000 are spent on education. The State is running 2 day schools and 1 night school for the Harijans. A few scholarships are also given. H. H. the Maharaja takes a great deal of interest in the emancipation of the Harijans. He often addresses his subjects and urges on them the necessity of the removal of untouch-

ability. He personally attended and addressed the huge public meeting held for us in the afternoon. We suggested the starting of hostels for Harijan boys and girls by the State. The State has appointed a committee for Harijan work and the same committee is working for the Sangh.

From Jhalawar I went to Mukandgarh. I was invited to this place by Seth Bhagirath Kanodia, the President of the Rajputana Harijan Sevak Sangh. Mukandgarh is a small Thikana of the Jaipur State. There is no provision for public education either on behalf of the State or the Thikana. The benevolent Seth has, therefore, taken this duty on himself and is running one middle school in Mukandgarh and 8 village primary schools. He invited me to preside over the annual prize distribution function of the school. Crowds poured in from all sides to attend this function, so much so that it became unmanageable and in the din and the noise it was impossible to be heard. Hundreds of women came who had never attended a meeting before. They heard the message of khadi, swadeshi and Harijan service. Three good Harijan schools are being conducted here by the Rajputana Sangh. A few Harijan children are also attending the Kanodia Middle School. They can also attend the common village schools. The Harijans are well looked after here by Seth Kanodia who has provided the sweepers with good houses and a well to themselves. The sweepers here are suffering from want of occupation as there are no latrines in the town and no municipal work either. To give them employment the need for starting wool and cotton spinning amongst the sweepers was pointed out to Sethji and he has agreed to start these centres as soon as possible. A Workers' Conference was held here to which several workers from all over Rajputana were invited. Most of them came from Shekhavati. They all gave reports of their work and exchanged ideas. This meeting was very valuable. I stopped at Jaipur only for a few hours each time on my way to and from Mukandgarh. It was not possible to do much during those few hours. But I hurriedly saw a Harijan school, met workers and addressed a meeting at the Arya Samaj Mandir.

On the 22nd of December ended our tour of the Central India and South Rajputana States. It was a very strenuous tour, but it was inspiring to come into personal contact with the work of many co-workers who are giving all their time and energy to the cause. These workers are silently sowing seeds of progress which will bloom forth into flowers of enlightenment bringing in for the nation a new era of equality and fraternity. I have every hope that that good time is nearer than many people imagine.

(Concluded)

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By Gandhiji

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H A R I J A N

May 20

1939

CONFESSION AND REPENTANCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I said at Calcutta on the 24th ultimo that Rajkot had proved a laboratory for me. The latest proof of the fact lies in the step I am now announcing. After an exhaustive discussion with my co-workers I have come to the conclusion at 6 o'clock this evening that I should renounce the advantages accruing from the Award of the Chief Justice.

I recognize my error. At the end of my fast I had permitted myself to say that it had succeeded as no previous fast had done. I now see that it was tainted with Himsa. In taking the fast I sought immediate intervention of the Paramount Power so as to induce fulfilment of the promise made by the Thakore Saheb. This was not the way of Ahimsa or conversion. It was the way of Himsa or coercion. My fast to be pure should have been addressed only to the Thakore Saheb, and I should have been content to die if I could not have melted his heart or rather that of his adviser Durbar Shri Virawala. My eyes would not have been opened if I had not found unexpected difficulties in my way. Durbar Shri Virawala was no willing party to the Award. Naturally, he was in no obliging mood. He therefore took advantage of every opportunity to cause a delay. The Award, instead of making my way smooth, became a potent cause of angering the Muslims and Bhayats against me. Before the Award we had met as friends. Now I am accused of having committed a breach of promise voluntarily and without any consideration made by me. The matter was to go to the Chief Justice for decision as to whether I was guilty of the alleged breach of promise. The statements of the Muslim Council and the Girasia Association are before me. Now that I have taken the decision to renounce the Award, there is no occasion for me to answer the two cases. So far as I am concerned, the Muslims and Bhayats can have anything the Thakore Saheb may be pleased to give them. I must apologise to them for having put them to the trouble of preparing their cases.

I owe an apology to the Viceroy for the unnecessary strain I have put upon him in my weakness. I apologise to the Chief Justice for having been the cause of putting him to the labour which, had I known better, he need not have gone through. Above all, I apologise to the Thakore Saheb and Durbar Shri Virawala. So far as the latter is concerned, I must also own that, in common with my co-workers, I have harboured evil thoughts about him. I do not here pause to consider whether the charges

made against him were true or not. This is not the place to discuss them. Suffice it to say that the way of Ahimsa was not and has not yet been applied to him.

And let it be said to my discredit that I have been guilty of playing what may be called a double game, i.e., hanging the sword of the Award over his head and wooing him and expecting him of his own free will to advise the Thakore Saheb to grant liberal reforms.

This method I admit is wholly inconsistent with Ahimsa. When all of a sudden I made what is known as a sporting offer to Mr. Gibson on 19th April, I discovered my weakness. But I had not the courage then and there to say, 'I do not want to have anything to do with the Award.' Instead I said, 'Let the Thakore Saheb appoint his own Committee and then the Parishad people will examine the report in terms of the Award, and if it is found defective it can go to the Chief Justice.' Durbar Shri Virawala detected a flaw and very properly rejected the offer, saying: 'You are still hanging the Award over my head and want to become a court of appeal over the Thakore Saheb's Committee. If such is the case, you must take your pound of flesh and no more.' I saw the force of his objection. I told him too that I lacked the courage then to throw the Award overboard, but I would still plead with him to come to terms with the people as if the Award was not in existence and as if the Sardar and I had also withdrawn. He promised to try. He tried in his own fashion but not with a large heart. I do not blame him. How could I expect a large heart when he knew my faint-heartedness in clinging to the Award?

Only trust can beget trust. I lacked it myself. But at last I have regained my lost courage. My faith in the sovereign efficacy of Ahimsa burns brighter for my confession and repentances.

I must not do an injustice to my co-workers. Many of them are filled with misgivings. My exposition of Ahimsa is new to them. They see no cause for my repentance. They think that I am giving up a great chance created by the Award. They think too that as a political leader I have no right to play fast and loose with the fortunes of 75,000 souls, maybe of the whole of the people of Kathiawad. I have told them that their fears are unjustified, and that every act of purification, every accession of courage, adds to the strength of the cause of a people affected by a movement of Satyagraha. I have told them too that if they regard me as the general and expert of Satyagraha, they must put up with what may appear to them to be my vagaries.

Having now freed the Thakore Saheb and his adviser from the oppression of the Award, I have no hesitation in appealing to them to appease the people of Rajkot by fulfilling their expectations and dispelling their misgivings.

Rajkot, 17-5-39

CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED

(By Harekrishna Mehtab)

In September, 1938, the people of Talcher submitted a representation to the Talcher Durbar for the redress of several grievances, and they also demanded some form of responsible government in the State under the aegis of the Ruler. A copy of this representation couched in most respectful words was also sent to the Political Department of the Government of India. As soon as this representation was submitted, the Praja Mandal was declared unlawful and a reign of repression followed. Services of British troops were requisitioned. There was firing and two persons were shot dead. The form of the civil disobedience started there was to refuse to do *bethi* for the repairs of the roads. Those who were sent to jail were severely beaten inside the jail and many were branded in the prison as *nimak haram* on their arms. Some also have been branded on the buttocks. When the situation thus became intolerable there was an exodus from the Talcher State to the neighbouring British territory Angul in Orissa. About twentyfive thousand men, women and children left their homes and took shelter in Angul. As soon as this exodus began the Political Department showed much concern and the Resident and the Political Agent discussed the matter with the Orissa Government several times, but for various reasons nothing could come out.

This matter was represented to the Viceroy by the Orissa Government and also by the Prime Minister of Orissa when the Viceroy was passing through Orissa on his way to Madras.

On the 9th and the 10th March 1939, Major Hennessey, the Assistant Political Agent of Orissa States (North), went to the camps of the refugees and introduced himself as the representative of the Paramount Power and assured certain concessions to the people and on that assurance asked the people to go back. But the leaders of the people took time to consider the matter and wanted to have the assurance in writing. The concessions assured by Major Hennessey were published in the Press. At that time Major Hennessey was staying at Talcher. As soon as the news appeared in the Press some hope was created in all circles and it was thought that the end of the misery of the people was in sight. In order to regularize the assurances and create confidence of the people in those assurances a meeting was organized at Angul between Shri Harekrishna Mehtab and all those who are interested in the affairs of the refugees on the one hand and Major Hennessey on the other, with Mr. Ansorge, the Revenue Commissioner of Orissa, deputed by the Orissa Government as an observer. Major Hennessey came well prepared to the conference

with all the papers from Talcher, and in that meeting an agreement was arrived at between Major Hennessey and Shri Mehtab that the former would recommend certain concessions to the Ruler, and that the latter, when the concessions were granted, would see that the refugees went back. Major Hennessey was absolutely sure that the concessions that he would recommend to the Ruler would be granted, but he doubted whether Shri Mehtab would be able to send the refugees back. In order to remove this doubt Major Hennessey secured signatures from the leaders of the refugees assenting to the above agreement, and everyone felt reassured that the concessions which Major Hennessey undertook to recommend to the Ruler would be granted. Major Hennessey went back to Talcher. At that time it was thought by everybody that the declaration containing the concessions promised by Major Hennessey would come in a few days, and those who knew the terms of the Sanads granted to the Rulers and the relations of the Political Department with the Rulers were absolutely sure that the concessions would come. But gradually it was known that the Ruler was not prepared to grant the concession relating to the reduction of cess though he was quite prepared to grant the other concessions.

On 29th April, after more than a month from the date of Major Hennessey's assurance and agreement, it was given out by the Resident that out of the nine concessions assured by Major Hennessey, he would like to examine only one concession regarding the reduction of cess and the Ruler was ready to concede the remaining eight points, leaving the point relating to reduction of cess for the Resident's arbitration, and also to cancel the extradition warrants, requiring only those who would want to go into the State to furnish a small security for a limited period. This was the definite understanding that the Resident and his Secretary gave to Shri Mehtab and Miss Agatha Harrison on the 29th April last. This was considered to be acceptable under the circumstances, and at the instance of the Resident Shri Mehtab went to Talcher to attend the declaration of the above concessions on the 1st May last. Most surprisingly the declaration made did not contain the above concessions, and moreover it contained things which the Political Department had long ago declared abolished, e.g. *bethi*. The Political Agent was all along present in Talcher and with his full knowledge the declaration had been made. The Governor of Orissa was also under the impression that the declaration would be like what the Resident had given Shri Mehtab to understand.

Below is a statement showing the difference between the assurance of Major Hennessey and the Ruler's declaration, with notes where necessary:

Concessions assured and agreed to by Major Hennessey

1. Reduction of the miscellaneous cess from 5 as. to 3 as. per rupee of rent and an undertaking that after the settlement to be started about next November, the combined rent and cesses will not be higher than the Angul rent and cesses with the same classes of land.

Concessions contained in the declaration of 1-5-39

1. The State is always ready to give to its people redress on any just and reasonable grievances and reasonable concessions have been granted to its subjects from time to time. At the present moment some reckless agitators under cover of truth and non-violence have committed fraud and violence and caused disturbance and brought a disquieting situation in the State. These people have now taken to a new method of nuisance by making a platform out of the miscellaneous cess which forms a part of the land revenue demand accepted by the people and paid for the last 28 years without growling and grumbling. The combined rent and cesses in the State are not

2. The abolition of monopolies on the necessities of life except hides, skins, horns, ganja, opium, bhang and liquors.

3. The State administrative machinery should not be used for enforcing fines etc., levied by Ecclesiastical Courts and Panchayats.

4. Compulsory labour (Bethi) should be abolished except when necessary for public purposes, and then on payment of wages at ordinary rates.

5. The abolition of special taxes (Poll tax) on Industrial Castes.

6. There should be no victimisation of refugees on their return to the State.

7. Constitutional reforms enabling the people to participate in the administration through their representatives will be introduced as soon as the scheme is approved by the Political Department.

8. There shall be no interference with freedom of speech and meetings provided that there is nothing subversive or disloyal to the Ruler or his administration in those speeches or meetings.

9. People should be allowed to kill wild animals in the State on their own property without any penalties or fees.

high and compare favourably with the neighbouring British Districts. Before any reduction of the miscellaneous cess is made I feel it would be necessary to have a full and careful examination of it by my Durbar and by the Resident, Eastern States Agency. If the Resident considers after this examination that the cess is excessive, I am willing to reduce it.

2. Monopolies over betel, tobacco (tooth-washing), tobacco leaves, salt, kerosene, cocoanut, bidi, soda and soap have been abolished. Monopolies over opium, ganja, bhang, hides, horns, country liquor, foreign liquor have been retained. Toddy, market, ferry and forest products are not strictly speaking monopolies and will continue to be sold by auction.

3. Old religious fees have been abolished. It is optional to the people to either approach the Ecclesiastical Court or Panchayats or the Civil Court in social and religious disputes. The Panchayat's decision will be confirmed by the Ecclesiastical Court. Appeals against the decision of Ecclesiastical Court will lie to the Ruler. It is clear, therefore, that if the people do not like to go to Ecclesiastical Court they can go to the Civil Court.

4. Bethi or unpaid forced labour has been abolished (Ref. Dasarah Declaration Page 8). Payments for Bethi when called in the interest of the Raja, Raj family and public purposes are made at ordinary rates. Road repair:—The question of labour for road repair or in lieu thereof levy of road cess as is the case in British India is under consideration. Shikar Beats:—People prefer to take venison of animals killed. That was treated as a payment in kind. Payment for beaters has been prescribed (Vide Dasarah Declaration page 9) at the same rate of wages as paid in Angul for attending beats.

5. There is no special tax (Poll tax) on industrial castes existing in the State. The fees paid for use of grass creepers, leaves, bamboos, fruits, flowers and fuel, etc., from reserved forests for professional use cannot be regarded as such a tax and are retained.

6. No reprisals or victimisation on refugees on return to the State will be allowed. Amnesty orders have been already issued asking people to refrain from frequenting the camps and to settle peacefully and unconditionally in the State.

Persons against whom extradition warrants are outstanding will be released and pardoned and warrants will be cancelled and no reprisals will be taken against them provided that they are willing to furnish security for good behaviour in the State courts for a limited period. Such securities will not be unduly large and should not be forfeited without good reasons.

7. Constitutional reforms have been granted by setting up Byabastha Parishads (Vide Byabastha Parishad order 1939) enabling people to participate in the administration through their representatives.

(Note: The Byabastha Parishad order referred to in this is issued very recently and nobody knows its constitution. In this it has been provided that election should be held according to castes and there is no provision for participation in administration. Besides the scheme has not been published at all.)

8. There is no restriction over freedom of speech or meetings when they are within the law and when there is nothing subversive or disloyal to the Ruler, his family and his administration in those speeches or meetings.

9. People have the right to kill wild animals from their standing crops. This privilege cannot be extended to cases where professionals are engaged for killing wild animals. In that case provision has been made for payment of fees or sale proceeds of venisons as may be convenient to the people.

(Note:—Everybody does not have a gun nor can anyone having large acreage of land in different villages protect his crops.)

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I

An Industrial Survey

An Industrial Survey Committee was appointed by the C. P. Government on 15th December last in the following terms:

"1. To review the work done in the province by the Department of Industries since its establishment.

2. To supervise the collection of data relating to large, small and especially cottage industries from previous publications and reports by an officer appointed for the purpose.

3. To advise the officer-in-charge as regards the lines on which the industrial survey of the province should be undertaken and to review its progress from time to time.

4. To visit typical villages, study their economic condition and examine the possibility of reviving cottage industries, and in doing so to take the advice and guidance of the All India Spinners' Association and the All India Village Industries Association.

5. To report on the industrial possibilities of the raw materials available in the province, with special reference to the forest and mineral resources.

6. To report on the measures which Government can undertake to promote industrial development within the province, especially of cottage industries in the villages, and to suggest methods for financing the same or otherwise promoting them."

The Committee consisted of the following ten members:

Chairman

Shri J. C. Kumarappa, Wardha

Members

Shri Chaturbhujbhai Jasani, M. L. A., Gondia

" V. V. Subhedar, M. L. A., Saugor

" K. P. Ghaira, General Manager, Central Provinces Syndicate, Ltd., Nagpur

" R. N. Jha, Secretary, Berar Chamber of Commerce, Akola

" K. P. Sagreiya, I. F. S., Sylviculturist, Central Province and Berar

Dr. A. N. Kapanna, Demonstrator of Chemistry, College of Science, Nagpur

Shri Walter Dutt, Bar-at-Law, Nagpur

The Director of Industries, Central Provinces and Berar

Dr. R. S. Thakur, Officer on special duty in connection with Laxminarayan Institute of Technology, Nagpur University, Nagpur. He will also act as Secretary to the Committee.

The Committee is empowered to appoint sub-committees and to co-opt members for specific purposes.

To this number the following two more were added under the Gazette Notification of Resolution No. 175-89-A-VII, dated the 12th January 1939:

Shrimati Sarahamma Ittyerah, M. A., Wardha (late Professor of Economics, Lahore).

Shri E. R. Mahajani, Managing Director, Shri Laxmi Oil Mills Company, Limited, Akola.

Survey Cost — Rs. 5 per Village

The proceedings of the Committee were in-

augurated on 15th January last. The survey began on 21st January and was finished on 6th February. 207 students including 8 women volunteered their services. 14 persons were co-opted to lead the survey party. The party was divided into groups of 10 students each. It surveyed 606 villages covering a population of 15 lakhs paying an annual revenue of over 11 lakhs. The survey cost was Rs. 3,000 in round numbers, i. e. Rs. 5 per village. The whole expense amounted to one-tenth of the estimates.

The report covers 46 pages of hand-made paper, foolscap size.

The party travelled third class, but when some members saw during their survey that old women were picking grass seeds for food they declined to draw even the third class fare. The party satisfied itself with such lodgings and food as the villagers had. Nothing was specially prepared for them.

A Diagnostic Survey

Prof. Kumarappa says to me in a covering note:

"1. Ours is not an *academic survey* where mathematical accuracy is the one goal.

2. Neither is it a *propagandic survey* to gather 'evidence' to prove preconceived theories.

3. Nor is it a *clinical survey* to further the knowledge of the science of economics.

4. It is a *diagnostic survey* done in a short time with the set purpose of saving the patient's life by a suitable prescription, and this is national planning—not planning for a whole country as such, but planning *the economic activity* of each individual in relation to the raw material available within the field of our operations.

One member of the staff, an M. A. in economics, argued that without detailed statistics it would be impossible to prove whether the villagers are poor and are getting poorer. I took him with me into the villages, showed him the houses in disrepair and one three-storied house half fallen down and the goldsmiths sitting idle."

This is no doubt a rough and ready argument. But if most of our villages contain ruins of well-built houses and artisans without occupation, surely the evidence of poverty is more complete and convincing than cold statistics which may prove everything or nothing.

The Report which is part I of vol. 1 (vol. 2 and part II are to follow) contains six chapters and three short dissenting notes by Drs. Thakur and Kapanna and Shri Sagreiya. The dissents chiefly emphasise the necessity of industrialisation though they acknowledge that village industries need the help recommended by the main report.

Chapter 2 dealing with general considerations stamps the report as an original document and shows that it is not to be pigeon-holed as most such reports are but should be given effect to without delay. The only way to do so is, as pointed out in the report, to invite the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A. to help the Government to carry out the recommendations.

(To be continued)

GANDHI SEVA SANGH

II

Brindaban

Brindaban, the little village which was made the venue of this year's session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, is four miles from Bettiah in Champaran District. Shri Prajapati Misra has his Ashram there and is looking forward to making the village and its surroundings a model colony. The Ashram purchased land (about 90 acres) for Rs. 12,000 and the residents of the village are all tenants cultivating this land. There are some sixteen huts which have been newly built and these form the nucleus of the future colony. The walls are made of wattle and mud and the thatching of *munja* grass which grows in plenty. They are all of the same size and model and have been well planned. The people are so ignorant that they look with suspicion on anything that comes from village workers, — either as an exploiting device (for that is what they have been familiar with for years) or as a harmless but valueless fad. They do not understand anything like profit-sharing, nor anything about co-operation. But Prajapati Misra is hoping to educate them gradually. "Your ambition must be to make them the owners of all the land they are cultivating at present," I said to him and he welcomed the idea.

Expenses of the Session

Shri Prajapati Misra and his friends apologized to Gandhiji for the heavy expenses that they had to incur over this year's arrangements, but they did not quite know how to avoid them, for the Sangh session is fast becoming more or less like the Congress session. The actual collections amounted to Rs. 58,871 out of which Rs. 25,000 was donated by the Bettiah Raj and Rs. 5,000 came from five sugar mills, the rest having come from the people. This last collection of Rs. 28,000 odd from the common folk in small contributions is a creditable achievement.

When I left Brindaban I had not the exact figures of expenditure with me, but those I could get were nearly accurate. The largest item of expenditure was the purchase of cows. 56 good cows were purchased for Rs. 5,000 and the transport and maintenance charges up to the 8th amounted to Rs. 1,387-2-6. These cows will be taken over by the Ashram and should help to make a good dairy. Another heavy item was the expense on huts. Gandhiji's own hut was a substantial one with a number of rooms, a good plinth and good wattle and mud walls. This must have cost a good bit and I should have been sorry if it had to be dismantled. I could not get the accurate figure of the amount spent on it, but I was assured that it would not be dismantled and would be part of the Ashram. The total expenditure on huts was Rs. 5,231 and on deadstock Rs. 1,730. About a third of this should be recoverable, but I have no doubt that the whole of this item could have been curtailed. It must be said that many more huts had to be put up this year as accommodation had to be made not only for the larger number of visitors expected but for the Talimi Sangh School teachers and Rural Development workers. Rs. 400 spent on 40 water pumps was well spent, as it ensured a good supply of water for all purposes. I am not inclined to grudge the expenditure (up to date) of Rs. 2,368 on volunteers, looking to the thousands of villagers they had to deal with every day. There were 500 volunteers and no less than Rs. 700 had to be spent on uniforms for 200 of them. They were a

good hard-working lot, and the two months' work at the Brindaban camp should be a useful training for them for work at the next Congress. The Rs. 2,368 includes of course their board and travelling and other expenses. Nearly Rs. 4,000 had to be paid to the members for third class fares to and from Brindaban. This becomes inevitable when the bulk of the members come from long distances. On the 7th evening Prajapati Misra handed over to Gandhiji, at a huge public meeting, a sum of Rs. 20,000 out of the balance expected to be left over after all the bills are met. In fact he expects to make over at least another Rs. 5,000, if not more, and that will mean that a substantial sum of Rs. 25,000 will be at the disposal of workers in Bihar for constructive work.

The Sangh Ideal

Gandhiji animadverted on the heavy expenditure and said that the workers should depend entirely on their own resources and not on those of Government. I was told that no help was received from Government (beyond I suppose cars, etc.), but Gandhiji's original idea of the Sangh excludes even the use of cars. But I do not know how the use of petromax lamps or kitson lights can be avoided, when you collect thousands of people, unless of course the whole thing is carefully planned, meetings held only in the bright half of the month and crowds could be persuaded to go back to their villages before sunset. As it was, the expenditure on lighting was not more than Rs. 150, which is not much looking to the fact that the date of the Sangh had to be changed more than once, making it necessary for the workers to maintain the establishment for a great length of time.

What, however, Gandhiji said regarding the ideal to be fulfilled by the Sangh was most necessary and will have to be borne in mind by organisers of future sessions: "We may not forget that we have to grow every day in simplicity, rural-mindedness, cleanliness and purification. Our annual gathering is not a festival or a picnic party: it is a training camp, affording a unique opportunity for self-introspection, for exchange of experiences, for training in self-restraint and disciplined living. Why should we feel—as I felt—at the end of six days that the sooner we could get home the better? The sanitary arrangements and all the other living conditions should be so perfect that we should not mind if we had to stay on for six months. But evidently we have to make much headway. We are far away still from the ideal that I have pictured to myself. This is not to say that I have found nothing here to praise. You have put in plenty of work, but my function is not to praise but to guide you for the future."

A Pointer

There is very difficult work ahead of the workers in Bihar. They should utilize the seven months still left before the Congress for giving the volunteers an intensive training in sanitation, management of crowds, discipline. The open air meeting attended by over 50,000 people on the evening of the 7th was a great success, and the workers could collect as much as Rs. 137 in the smallest copper coins. The meeting reminded me of the Khadi Tour meeting in 1927 in Merwa where over 100,000 people listened to Gandhiji in exemplary silence and collected in small coins as much as Rs. 900.

But to what purpose did they listen to Gandhiji? Have they learnt the lesson of discipline and orderly behaviour? The last day's

Journey from Brindaban to Benares was a torturesome nightmare. The crowds not only made hellish noises at every station and ruined Gandhiji's rest, but they must have added tremendously to the inconvenience and discomfort of other passengers. At Mehsi, a station near Motihari, the crowds were so unruly that they would not listen to us, nor listen to the police. A young lad stood on the footboard as the train was moving. He was asked to get down. He fell once, he again got on the footboard, and when he slipped again he had succeeded in having the part of his foot below the ankle completely severed. The train was stopped, he had to be immediately attended to, and it took nearly an hour before he could be carried to the train for being taken to the Muzaffarpur hospital. We might easily have missed connection at Muzaffarpur, and indeed the train scheduled to arrive at Benares at one o'clock arrived there at three. At Chapra they shouted and howled and yelled, heedless of our warnings and entreaties, so much so that Gandhiji kept standing all the while with his eyes closed and ears closed with his fingers. Even this spectacle could not move them, could not awaken their sense of shame.

All this was disgraceful, and points to the dangers ahead of us. Not one per cent of the thousands who crowded on the platforms was clad in khadi, even less than one per cent was inclined to contribute to the Harijan fund, and I do not know if any understood what Gandhiji stands for. The bulk of them were filled with the superstition that just a *darshan* of Gandhiji would be enough to save them. It is time that we proclaimed from the housetops in every village that Gandhiji is as much a human being as the rest of us, needing a minimum amount of sleep and rest and relaxation which must not be disturbed if he is to be allowed to function for a few more years; that mere *darshan* has no value; that we have to work actively for Swaraj all our waking hours; and that if we do not do so we are in danger of losing what little we have won.

This is what he said to the vast crowd gathered at the public meeting at Brindaban on the 7th: "The fact that I have your *darshan* and you have mine is of no value to me or you. If I have anything to teach you, it is this that all your waking hours should be full of productive work, that that work should add to the national wealth, that no house in Bihar should be without a spinning wheel... I believe that the land you cultivate should belong to you, but it cannot be your own all at once, you cannot force it from the Zamindars. Non-violence is the only way, consciousness of your own power is the only way. For this you must co-operate with the Ministers whom you have elected, and not exasperate them. What I said to you in 1917 still holds good. The indigo curse went because you were non-violent. You have the same weapon at your disposal. The need for it is greater today than in 1917. Spin, produce all your cloth, revive your village crafts, give up untouchability, and let Hindus and Mussalmans live in amity. Swaraj is then yours for the asking."

M. D.

Corrections

In *Harijan* dated May 6th, in the article "Heart-searching",

On p. 142, Col. 2, line 27, read knew instead of know.

"	p. 143, Col. 1,	" 47,	" just	" first.
"	"	" 38,	" what	" weat.
"	"	" 40,	omit	to get.

THE RAJKOT FAST GLEANINGS FROM A DIARY VI

The Aftermath (continued)

10th March:

Dr. Jivraj Mehta who had come by air from Bombay on the morning of the 7th decided to stay on for the next few days while Gandhiji was in Rajkot. Under his watchful eye, the convalescence proceeded smoothly and uneventfully. One thing, however, he could not do, viz. to make Gandhiji take adequate rest. And so the days that followed the fast continued to be as crowded and full of ceaseless labour as the hectic five days during the fast and the days preceding it had been.

With Gandhiji the hour of victory has always been the hour of self-examination and introspection. "All is well with you, even though everything seems to go dead wrong, if you are square with yourself. Reversely, all is not well with you although everything outwardly may seem to go right, if you are not square with yourself," he had observed on a remarkable occasion. Accordingly, from yesterday he began a series of heart-to-heart talks with the Parishad workers. He made them turn the searchlight inward and himself subjected them to a ruthless vivisection. One of the workers had admitted in the course of his talk that he accepted non-violence as a policy, not as his creed. Gandhiji explained to him that he could be satisfied with that provided the acceptance was whole-hearted and sincere. It must be without any mental reservations. The greater danger was that although many people professed to believe in non-violence, not all of them meant the same thing by that term. *Himsa* did not merely mean indulgence in physical violence; resort to trickery, falsehood, intrigue, chicanery and deceitfulness—in short, all unfair and foul means—came under the category of *himsa*, and acceptance of *ahimsa* whether as a policy or a creed necessarily implied renunciation of all these things.

A votary of *ahimsa* had therefore to be incorruptible, fair and square in his dealings, truthful, straightforward and utterly selfless. He must have also true humility. It was of the utmost importance, therefore, that there should be no confusion or misunderstanding as to the meaning or implications of non-violence. The controversy about 'creed' or 'policy' could be put aside if there was a clear, common understanding on this point.

In the evening Durbar Virawala came and saw Gandhiji. The talk lasted for nearly an hour. It left Gandhiji sad and thoughtful. The question that ran in his mind was, "What is wrong with my *ahimsa*? Why has not my fast worked any change in Durbar Virawala?"

11th March:

Workers from Limbdi, Junagad and Vithalgad States came and narrated their respective tales of woe to Gandhiji. In Limbdi the State was alleged to have subjected people to organised brigandage to teach them 'a lesson'. Vithalgadh had gone one better. The question was what answer was there to a situation like this in terms of non-violence? One thing was clear. Civil disobedience ought never to provide an occasion for firing the blood-lust of the tyrant. That being so, one solution of the situation under consideration could be to exile yourself from the tyrant's territory. In doing so you must be prepared to sacrifice your hearth and home and all your earthly belongings. Such a step, therefore, can never be taken thoughtlessly in a huff or as a mere dramatic gesture. It must be taken only when it so hurts

your moral being to submit to the tyrant's wrong-doing that you really feel that 'Rather than lose my self-respect I shall go out of this world naked as I came naked!' Civil resisters had learnt to shed the fear of jail-going and to a certain extent of lathi blows even. But they were still held by the fear of losing property. Not while they clung to property or were afraid of losing their hearth and home or of facing death in the ultimate resort would they be able successfully to face the final heat.

In the middle of a crowded programme, a letter from the Bhayats was handed to Gandhiji asking for permission to wait in deputation upon him to request him to give them an assurance regarding their representation on the Reforms Committee similar to what he was believed to have given to the Mussalmans. Gandhiji, anxious to save their time and his own for which he was hard pressed, sent them a laconic hurried note which would have the effect of placing them on a level with the Mussalmans, so far as the question of their representation on the Reforms Committee was concerned.

12th March :

In the course of conversation Gandhiji again put Rajkot Satyagraha under the lens: "I think the initial mistake was made when all Kathiawadis were permitted to join Rajkot Satyagraha. That step introduced an element of weakness in the fight. Thereby we put our reliance on numbers, whereas a Satyagrahi relies solely upon God who is the help of the helpless. A Satyagrahi always says to himself, 'He in whose name Satyagraha was launched, will also see it through.' If the people of Rajkot had thought in these terms, there would have been no temptation to organise big processions or mass demonstrations and probably there would have been no atrocities such as Rajkot has had to experience. A genuine Satyagrahi proceeds by setting the opponent at his ease. His action never creates panic in the breast of the 'enemy'. Supposing as a result of rigid enforcement of the rules of Satyagrahis Rajkot Satyagraha had been confined to a few hundred or even a few score true Satyagrahis and they had carried on their Satyagraha in the right spirit till their last breath, theirs would have served as a heroic example."

The talks with the Parishad workers were continued today (12th). The trend of these talks was that they should now begin work in the villages in the faith that responsible government would before long be a reality in Rajkot and they would be called upon to realise in action their dream of Swaraj for the masses through non-violence:

"I shall soon be going to Delhi as your representative. I shall not be able to proceed with my work with self-confidence or to speak with authority unless I have the confidence that we shall be able to vindicate and do justice to the devolution of power into the hands of the people that we are fighting for. As a lifelong devotee and votary of truth, I know that my pleading will be ineffectual, it will lack power, unless it has the double backing of faith on my part in the inherent justice of the cause that I represent and in the capacity and sincerity of purpose of those who represent this cause. The question that you must seriously set yourself to answer is, 'what shall we do with Swaraj, supposing we got it today?'"

Brindaban, 6-5-39

Pyarelal

(To be continued)

TALCHER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Talcher promises to be much worse than Rajkot. In Rajkot it was the Ruler's word that was broken. In Talcher it is the Paramount Power's. In Rajkot the State atrocities were not the subject of scrutiny. In Talcher the sorry condition of the numerous refugees is almost everything. Hence delay is criminal and may mean loss of one year's crop to several thousand cultivators. The other relief promised by the Political Agent, Major Hennessey, relates to paltry things so far as the Ruler of Talcher is concerned, but they are serious enough for the people.

It has been whispered to me that I have been guilty of injustice to Major Hennessey and hence to the Paramount Power by attributing to them breach of promise; for, it is said, Major Hennessey promised nothing, he merely undertook to convey to the Ruler the wishes of the people concerned. It is further said that even if it is proved that he made any such promise he did so without authority.

I cannot admit either of the pleas. Major Hennessey signed the document without any reservations. Shri Harekrishna Mehtab describes the tragedy with a wealth of detail which compels conviction. He has been an eye-witness of the events narrated by him. So far as I am aware Major Hennessey himself has never denied or has not been given an opportunity of denying the allegations made about him.

There seems to be no doubt that the Ruler of Talcher is in no mood to do justice to his people unless he is made to according to the sanad I have already reproduced in these columns. The representative of the Paramount Power can even require the smaller States of Orissa to perform acts in the interest of their people. Can there be any doubt as to the necessity of redressing every one of the injustices mentioned in the memorandum signed by Major Hennessey? Indeed redress has been long overdue. Why is the Ruler being humoured by the Political Department in his wholly indefensible attitude? Why is the welfare of several thousand refugees being lightly regarded? Is not the prestige of the Paramount Power being used to sustain the admitted evils? Surely there is something radically wrong somewhere in all this.

Rajkot, 16-5-39

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HARIJAN

10 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

VOL. VII, No. 16]

POONA — SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1939

[ONE ANNA

NEW LIGHT

On his return to Rajkot from Brindaban on the 12th inst. Gandhiji lost no time in resuming the threads of the situation in Rajkot where he had left them on his departure for Calcutta. He had learnt that his "I am Defeated" statement which he had issued on 23rd April last had been resented by some Parishad workers who had felt perturbed at the idea of negotiating a settlement by themselves with Durbar Virawala whom they had regarded as the source of all evil in Rajkot. A few of them had even issued a statement in which they had declared their disbelief in the philosophy of "converting your enemy". Some others were of opinion that the implementing of the terms of the December 26th Notification should be insisted upon. Gandhiji elucidated his own position, before a meeting of the Parishad workers within two hours of his arrival in Rajkot on the 12th inst. The time was devoted to the elucidation of doubts. For the sake of brevity, I am avoiding the questions. The following is the substance of his talk :

"I wonder why my statement of 23rd April should have perturbed some of you. I said nothing new in it. It was a summary of what I had told you in detail just before I left Rajkot.

So far as Vajubhai and his colleagues' statement is concerned, let me tell you I have rather liked it inasmuch as it has served to bring out in clear relief the fundamental differences between his group and me. The Council of Action, it is stated, was constituted by the Parishad for the specific purpose of conducting the civil disobedience fight. Now that it has been called off *sine die*, its function has lapsed. I can quite understand the objection to negotiating a settlement in its name. But I am not conducting the negotiations in the Council's name.

Let me explain my own position in this matter. When the Award was first announced, under the exultation of the moment, I allowed myself to say that the result of my Rajkot fast had exceeded my expectations. But I now find that the Chief Justice's Award has become a halter round my neck.

I did not come here at your invitation. I came here because Rajkot is the home of my childhood and because I felt I would be able to keep its Ruler to his promises. In the various steps which I have taken since my arrival here, I had been guided solely by my inner light and the logic of circumstances. Nobody is under any obligation to join me in my present experiment. Anybody who feels differently from me is perfectly free to go his way, and if the people of Rajkot decide to carry on the fight by following different methods, I would not mind it. I am humble enough to know that there may be a different way and a better way than mine of doing a thing. In no case do I want to see our people turn into cowards.

I welcome too the suggestion about calling the Parishad and obtaining its mandate with regard to the future lines of action. But I would like you not to shut your eyes to the realities of the situation. I am trying the delicate and difficult technique of negotiating a settlement with Durbar Virawala by appealing to the better self in him, while at the same time I am pursuing the stages contemplated in the Award. The Rajkot issue is not so simple or superficial as it might appear at first sight. Behind it are ranged other and powerful forces.

Eighteen days have elapsed since I discussed with you the new line of approach to the Rajkot question. The passage of time has confirmed my opinion. I confess I was guilty of impatience when I wrote to Mr. Gibson about the interminable delays and to the Bhayats about their suggestion to refer to the Chief Justice the meaning of my assurance to them. Such impatience reflects little credit on my ahimsa. My legal position was correct. But ahimsa does not go by legal rights.

I have now realized that I must be content to plod on with infinite patience. It is no mango trick that can be performed in the twinkling of an eye. It calls for a more potent force even than civil disobedience, viz. the application of the active principle that lies at the core of ahimsa. This is the new light that I sense I have seen. I see it but dimly. And I am therefore unable to define it.

I should very much like, if I could, altogether to give up the shelter of the Award before proceeding with the work of appeasing Durbar Shri Virawala. But that requires courage, fearlessness and ample faith. If I had these, I should not hesitate to plunge into a blazing fire. But such faith cannot come by mechanical means. One must wait and pray for it. I had no idea of what jail life was like when I launched on Satyagraha in South Africa. But once inside the prison it became to me like a palace, a sanctuary, a place of pilgrimage, where I learnt things which probably I would not have outside.

If I had to act only for myself, I would not probably have hesitated to take the plunge. But as a custodian of the people's interests I wonder if I should run any risks. Thus has conscience turned me into a coward and I am vacillating between doubt and faith.

My ahimsa tells me that I must tear up the Award. But the reason is not yet fully convinced. 'What is the meaning of not seeking aid from the Paramount Power,' I argue to myself, 'when you are trying to secure the co-operation of Durbar Shri Virawala and the Thakore Sahab? Are they not all parts of one and the same system?' Thus I am caught in the net of my own reasoning. All this I know is a sign of lack of faith on my part.

I cannot, while there is this conflict between the head and the heart within me, offer to take

you along with me or be of much use to you as a 'guide'. I have no set theory to go by. I have not worked out the science of Satyagraha in its entirety. I am still groping. You can join me in my quest if it appeals to you and you feel the call.

A representative is bound to consult his principals and take his instructions from them at every step. But a physician cannot afford to do so regarding his patients. He must be guided solely by his instinct and vary his treatment according to his reading of the symptoms as they might develop from moment to moment. He cannot accept dictation of the patient. I stand in a dual capacity in relation to you. I am your spokesman whom you have also accepted as your physician. You must implicitly follow the treatment laid down by your physician so long as you have faith in him. If he no longer commands your confidence, you must appoint in his place another who does.

Only a prospective mother knows what it is to carry. The on-lookers notice her illness and pity her. But she alone knows the travail. It is I who have conceived Satyagraha. Mine alone, therefore, must be the travail and the suffering. I am not joking. I am in dreadful earnest. I shall enter the fiery gates and pursue my mission even if I am the only person left to do so. I am resolved to try and exhaust every resource of Satyagraha to convert Durbar Virawala. If I succeed, you will all share the fruit. If I fail, the responsibility will be entirely mine and what I do will in no way affect you.

When I was a little child, there used to be two blind master performers in Rajkot. One of them was a musician. When he played on his instrument, his fingers swept the strings with an unerring instinct and everybody listened spell-bound to his playing. Similarly there are chords in every human heart. If we only know how to strike the right chord, we bring out the music.

Durbar Virawala is no exception to the rule.

Have I set Durbar Virawala completely at his ease? Have I applied truth and ahimsa only in my dealings with him? Have I not threatened him with the Award?

We want to set up democracy in Rajkot. A born democrat is a born disciplinarian. Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws, human or divine. I claim to be a democrat both by instinct and training. Let those who are ambitious to serve democracy qualify themselves by satisfying first this acid test of democracy. Moreover, a democrat must be utterly selfless. He must think and dream not in terms of self or party but only of democracy. Only then does he acquire the right of civil disobedience. I do not want anybody to give up his convictions or to suppress himself. I do not believe that a healthy and honest difference of opinion will injure our cause. But opportunism, camouflage or patched up compromises certainly will. If you must dissent, you should take care that your opinions voice your innermost convictions and are not intended merely as a convenient party cry.

Today our democracy is choked by our internecine strife. We are torn by dissensions — dissensions between Hindus and Mussalmans, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Congressmen and Congressmen. It is no easy task to evolve democracy out of this mobocracy. Let us not make confusion worse confounded by further introducing into it the virus of sectionalism and party spirit.

(Continued on page 144)

GANDHI SEVA SANGH

III

The Bose Election

Two days were devoted to questions arising out of what Gandhiji had said regarding his 'New Technique', qualifications of Satyagrahis and so on. There were questions on the Bose election too. Gandhiji took up these first but came ultimately to the fundamental one of ahimsa and its implications. I should have avoided the questions about the Bose Election, but now that the correspondence has been published, it may be worth while giving Gandhiji's reply to questions that were asked.

"Why," it was asked, "did you not issue before the presidential election the statement that you issued after it? That might have prevented Tripuri and its sequel."

"The statement issued over the signature of Sardar Vallabhbhai and others was issued from Bardoli where I then was. It contained a sentence or a paragraph indicating my position, and that should have been enough. Let me also tell you that I had wired my opinion to Subhasbabu."

"But then you have said in one of your letters to Subhasbabu that the more you read Pantji's resolution the more you disliked it. Some papers suggested that you were being kept regularly informed, and your correspondence leads one to think that you had not seen the resolution. What is the truth?"

"When the resolution was being discussed I was on my penitential bed in Rajkot, and my mind was occupied exclusively by the Rajkot matter. Someone did mention to me that a resolution expressing confidence in the old programme was being discussed, but I was unaware of the language in which it was couched. Originally, that is before Tripuri, when Subhasbabu saw me in Wardha I had told him that the most straightforward course would be to bring a no-confidence resolution, that is, if it could be discussed without any passion or bitterness. That, I took it, was not thought possible at Tripuri and Pantji's resolution was adopted in order to avoid personalities and passion. When later Subhasbabu wrote to me about Pantji's resolution, I read it carefully with his frankly expressed opinion on it, and I considered from the point of view of its application to me. It was with that thing in view that I said that the more I read the resolution the more I disliked it. The obvious reason was that it would be nothing short of imposition on Subhasbabu to suggest to him the only names I could, as I knew it would not be possible for Subhasbabu to work with them. This is what I impressed on Subhasbabu throughout my talks with him at Calcutta, and I am quite sure that I served the country by firmly adhering to my view."

"But Subhasbabu had agreed to accept all the names you would suggest?"

"How could I abuse his readiness to accept my names? Supposing someone came and said to me that I was at liberty to swear at him or to hammer him, should I avail myself of the liberty? Well I suggest that to have imposed my choice on Subhasbabu would have been worse than swearing at him or hammering him. It would have been an outrage on his feelings. There is a world of difference between what you may do and what you ought to do."

Fundamental Differences

"But at the basis of the whole thing is what is known as the fundamental difference between

you and Subhasbabu. Could you indicate the difference briefly?"

"The correspondence with him reveals it, but I am not free to publish it." (This has since been published by Subhasbabu.) "But the differences I should think are well known. Take his proposed ultimatum to the British Government. He thinks that the situation is ripe for throwing a challenge to the British Government. I feel that it is impossible to inaugurate and conduct a non-violent campaign today. We have no control on those who believe in violence. Ranpur, Ramdurg, Cawnpore are pointers. Pantji had little non-violent control of the situation in Cawnpore and other cities in U. P. and the Shia-Sunni trouble is a fresh species of the difficulties we have to face. We have not only no control over non-Congressmen but little over even Congressmen. There was a time when the bulk of the country used to listen to us; today, even many Congressmen are out of our hands. I cannot think of organising a Dandi Salt March today. The atmosphere is altogether unpropitious. Subhasbabu thinks otherwise."

"Take again our views on corruption in the Congress ranks. I would go the length of giving the whole Congress organisation a decent burial, rather than put up with the corruption that is rampant. I do not know that I could take all members of the Working Committee with me in this view. I know that I cannot possibly take Subhasbabu with me."

"In brief I believe that violence and corruption are rampant. He does not share my belief and therefore his plans and programmes must necessarily differ from mine."

"Have you the same differences with Socialists and Pandit Jawaharlal?"

"Don't mix up things. The idea of ultimatum originated with Subhasbabu and I do not know how many accept it. Besides there are differences between Jawaharlal and the other Socialist friends. My fundamental difference with Socialists is well known. I believe in the conversion of human nature and in striving for it. They do not believe in this. But let me tell you that we are coming nearer one another. Either they are being drawn to me, or I am being drawn to them. As for Jawaharlal we know that neither of us can do without the other, for there is a heart-union between us which no intellectual differences can break."

"But I want to take you a little further. If you are all true to your creed, the questions that you have asked ought not to have been asked. We believe in *Sarvadharmasamānātva* — having equal regard for all faiths and creeds. Therefore we should have equal regard for the creeds of Rightists and Leftists so called. Equal regard does not mean that you should adopt the other view, as my equal respect for Islam or Christianity does not mean that I would adopt either of the two. My equal regard compels me to understand their viewpoint, to appreciate the light in which they look upon their religion. It means that we should emphasise points of agreement and not make much of the points of difference."

"And why should it be difficult to discover all possible points of agreement? The royal road to the discovery is trust and straight approach. There are two golden precepts in the Bible,—not that there are not similar ones in our scriptures, but these occur to me at the moment—viz., "Agree with thine adversary quickly," and "Let not the sun set upon your wrath." Unless you act according to these precepts you are not worthy members of the Sangh, for both flow from the central principle of ahimsa. Marching right into the jaws of himsa means nothing else, nothing less."

"This is what I felt like telling you when I was told that some of you were harbouring suspicions about the Sardar. You must go straight to him and ask for his explanation. If it fails to satisfy you, if you think his explanation does not stand the test of ahimsa, you would be well advised to let the Sardar retire from the Gandhi Seva Sangh."

"The differences, I hope, are temporary. But if they become insuperable barriers, the sooner we wind up the Sangh the better. For the Sangh presupposes the possibility of organising the forces of truth and non-violence. But if we have to discuss our differences eternally, we should own that we at least are incapable of organising these forces."

Constructive Work and Ahimsa

"But that leads me to the very vital question you have asked,—'What is the relation between constructive work and ahimsa? Why are they so intimately connected?' Well, I think it is obvious enough that Hindu-Muslim unity, prohibition, and abolition of untouchability,—are impossible without non-violence. Remains only the spinning wheel. How does it become the symbol of non-violence? As I have already explained, the essential thing is the spirit in which you regard it, the attributes you invest it with. It is no quinine pill which has certain inherent properties in it, apart from what you think about it. The spinning wheel has no such inherent property. Take the Gayatri mantra. It cannot have the same effect on non-Hindus as it has on me, nor can the *Kalema* have the same reaction on me as it has on the Muslims. Even so the spinning wheel in itself has nothing which can teach ahimsa or bring Swaraj. But you have to think it with those attributes and it is transformed. Its obvious value is the service of the poor, but that does not necessarily mean that it should be a symbol of non-violence or an indispensable condition for Swaraj. But we since 1920 connected the wheel with Swaraj and non-violence."

"Then there is the programme of self-purification with which the spinning wheel is again intimately connected. Coarse homespun signifies simplicity of life and therefore purity."

"Without the spinning wheel, without Hindu-Muslim unity and without the abolition of untouchability there can be no civil disobedience. Civil disobedience presupposes willing obedience of our self-imposed rules, and without it civil disobedience would be a cruel joke. This is what came to me with redoubled conviction in the laboratory at Rajkot. If even one man fulfils all the conditions, he is capable of winning Swaraj. I am still far from being that ideal Satyagrahi. I said the same thing at the time we met to organise a Satyagraha campaign against the Rowlet Act. When it was started we had only a handful of men, but we built up a considerable organisation out of that handful. As I am an imperfect Satyagrahi I want your co-operation. In the process of organising and seeking your co-operation I myself grow, for my introspection never ceases. Even the time I am now giving you is as much in my own interest as in yours, or at least in my own interest if not in yours. For as I examine myself I am growing and evolving. No one is too old to grow, certainly not I. In the Transvaal, Satyagraha was born, but a few thousands wielded it there. Millions have wielded it here. Who knew that on the 6th of April 1919 millions would rise up like one man in response to the call I had made from Madras? But the constructive programme is essential for the ultimate success, indeed today I think we should be untrue to the nation if we did not fulfil the programme of the spinning wheel as a symbol of non-violence, no matter how long it takes." (To be continued) M. D.¹

H A R I J A N

May 27

1939

THE JEWISH QUESTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Managing Editor of *Jewish Frontier*, published at 275 Seventh Avenue, New York City, was good enough to send me a copy of the March number of the magazine with the request that I should deal with its reply to my article on the Jews in Germany and Palestine. The reply is very ably written. I wish I had space for reproducing the whole of it. The reader will, however, find the main argument reproduced in this issue of *Harijan*.

Let me say that I did not write the article as a critic. I wrote it at the pressing request of Jewish friends and correspondents. As I decided to write, I could not do so in any other manner.

But I did not entertain the hope when I wrote it that the Jews would be at once converted to my view. I should have been satisfied if even one Jew had been fully convinced and converted.

Nor did I write the article only for today. I flatter myself with the belief that some of my writings will survive me and will be of service to the causes for which they have been written. I have no sense of disappointment that my writing had not to my knowledge converted a single Jew.

Having read the reply more than once I must say that I see no reason to change the opinion I expressed in my article. It is highly probable that, as the writer says, 'a Jewish Gandhi in Germany, should one arise, could function for about five minutes and would be promptly taken to the guillotine.' But that will not disprove my case or shake my belief in the efficacy of ahimsa. I can conceive the necessity of the immolation of hundreds, if not thousands, to appease the hunger of dictators who have no belief in ahimsa. Indeed the maxim is that ahimsa is the most efficacious in front of the greatest himsa. Its quality is really tested only in such cases. Sufferers need not see the result during their lifetime. They must have faith that if their cult survives, the result is a certainty. The method of violence gives no greater guarantee than that of non-violence. It gives infinitely less. For the faith of the votary of ahimsa is lacking.

The writer contends that I approached the Jewish problem "without that fundamental earnestness and passionate search for truth which are so characteristic of his usual treatment of problems." All I can say is that to my knowledge there was lack neither of earnestness nor of passion for truth when I wrote the article. The second charge of the writer is more serious. He thinks that my zeal for Hindu-

Muslim unity made me partial to the Arab presentation of the case, especially as that side was naturally emphasised in India. I have often said that I would not sell truth for the sake of India's deliverance. Much less would I do so for winning Muslim friendship. The writer thinks that I am wrong on the Jewish question as I was wrong on the Khilafat question. Even at this distance of time I have no regret whatsoever for having taken up the Khilafat cause. I know that my persistence does not prove the correctness of my attitude. Only it is necessary for everyone concerned to know where I stand today about my action in 1919-20.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that this writing of mine will give no satisfaction either to the Editor of *Jewish Frontier* or to my many Jewish friends. Nevertheless I wish with all my heart that somehow or other the persecution of the Jews in Germany will end and that the question in Palestine will be settled to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned.

Rajkot, 22-5-39

The Latest Menace

It has been a matter of grief to me that the Union Government have not respected their own agreement regarding their treatment of British Indians. There has been a policy of progressive stringency in their anti-Asiatic drive. One had hoped that what is known as the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914 was the last word in this matter. It was also hoped that with virtual restriction of Indian immigration there would be progressive amelioration in the condition of domiciled Indians. But that hope was dashed to pieces. Much deterioration has taken place since. There have been Round Table and other conferences, agreements have been reached, but never has any finality been felt by the Indians. Evidently the Union Government would not be happy till they have either driven away Indians whom they have given legislative protection or reduced their status to such an extent that no self-respecting Indian would care to remain in South Africa. I have therefore not discountenanced their reported decision to fight this latest menace of segregation through civil resistance if necessary. There must be perfect cohesion and union among the Indians who are divided into groups. And their resistance will be vain if they are not resolute in self-suffering. Public opinion in India including that of Europeans will, I hope, back the Indians in their unequal fight and call upon the Indian Government to exert its influence with the Union Government. Lastly, I appeal to the best mind of South Africa to see that simple justice is not denied to the Indian settlers who have done no wrong to the country of their adoption.

Rajkot, 23-5-39

M. K. G.

Foreign subscribers will please note that if they send their subscription per cheque they should send one shilling or 50 cents extra, to cover the clearance charges.

Manager

WITHDRAWN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In *Harijan* of December 24th there is a long report of my talk with missionary friends from Tambaram on non-violence and the world crisis. When during the talk I took the illustration of the Jews, I am reported to have said, "It is true that the Jews have not been actively violent in their own persons. But they called down upon the Germans the curses of mankind and they wanted America and England to fight Germany on their behalf."

On reading the last sentence a dear friend wrote to me a fiery letter and challenged me to produce my authority for my remark. He said that I had been hasty in making the statement. I did not realize the importance of the rebuke. I did, however, want to produce support for my statement. I put Pyarelal and later Mahadev on the search. It is not always an easy task to find support for impressions one carries when speaking or writing. Meanwhile I received a letter from Lord Samuel supporting the contradiction of the friend referred to above. Whilst I was having the search made I got the following letter from Sir Philip Hartog:

"May I take the opportunity of saying that I agree with what my friends Mr. Poiak and Lord Samuel tell me they have written to you about the attitude of the German Jewish refugees, of whom I have myself seen hundreds since 1933. I have never heard one of them express publicly or privately the desire for a war of vengeance against Germany. Indeed such a war would bring further misery to the hundreds of thousands of Jews still in Germany as well as untold suffering to millions of other innocent men and women."

I put greater diligence in my search. The searchers were not able to lay hands on any conclusive writing. The manager of *Harijan* put himself in correspondence with the Editor of the *Jewish Tribune*, Bombay, who sent the following characteristic reply:

"This is not the first time that I have come across the imputation made against Jews that they urge countries like England and America to go to war against Germany on account of its persecutions of Jews. Jews have never urged the democracies to wage war against Germany on account of its persecution of the Jews. This is a mischievous lie that must be nailed to the counter. If there is a war, Jews will suffer more than the rest of the population. This is a fact gleaned from the pages of history. And the Jew is a great lover and advocate of peace. I hope you will refute any such allegation that is made against them."

In the face of the foregoing weighty contradictions now enforced by the Editor of the *Jewish Tribune* and of the fact that I cannot lay my hands on anything on the strength of which I made the challenged observation, I must withdraw it without any reservation. I only hope that my observation has not harmed any single Jew. I know that I incurred the wrath of many German friends for what I said in all good faith.

Rajkot, 22-5-39

WE ARE TREATED AS SUBHUMANS

WE ARE ASKED TO BE SUPERHUMAN

(By Hayim Greenberg)

[The following is an abridgment of the article from the *Jewish Frontier* referred to by Gandhiji in his article "The Jewish Question" published elsewhere in this issue.]

In his article concerning the Jewish question, a statement for which certain elements in Jewry have long waited with impatience, the spiritual leader of "Young India" directs against us two important accusations. He blames us for not exhibiting the heroism of militant pacifism in those lands where Jews are persecuted, and especially in Germany. On the other hand he accuses us of following an aggressively nationalist — almost imperialist — policy in Palestine and of a desire to deprive the Arabs of their fatherland.

Gandhi's first accusation is quite natural and is in complete harmony with his entire world outlook. His temperament does not tolerate passivity and his ethical-religious convictions dictate to him the duty of heroic and active resistance according to the Indian principle of "Satyagraha".

The motivating idea of "Satyagraha" is not, as some claim, a practical strategy which Gandhi "made to order" to meet the concrete demands of the Indian situation. Long ago he advocated it as a universal ideal which could be applied by all the oppressed and injured everywhere and independent of the specific historical situation. Personally I feel that the individual and group struggles according to the plan of "Satyagraha" — aside from its moral-religious implications — have proved to be practical and effective. The truth of the "Satyagraha" teaching — which in another form has been expressed by Jesus and other Jewish teachers many generations ago — is in my eyes as self-evident as a mathematical axiom. But I must admit to myself that in order to apply Gandhi's method of struggle it is necessary to accept it not only on a purely intellectual plane; it is also imperative that it be assimilated emotionally, that it should be believed in with all the force of one's being. Such faith the Jews of Germany do not possess. Faith in the principle of "Satyagraha" is a matter of special predisposition which, for numerous reasons, the German Jews have not developed. The civilization in which German Jews have lived for so many generations, and to the creation of which they have so energetically and ably contributed, has not prepared them for the "pathos" of "Satyagraha". As a result they are now defenceless. The accepted defence methods of the European-American world cannot be applied by the German Jews. They cannot resort to passive resistance because they lack the heroism, the faith and the specific imaginative powers which alone can stimulate such heroism. When Gandhi accuses German Jews of lacking that mentality which, in his estimation, is the only truly heroic mentality, I am ready to concur with him, but with one reservation which he also must accept — that this accusation should also be levelled against the millions of non-Jewish Germans who wear the yoke of the Hitler regime with impotent hatred and show no more affinity for "Satyagraha" methods than do the Jews; against the millions of Italians who for years have breathed the contaminated air of their own tyranny; against the tens of millions of Russians who have exhausted their strength in civil war and do not find their way to the Gandhi method of resisting the red despotism; against hundreds of millions of Chinese who by their military resistance aid the Japanese aggressors to ravage their country instead of following the path of non-cooperation.

It is true that one may demand, as Gandhi does, that Jews, and particularly the Jews of Germany, should be the "pioneers" of new forms of social struggle in the Western world and should be the first to embrace the practice of "Satyagraha". Gandhi wishes that

we should set an example to the non-Jewish Germans, that we should point the way to a spiritual crusade against their wicked government. He may have a sound reason for believing that the incomparable suffering and degradation to which German Jews are subjected "compels" them to act more heroically and to be more "adventurous" spiritually than their neighbours. I do not question the idea implicit in Gandhi's demand that there is a mutual relationship between the intensity of suffering and the intensity of the moral reaction to suffering. But there is reason to assume that when suffering and insults transgress certain bounds it is quite natural that the reaction should be a feeling of futility and despair instead of that heroism which Gandhi suggests. This is especially true when the group concerned is historically and psychologically not prepared for such a catastrophe and therefore looks upon it as a sudden and unexpected occurrence. The prophet of "Young India" has in this instance exhibited an unusual lack of psychological understanding.

Gandhi should also have understood that it is far less simple to preach "Satyagraha" to German Jews than it is to Indian masses, even to the lowest caste of "untouchables". We all know the evils of English rule and administration in India. But one should be wary of drawing comparisons between the situation of the Indian masses today, or even twenty years ago, and the position of the German Jews today.

A Jewish Gandhi in Germany, should one arise, could "function" for about five minutes — until the first Gestapo agent would lead him, not to a concentration camp, but directly to the guillotine.

If Gandhi demands heroism from the Indians, he demands of the German Jews a measure of super-heroism unexampled in history. Gandhi's comparison between the situation of the Indians and that of the German Jews, contains an element of unfairness which crept in against his will and against his intentions.

But if Gandhi demands that we practise super-heroism in Germany, he requests that in Palestine we should renounce the most elementary rights which every people may and should claim. When he asks why we do not "like the other peoples of the earth" make our home in the land where we were born and where we earn our livelihood, he indicates that he has not pondered the unusual drama of the paradoxical Jewish history. Jews have been dispersed for many generations and it could not be an accident that after sojourning in so many lands and with so many peoples they have not become so rooted in those countries that these should cease being "stepmother lands".

But Gandhi refuses to recognize our right to a distinct territorial settlement, a right which is enjoyed, almost without exception, by all the peoples of the world. Were it not so, he would see the Palestine problem in an altogether different political and moral light. For when he says that "it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews partly or wholly as their National Homeland" he forgets that if national honor is at stake (this is the burden of his statement and he knows full well that one may not repeat the discredited allegations of economic or cultural harm that Jews supposedly caused to Arabs) he should also have thought of Jewish honor. Either it is dishonorable to be a minority in a country or it is merely a question of fictitious prestige for which he can have no sympathy. If only pseudo honor is involved why should he be concerned lest the "proud Arabs" be deprived of the enjoyment of an inflated pride? But if real national honor is at stake, why should the Arabs enjoy it throughout the length and breadth of the Arabian peninsula, Iraq, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and Egypt (an area almost as large as the European continent) while the Jews should be deprived of this

honor even in an area which occupies about one per cent of the above-mentioned lands; an area to which they have historical claims and the natural right they acquired during two generations of diligent work, initiative, heroism and suffering?

From a purely legalistic point of view, it may be possible to agree with him that "the mandates have no sanction but that of the last war." This does not mean, however, that the basic idea of the mandates, and the mandatory system as it has been practised during the past twenty years, was born from the war. The idea underlying the mandate which, according to the constitution of the League of Nations should be applied in territories where the population is not ready for self-government, or where local interests must be subordinated to more important considerations of an international character, is potentially of great humanitarian significance. It is a prelude to that "civil society" of which Franklin wrote in the eighteenth century; it is a way to a more rational and just collective international control of the world's wealth. I am not unaware of the shortcomings with which the League of Nations is weighed down nor of its sad fate during recent years which also brought misfortune to all humanity. But whoever observed closely the activities of the League in the administration of mandated territories — naturally excluding those areas mandated to Japan, a country which cynically mocked League control even when its representatives were still sitting at Geneva — must admit that the mandatory system is a step forward when compared with the uncontrolled colonial regimes of the past and the present. The fact that a mandatory Government is responsible to the Permanent Mandates Commission, in which the majority of the members represent governments possessing neither mandates nor colonial possessions, is in itself an advance in the direction of internationalism and the humanization of the world.

It is regrettable that Gandhi approached our problem without that fundamental earnestness and passionate search for truth which are so characteristic of his usual treatment of problems. He therefore missed the deeper implications of the Mandates system. He therefore also failed to grasp the unequalled tragedy of Jewish existence. This is the reason why he can justify the phenomenon of five Arab states demanding in London the establishment of a sixth one on the eve of the founding of two other sovereign Arab governments in Syria and Lebanon while at the same time sanctioning the denial of refuge to Jews in their old home.

This also explains his stand that Arabs must nowhere be reduced to the status of a minority while tens of millions of Russians, Poles, Czechs, Germans, Irish and Italians live in dozens of countries as ethnic minorities and while Jews live as a persecuted minority on the entire globe.

With all my respect for the Mahatma (I doubt if there is another living man who evokes within me such a moral awareness of his loftiness) I cannot help feeling that in the present instance he has betrayed his inner nature. I cannot avoid the suspicion that so far as the Palestine problem is concerned Gandhi allowed himself to be influenced by the anti-Zionist propaganda being conducted among fanatic pan-Islamists. His understandable and praiseworthy desire for a united front with the Mohammedans apparently misguided and blinded him to significant realities and deprived him of that analytical clarity which is a part of his moral being. Years ago he was, for the same reason, misguided into supporting the agitation for the re-establishment of the Khalifate, an institution that is at such variance with his general views. Gandhi was wrong then; he is also mistaken in the present instance and the source of these mistakes seems to be the same.

A MOMENTOUS DECISION

The Incubus

Few could have expected the momentous decision announced by Gandhiji in his statement to the Press made on the 17th May 1939. Not even his closest associates in Brindaban knew that it was coming so soon. That it might come became evident on the day he delivered his heart-stirring address on what he called his "new technique" at Brindaban on the 3rd of May.

And yet, had not the process started almost immediately after the Award, or rather immediately after the termination of the fast? If ahimsa is a sterling article, its golden ring must produce a golden echo in the opponent. The fast conceived as the highest and purest form of prayer and self-surrender to God must not produce any feeling of anger or exasperation in the opponent. But within a couple of days or so of the termination of the fast, as Pyarelal's diary shows, he had begun to discover that the fast had produced an effect the reverse of what was contemplated. Thus on the 10th of March Durbar Shri Virawala's talk had left him with this feeling: "What is wrong with my ahimsa? Why has not my fast worked any change in Virawala?" The pitiless self-analysis had thus begun right from the 10th of March. Apparently the wrong seemed all on the other side, and an ordinary man would have fretted and fumed at the seeming hard-heartedness of human nature. But not he.

But I am anticipating. Even he fretted and fumed whilst he also questioned himself. During his first meetings with the Viceroy he made it clear that though he had no doubt that Sir Maurice Gwyer would give an award in his favour, there would be no peace in Rajkot until he contented himself with a bare majority—instead of a large majority that a favourable award would ensure. But as I have said he also fretted and fumed, possibly because we ordinary mortals surrounded him and he is human enough to allow himself to be affected by his associates' feeling. News that came daily from Rajkot fanned the flame of irritation. The authorities there were behaving as though no settlement had taken place. "Had I fasted for this? Did I not break my fast too soon?" That is how he thought.

On the 26th March he got to see a copy of Durbar Shri Virawala's statement of the Thakore Saheb's case submitted to the Chief Justice. The plea of fraud, coercion and bad faith irritated him, as it irritated the Sardar. Again came the question: "Why has my fast been so infructuous? Why cannot Virawala see that I could not have fasted on the strength of a fraudulently obtained document?"

Then came the Award completely vindicating the Sardar. But Gandhiji was far from easy. Would it be possible to implement the Award in the existing atmosphere in Rajkot? Would it not be a noose round our neck rather than a Gordian knot untied? He saw the Viceroy, offered to sacrifice the majority and have a bare majority with the Thakore Saheb's nominees, or to do without a full Committee under notification. But the Viceroy was helpless. He asked him to come to whatever arrangements he liked with the Thakore Saheb in Rajkot, but no arrangement could be made over the Thakore Saheb's head.

On coming to Rajkot the question came to him with redoubled force. The Award—the result of the fast—was such a terrible bugbear to Durbar Shri Virawala that he had exhausted all his skill in placing countless hurdles in the way. There was the rejection of the names of

the Committee suggested by Sardar Vallabhbhai though some of these names had been approved by the State itself at an earlier stage. Then came the Bhayats and the Mussalmans on the scene. An endless process of bitterness. That led to the "sporting offer" made to the Resident of asking the Thakore Saheb to form his own Committee. That was rejected by Durbar Virawala—and rightly as Gandhiji's statement of the 17th May vividly explains.

At this stage the question of something radically lacking in his ahimsa takes a more concrete form. He had no doubt that apparently Right was on his side, that the evil designs of all would be ultimately frustrated. But would ahimsa win in the end? Would ahimsa multiply itself as it must, or would it produce a counter-action? That brought the question to the forefront: "The Award which was right and vindicative of justice has been such a Pandora's box that there must be something intrinsically wrong in the process of winning it." The end seemed to be so pure and yet it was so full of mischief that there could not but have been something impure about the means.

That brings us to the statement from Rajkot made on the 24th April. Ahimsa rushes into the mouth of himsa instead of irritating it. Ahimsa posits the good in the opponent and operates on it. Durbar Shri Virawala cannot but respond if we approach him in unadulterated ahimsa.

It was in the contemplative retreat at Brindaban that the matter came straight home to him that not only was his ahimsa imperfect but that it was doubly imperfect in that it had sought adventitious aid. Utter self-surrender to God by which alone can the fast of a Satyagrahi be judged had been lacking. The fruit of the fast therefore must be renounced. But there were so many involved in it, and therefore the courage was lacking. But the discovery had been made that the Award was an incubus, not only for himself but for Durbar Virawala. It oppressed Gandhiji morally; it distressed the Durbar as a weapon unworthy of a Satyagrahi.

Elsewhere will be found a resume of his loud thinking before his co-workers on arrival in Rajkot on the 12th May. In a personal letter to Durbar Shri Virawala written on the same day he mentioned "the double game" he was playing and almost indicates that he loathed it.

The Loud Thinking

Every day he lost no opportunity of thinking aloud before co-workers. Slowly but surely the decision was coming. "The statement I made on leaving Rajkot correctly represented my state of mind. The views I expressed are, if anything, stronger today. I own that I was impatient. The Award which was a tainted fruit made me impatient. That impatience was a slur on my ahimsa. It was that impatience that made me say to the Bhayats and Mussalmans that I was not prepared to wait for Sir Maurice Gwyer's Award on their reference, the work of the Committee must go on. There was no Committee then, but impatience made me speak so." Again: "There is no doubt in my mind that the Award must be renounced. How can I woo Durbar Virawala and also keep the sword of the Award hanging over his head? But where is the courage? The faint-heartedness is unworthy of a Satyagrahi who must have nothing but faith in God to sustain him."

In three days he had advanced a few more steps: "What is it that prevents me from throwing the Award overboard? It is not only faint-heartedness but it smacks of diplomacy. If I

want Durbar Virawala to act on the square I must relieve his fears too. Why should he have to remain in fear of the Paramount Power and not do what he can of his own free will? I am talking so much of ahimsa, but I am not walking fearlessly into the mouth of himsa. A Satyagrahi seeks no adventitious aid—not of world forces, not of the Paramount Power. He deals directly with his opponent and wins him by love and utter self-surrender to God. The very difficulty of implementing the Award, the very fact that it has proved a Pandora's box shows that God wants me to throw it away, however seemingly fruitful of future good it may be. God seems to be speaking to me in strident tones: 'Your victory was no victory. Throw it away. You want me to go on with the work of the Award, because it belongs to you. But how can I go on with it when my courage fails me, my hands are shaking and I am faltering? It is a moral issue with me. The consciousness of the wrong of the initial step I took oppresses me and I cannot go on with it, however much you may want me to go on with it. What will you do with such a halting faltering general? I must throw the Award overboard, and you in your turn may throw the general overboard.'

As I was talking with Mr. Gibson in the afternoon of the 17th and telling him that Gandhiji was seriously thinking of discarding the Award and asking his co-workers' opinion about the step, here in the Anandbhavan the decision had been already arrived at!

The Bhayats' and Mussalmans' statements of their case had come then. He began dictating the reply which was plain and simple. But then he said: "Why this burden on the poor Chief Justice when I do not want to benefit by his Award which has given rise to this reference? Even if he decides this reference in my favour—as I am sure he must—I have no use for it."

And with this he retired into silence and sat down to write the statement which is now public property.

A Few Questions

After the statement was ready to be given to the Press and before it was typed, we had a little discussion to clear our own minds. The Sardar was there. He had nothing whatsoever to say regarding Gandhiji's moral position. But I was not quite free from doubt. I said: "How was it wrong to ask the Paramount Power to intervene? You did not insist on the letter of your vow. Otherwise you might have said you could not break the fast until your demand was satisfied. But you were content with the arbitration of the Chief Justice. Even so in 1917 when you fasted during the Ahmedabad labour strike you did not insist on the 35 per cent increase in wage but you contented yourself with the mill-owners consenting to an arbitration. In fact if the Thakore Saheb had yielded to your demand without the intervention of the Paramount Power he might have charged you with having coerced him. But here the arbitration which was the result of the Fast ought to have been given you even without the Fast."

"You are right," said Gandhiji. "But why don't you see that in 1917 the arbitration was offered by millowners? If the Thakore Saheb had offered arbitration of his own accord, it would have been splendid. But here I appealed to the Paramount Power. That is why the arbitration has been infructuous. I had no business to be impatient. Instead of waiting on God and allowing my fast to work itself I sought outside aid. It was a grave blunder."

"But," I said, "why not wait until Sir

Maurice Gwyer gives his decision on the new reference? Let not the Mussalmans and Bhayats have the pretext of saying 'you fought shy of the Chief Justice's decision.'

"Why must I wait to take the right decision? It cannot await a moment's delay. I know that the reference is mischievous and we must win. That might give greater value to the renunciation. But I am not renouncing the Award in order that the world may acclaim the act. By no means. I am freeing myself from a terrible oppression. I have made my decision and am feeling free as a bird."

A Sacred Discourse

The next day I just listened as Kasturba Gandhi was questioning Gandhiji in her tenderly childlike way. Gandhiji's aged sister, ignorant and unlettered but a devout soul, was terribly perturbed over the decision and was disconsolate as she had heard someone say that Gandhiji had been defeated. The news had come to Kasturba with a shock; she also perhaps shared the sister's feelings. She pleaded with Gandhiji to console the aged sister.

"But," said Gandhiji with a smile, "why would not you plead my case?"

"But how can I? I do not myself understand."

"But you must understand. You remember the time in South Africa when you were dying and the doctor said you would not live unless you took chicken broth?"

"Oh yes, I remember."

"Well, if you do, don't you also remember that though I allowed you to do as you liked, you said you would prefer to die but you could not take chicken broth?"

"Yes."

"That was because you were firm in your faith in God. You knew that God would keep you if He so willed, but that you would not care to live by breaking your vow not to touch meat."

"Yes."

"Even so I should have fasted until the Thakore Saheb and Durbar Virawala had come to me relenting and saying, 'Please break your fast. We are going to fulfil our promise.' Instead I wavered. I thought I must seek the aid of the British Government, lest I should die. It was a sin. And if I got the Award by committing the sin, I must give up the fruit of sin."

"But Thakore Saheb and Virawala are placing obstructions in the way. If they were not doing so, the Award would work all right and there would be an end to all the trouble. They are so obstreperous."

"They are so, because of my initial blunder. I irritated them and I have no right to expect better treatment from them. It is not they who are putting the obstacles. It is God acting through them who is putting the obstacles. It is God who has thus opened my eyes and shown me the way. And the sooner I wash my hands of the sin the better. Don't you think so?"

"Yes," she said hesitatingly. "But what of the repressive ordinances, the fines, etc.? We have given up everything and they are still going on as usual!"

"What does that matter? We have to do our duty, trusting them to do theirs. Why do not you see that because I failed in my duty and was impatient to reap the result of my fast or to break it soon that God has punished me thus? But I am not defeated. Tell sister there is no defeat in the confession of one's error. The confession itself is a victory."

Rajkot, 21-5-39

M. D.

THE RAJKOT FAST GLEANINGS FROM A DIARY

VII

The Afermath (continued)

"You want democracy—the rule of the people, by the people, for the people. Surely, all the 75,000 people of Rajkot cannot become rulers or administrators. Democracy must in essence, therefore, mean the art and science of mobilising the entire physical, economic and spiritual resources of all the various sections of the people in the service of the common good of all.

"Service of the family has been the motive behind all our activities hitherto. We must now learn to broaden our outlook so as to include in our ambit the service of the people as a whole.

"We are familiar with several conceptions of village work. Hitherto it has mostly meant propaganda in the villages to inculcate upon the village masses a sense of their rights. Sometimes it has also meant conducting welfare activity among them to ameliorate their material condition. But the village work that I have now come to place before you consists in educating the villager in his duties.

"Rights accrue automatically to him who duly performs his duties. In fact the right to perform one's duties is the only right that is worth living for and dying for. It covers all legitimate rights. All the rest is grab under one guise or another and contains in it seeds of *himsa*.

"The Swaraj of my conception will come only when all of us are firmly persuaded that our Swaraj has got to be won, worked and maintained through truth and *ahimsa* alone. True democracy or the Swaraj of the masses can never come through untruthful and violent means, for the simple reason that the natural corollary to their use would be to remove all opposition through the suppression or extermination of the antagonists. That does not make for individual freedom. Individual freedom can have the fullest play only under a regime of unadulterated *ahimsa*.

"We cannot afford to have discord in our midst if we are to educate the people. We must all speak with one voice. If we want to weld the various sections into one people—and that is the *sine qua non* of democracy—we may not, in rendering service, make any distinction between those who took part in our struggle and those who did not."

He ended by putting before them some concrete suggestions for the prosecution of the educative programme that he had outlined to them.

[These were later embodied by him in two bulletins which he issued to the workers of Rajkot. Vide *Harijan*, dated March 25th.]

13th March:

The First Member had a meeting with Gandhiji when the counter-charge by the State authorities against the Parishad of "fabrication and deliberate misrepresentation" was discussed.

At 6 P.M. the Thakore Sahab accompanied by Durbar Virawala paid Gandhiji what may be described as a courtesy call. Gandhiji left for Delhi by the 7-20 evening train.

14th March:

Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya and some other workers met Gandhiji on the train and discussed the Jaipur situation with him. A stalemate had set in there. They wanted, if possible, the movement to be 'intensified'. Gandhiji, after giving them a careful hearing, explained to them his idea about 'intensification'. They had broken virgin soil in launching upon Satyagraha in Jaipur. The popular response had exceeded their anticipations and even expectations. So far so good. But it

was bad horsemanship to run a good horse to death. Instead of seeking further to spread out the volume they should now set to deepen the foundations and inculcate inward strength. He proposed some stringent tests and preparatory training as an indispensable condition for participation in Satyagraha hereafter. Pending the attainment of the minimum standard laid down by him the civil disobedience part of Satyagraha might remain suspended, that would not mean suspension of Satyagraha itself. He invited them to Delhi for further discussion, if it was thought necessary.

15th March:

Reached Delhi in the morning. Gandhiji had an interview with the Viceroy at 11 A.M. which lasted for two hours. In the afternoon he had a discussion with Mr. Phillipose about the Travancore situation. He felt more and more convinced that the civil disobedience that had been suspended under his advice should not be revived light-heartedly. "Satyagraha does not begin and end with civil disobedience. Let us do a little more *tapashcharya* which is the essence of Satyagraha. Suspension thus conceived can never do harm to the movement. The opponent will find that his battery is exhausted when we do not act up to his expectations, refuse to have any firework displays or put ourselves at his disposal for brutal assaults of his *goondas*. We must meet all his provocative and repressive measures with a coolness and an exemplary self-restraint even at the risk of being charged with cowardice. If there is no cowardice in us, we are safe; ours will ultimately be reckoned an act of rare bravery.

"Meanwhile we should watch how things shape themselves. I am thinking out new plans of conducting the movement in view of the terrorist methods that some States seem to have adopted. We have to develop that technique of rendering futile the employment of hired hooligans against peaceful citizens.

"An able general always gives battle in his own time on the ground of his choice. He always retains the initiative in these respects and never allows it to pass into the hands of the enemy.

"In a Satyagraha campaign the mode of fight and the choice of tactics, e.g.; whether to advance or retreat, offer civil resistance or organize non-violent strength through constructive work and purely selfless humanitarian service are determined according to the exigencies of the situation. A Satyagrahi must carry out whatever plan is laid out for him with a cool determination giving way to neither excitement nor depression.

For a Satyagrahi there can be only one goal, viz., to lay down his life performing his duty whatever it may be. It is the highest he can attain. A cause that has such worthy Satyagrahi soldiers at its back can never be defeated."

He had also a talk with the leaders of Hyderabad Arya Samaj Satyagraha and then in connection with the Viceregal interview and the Rajkot situation in general.

16th March:

Gandhiji was explaining to a group of Arya Samajist leaders—the same that had met him on the day before—the conditions of Satyagraha in pursuit of a religious object as distinguished from Satyagraha in prosecution of a mundane object. There was no issue better suited for the exercise of the weapon of Satyagraha than the religious, but by the same token it called for a greater discipline and precision than ordinary Satyagraha. "Mixing up of motives is damaging in any species of Satyagraha, but in religious

Satyagraha it is altogether inadmissible. It is fatal to use or allow religious Satyagraha to be used as a cloak or a device for advancing an ulterior political or mundane objective." He did not suggest that the interviewers had any other motive. He merely described the conditions of religious Satyagraha.

"As with regard to the goal so with the means, unadulterated purity is of the very essence in this species of Satyagraha. The leader in such a movement must be a man of deeply spiritual life, preferably a Brahmachari—whether married or unmarried. He must be a believer in—as in fact everybody participating in such a movement must be—and practiser of the particular religious observance for which the movement is launched. The leader must be versed in the science of Satyagraha. Truth and ahimsa should shine through his speech. All his actions must be transparent through and through. Diplomacy and intrigue can have no place in his armoury.

"Absolute belief in ahimsa and in God is an indispensable condition in such Satyagraha.

"In religious Satyagraha there can be no room for aggressiveness, demonstrativeness, show. Those who take part in it must have equal respect and regard for the religious convictions and susceptibilities of those who profess a different faith from theirs. The slightest narrowness in their outlook is likely to be reflected magnified manifold in the opponent.

"Religious Satyagraha is, above all, a process of self-purification. It disdains mere numbers and external aids since these cannot add to the Satyagrahi's self-purification. Instead, it relies utterly on God who is the fountain-head of all strength. Religious Satyagraha, therefore, best succeeds under the leadership of a true man of God who will compel reverence and love even of the opponent by the purity of his life, the utter selflessness of his mission and the breadth of his outlook."

Miss Agatha Harrison who came shortly afterwards asked the question: "Is it true, Gandhiji, that genuine Satyagraha can never provoke reprisals?" "Yes," replied Gandhiji. "Genuine Satyagraha is a spiritual exercise. As such it can only evoke the best, not the worst, in man."

Gandhiji had yesterday returned from the Viceregal interview very uneasy in mind and had passed a sleepless night thinking over it. What weighed on him was that out of overconsideration for the Viceroy he had allowed himself to come away without having had his full say on several matters of importance. He had, therefore, to fill in the hiatuses, asked for another interview which took place today from 5 P.M. to 7-30 P.M. The interview was conclusive this time.

17th March:

The three hunger-striking political prisoners in Delhi Jail were today released by the Central Government on receiving a statement from Gandhiji that he was satisfied they had renounced violence as a means for attaining India's political goal.

In accordance with the procedure that had been laid down by the Chief Justice, the Sardar submitted to the Resident for the States of Western India the original note signed by the Thakore Sahib dated 26th December 1938, and a representation explaining his view regarding the interpretation of that note and certain relevant parts of the Notification No. 50 of December 26.

18th March:

The Egyptian Delegation that had come to India on behalf of the Wafd Party saw Gandhiji

at noon. They asked him for a message to Egypt. "I have nothing new," replied Gandhiji. "I would repeat what I said in my telegram to you on your arrival that there must be a real bond of friendship between India and Egypt. It is not a mere courteous wish. It is a wish from the heart. There is such a lot which is common between the cultures of the two countries. Besides, India has such a big Muslim population. Friendship between India and Egypt should help to solve many of our domestic troubles."

The message was translated into Egyptian language by an interpreter to the leader of the Deputation. At parting he took Gandhiji's hands in his with a warmth that was unmistakable and said in Egyptian: "We pray for your long life, as you are the hope not of India only but of the whole world. The work that you are doing is for the whole of the Orient." "That is my hope at least," replied Gandhiji.

On train, 12-5-39

Pyarelal

(Continued from page 136)

I value individual freedom but you must not forget that man is essentially a social being. He has risen to this present status by learning to adjust his individualism to the requirements of social progress. Unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle. We have learnt to strike the mean between individual freedom and social restraint. Willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the well-being of the whole society, enriches both the individual and the society of which one is a member."

Rajkot, 20-5-39

Pyarelal

Corrections

In the last issue of HARIJAN, on p. 128, in the article "Confession and Repentance,"

in col. 1, line 3, instead of 'at' read 'when I left for'

" " 7, instead of 'have come' read 'came'

" " 9, delete 'the advantages accruing from'

" " 15, put 'the' before 'immediate'

" " 22, instead of 'I' read 'it'

" " 29, delete 'a'

" " 31, put 'the' before 'Bhayats'

" " 42, " "

" " 47, delete 'have'

" " 50, instead of 'the' read 'a'

in col. 2 line 13, instead of 'a' read 'the'

" " 41, instead of 'repentances'

read 'repentance'

Democracy or Empire?

By Leonard Barnes

Reviewed by M. D. in the last two issues of Harijan.

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1939

[ONE ANNA

GANDHI SEVA SANGH IV

More Communings

I must carry my account of the Sangh communings a little further. Many of the Sangh members, it must be remembered, content themselves with a bare maintenance wage. Some are allowed stipends from the Sangh and some find their expenses from other sources. Everyone is, or at any rate is expected to be, armed with the faith that the labourer is worthy of his hire. But there are places where this hire may not be obtainable from the people who are served. The worker has, in such a case, to fall back on some means of livelihood. What may these means be?

This was Gandhiji's reply: "Any occupation, clean, honourable and calculated to serve as an example to the people would be good enough. I may give as examples scavenging, spinning and weaving. The occupation should, if possible, be such as touches the interest of the masses and may spur them on to use their hands and feet. One may win one's livelihood by teaching and similar other pursuits, but it all depends on one's needs, of which the maximum must always be fixed."

"The trusteeship theory," said a member, "is beyond the grasp of my intellect. Could you explain it briefly?"

"How can I explain it in a few minutes, and if I cannot explain it in a few minutes, I do not know that I can succeed in explaining it even in a few hours. Supposing I have come by a fair amount of wealth either by way of legacy, or by means of trade and industry—I must know that all that wealth does not belong to me, what belongs to me is the right to an honourable livelihood, no better than that enjoyed by millions of others. The rest of my wealth belongs to the community and must be used for the welfare of the community. I enunciated this theory when the socialist theory was placed before the country in respect to the possessions held by Zamindars and Ruling Chiefs. They would do away with these privileged classes. I want them to outgrow their greed and sense of possession and to come down in spite of their wealth to the level of those who earn their bread by labour. The labourer has to realize that the wealthy man is less owner of his wealth than the labourer is owner of his own, viz. the power to work.

"The question how many can be real trustees according to this definition is beside the point. If the theory is true, it is immaterial whether many live up to it or only one man lives up to it. The question is of conviction. If you accept the principle of ahimsa, you have to strive to live up to it, no matter whether you succeed or fail. There is nothing in this theory which can be said to be beyond the grasp of intellect, though you may say it is difficult of practice."

Another member raised the familiar question of varna. Instead of going into its genesis or explaining the principle of division of labour (divorced from the idea of superiority or inferiority) on which it is based, Gandhiji simply said there was no need to discuss the question. "For there is only one varna today—all of us are Shoodras or, if you please, Harijans. If we all regard ourselves as Shoodras, the idea of superiority or inferiority that we have imported into it would automatically go, one would cease to look down on the other and the false classification would come to an end. It would also be in accord with the reality. Where is the real Brahman today, content with a bare living and giving all his time to study and teaching? Where is the Kshatriya ready to lay down his life for the honour of his fellowmen, or of his country? Where is the Vaishya glorying in adding to the nation's wealth and using his own wealth for the benefit of the poor? As for the poor Shoodra, he toils and slaves, as though he were a beast of burden, far from rejoicing in the service he is expected to render. Let us, therefore, pursue our callings according to our own bents and temperaments, content to earn according to our barest needs, and careless of labelling ourselves as Brahmans, Kshatriyas, etc. That will put an end to all bickerings arising out of the different 'isms'—Socialism, Communism and Gandhism."

Work in Hostile Areas

More serious were questions about work in hostile areas—where constant propaganda is being carried on against the so-called Gandhian school of thought, where those who lead it, including Gandhiji, are being reviled day in and day out. Two of the most selfless workers are finding it difficult to overtake this propaganda, and if they try to do so, much of the time to be devoted to work would be wasted. And if the bulk of the people do not want or do not care for your work?

"The minimum condition," said Gandhiji, "is a few yards of ground to build your hut on, or a little house to live in. If you get either of these, you need not be deterred by any amount of apathy. Your service, even if it is not wanted today, will be acceptable tomorrow. Let them revile the leaders. So long as you do not revile in return it does not matter. If you are threatened, you must welcome the opportunity. Let them hammer you or burn down your hut. That will be the true test of your desire to serve them. And why should criticism of your leaders hurt you? If there is no truth in it, I can afford to laugh at it. If there is truth in it, I get an opportunity to reform myself. This hostile atmosphere need not scare us away. The words 'fight' and 'defeat' do not exist in the Satyagrahi's dictionary. It goes without saying that workers working in such an atmosphere ought not to look to

the people for their living but must earn it themselves."

Similarly hostile is the atmosphere in Indian States. There are all kinds of reactionary forces ranged on the side of States, and it is sometimes impossible to prevent clashes. What about work there?

Gandhiji said, "That is why I have deliberately advised suspension of civil disobedience in all States. Where a clash is inevitable the Satyagrahi will be content to rest on his oars. We may be prepared to lay down our lives, but if in the result the poor people whom we want to serve are crushed, we would be well advised in lying low. It is in that sense that I said that Raykot has become a laboratory for me. There are circumstances where anything but constructive work is impossible. We have then to hitch our waggon to that single star, forgetting for the moment the fight for responsible government and Swaraj."

Belief in God

In his inaugural address Gandhiji had said that belief in God was one of the indispensable qualifications of a Satyagrahi. One of the members asked if some of the Socialists and Communists who did not believe in God could not be Satyagrahis.

"I am afraid not. For a Satyagrahi has no other stay but God, and he who has any other stay or depends on any other help cannot offer Satyagraha. He may be a passive resister, non-cooperator and so on, but not a true Satyagrahi. It is open to you to argue that this excludes brave comrades, whereas it may include men who profess a belief in God but who in the daily lives are untrue to their profession. I am not talking of those who are untrue to their profession, I am talking of those who are prepared in the name of God to stake their all for the sake of their principle. Don't ask me again why I am enunciating this principle today and did not do so 20 years ago. I can only say that I am no prophet, I am but an erring mortal, progressing from blunder towards truth. 'What about the Buddhists and Jains, then?' someone has asked. Well, I will say that if the Buddhists and Jains raise this objection themselves, and say that they would be disqualified if such a strict rule were observed, I should say to them that I agree with them."

"But far be it from me to suggest that you should believe in the God that I believe in. Maybe your definition is different from mine, but your belief in that God must be your ultimate mainstay. It may be some Supreme Power or some Being even indefinable, but belief in it is indispensable. To bear all kinds of tortures without a murmur of resentment is impossible for a human being without the strength that comes from God. Only in His strength we are strong. And only those who can cast their cares and their fears on that Immeasurable Power have faith in God."

Other Conditions of Satyagraha

But someone may not be a khadi-wearer and yet his heart may be fired with patriotism. He may even have given up his legal practice and yet may not be a khadi-wearer. What about him?

"Such a one may be an estimable man. But why should he do civil disobedience? There are various ways of service, Millions need not be civil resisters. The field of constructive work is open to them. Some special rigid discipline is necessary for civil resisters. The privilege of resisting or

disobeying a particular law or order accrues only to him who gives willing and unswerving obedience to the laws laid down for him. This may exclude men who may be otherwise far worthier than the common men who observe the Satyagrahi's code. Those others may perform worthier tasks, but not civil disobedience."

On another occasion speaking on the same topic and in the same strain he said: "You know that word 'Himalayan blunder' which has now passed into the English language and is flung at me on all occasions. It was coined by me to translate a Gujarati word. I had to condemn my own blunder in placing civil disobedience before the people in Kaira and Ahmedabad in 1919. In Kaira the proportion of crime is greater than in any other district. These people with cries of 'Mahatma Gandhiji ki jai' on their lips pulled out rails and derailed trains and, but for a lucky accident, would have killed hundreds of soldiers. The mill workmen in Ahmedabad did likewise. A false rumour was spread that Anasuyaben was arrested or assaulted. They attacked police stations, seized an English sergeant, killed him and burnt him on the streets; they burnt telegraph offices and did much other damage. I realized that I had committed a Himalayan blunder in placing civil disobedience before those who had never learnt the art of civil obedience. The art comes instinctively to those who are by nature law-abiding. I was by nature law-abiding. In South Africa I was neither desirous of registering the births of my children nor of getting them vaccinated. But I obeyed the laws. Then I became a confirmed anti-vaccinationist. In jail it was no easy thing to defy the rule regarding vaccination. But they respected my conscientious objection, because they knew that I had systematically respected all the civil and moral laws of the State. It is from this obedience that the capacity for civil defiance springs, and therefore my civil disobedience sits well upon me."

There were still more questions. "There is one who believes in ahimsa and truth, satisfies other conditions, but is compelled by circumstances, say, to sell foreign cloth. Would he come under the ban?"

"Of course. We cannot be too strict in this matter."

"And what is the scope of freedom from bad habits? Is tobacco-smoking a bad habit? Or pan-chewing?"

"I may not fix the limit. It must be understood that all intoxicants warp or cloud a man's intellect, and he who allows his intellect to be warped or clouded cannot offer Satyagraha. But I will not be judge in this matter. Ganja, bhang, opium, etc., are recognized intoxicants and come under prohibition. Not so tobacco, though I cannot quite understand how men can bear to foul their mouths with smoking and tobacco-chewing."

"Is it permissible to offer Satyagraha in jail against inhuman treatment?"

"It is, but inhuman treatment is a very difficult term to define and anything and everything may not come under it. A Satyagrahi goes prepared to put up with tortures, brutal treatments, even humiliations, but he may do nothing that outrages his sense of self-respect or honour. However, Satyagraha is not a weapon to be used lightly or easily and at the slightest provocation. It is better that he who is easily provoked does not go to jail."

Propaganda

"As regards propaganda, even that is non-violent and violent. Some papers revile Sardar

and me. Should we therefore start papers to return the abuse, or to answer all their lying statements and accusations? A Satyagrahi may not do so. There is violence in the air. Shall we answer by violence? It is like an earthquake or a hurricane. How can we answer an earthquake or a hurricane back? The earthquake or hurricane of violence that we have is worse than the physical cataclysms. We have to put up with them, and not to retaliate. They will pass sooner or later."

M. D.

THE RAJKOT FAST GLEANINGS FROM A DIARY VIII

March 20th:

Bad news had been pouring in from Rajkot almost since our arrival in Delhi. Repression was going on in full swing. Cultivators who were supposed to be in sympathy with the Parishad were being harassed in a variety of ways. A motor driver had arbitrarily been arrested and beaten by the police and his lorry taken into police custody; pleaders who had taken part in the struggle were threatened with suspension. The latest message stated that the State authorities had objected even to the literacy campaign which the Parishad people had planned under Gandhiji's advice. "It is the last straw," he remarked on hearing the news. He had hoped that now that he had submitted his cards to be examined and re-examined by an impartial tribunal, it would take the sting out of the dispute and the Rajkot Durbar would play the game. But what was happening was just the contrary. "What is the use of my going to arbitration, when the very desire for reconciliation is altogether absent on the other side?" he asked himself. In a letter, the other day, he wrote, "There is an air of unreality about the freedom to come. The people of Rajkot are used to the utmost freedom of expression of opinion and of action, so long as it is non-violent. But today, on the eve of responsible government, they have practically no liberty... If the people of Rajkot cannot enjoy ordinary liberty today, how will they two or three weeks hence get full liberty?... Supposing there is a proper constitution framed, who shall deliver the goods? Where is any guarantee?" He however decided, if it was humanly possible, to mollify the State authorities by trying all means at his disposal. He wired to the Parishad people: "Expediting things here. In the meantime submit to whatever may happen."

In the afternoon the talks with the Travancore friends were resumed. They were afraid that indefinite suspension of civil disobedience would bring in depression from which it would be difficult for the people to recover. Gandhiji regarded this as a very disquieting symptom. It showed that what people had so far been practising was not genuine Satyagraha. The inwardness was lacking. They must start again from the very beginning. "Suspension should never bring despondency and weakness in a Satyagraha struggle. Even though people may be ready and non-violence ensured, and suspension is ordered through a miscalculation of the general, it cannot jeopardize the future of the movement. Satyagraha means readiness to suffer and a faith that the more innocent and pure the suffering the more potent will it be in its effect. Helplessness is thus ruled out in Satyagraha. Suspension of civil disobedience, if it resulted in an

accentuation of repression would itself become Satyagraha in its ideal form.

"Today the opponent is afraid of your numbers. You cannot expect him to show a change of heart while he is filled with panic. He senses in your action a spirit of retaliation which irritates him the more. It thus becomes a species of violence.

"Your struggle hereafter may have to be restricted to a few men only, but their Satyagraha will tell. While we are playing with non-violence we are only giving a chance to the powers that be in Travancore to organise the brute in man. This must not be."

He developed the theme further in his discussion with the Jaipur workers who came next: "Provoking lathi charges or receiving lathi blows on your body in a spirit of bravado is not Satyagraha. True Satyagraha consists in the readiness to face blows if they come in the course of performing one's duty.

"Today the whole atmosphere in the country is reeking of violence as was evidenced at Tripuri. Under violence I include corruption, falsehood, hypocrisy, deceit and the like. If our Satyagraha is to survive this atmosphere, we ahimsaites shall have to be more strict with ourselves. Let only the purest and the most innocent go to jail. It does not matter if they have to remain immured behind the prison bars for a whole lifetime. Their sacrifice will fill the prison with a sweet fragrance and its influence will even travel outside and subtly transform the entire atmosphere. They will never long for their release nor doubt that their sacrifice is being 'wasted'. They will realize that a consecrated resolve is more potent in its action than mere physical action can ever be. The discipline that they will be acquiring in prison will help the non-violent organization of the people outside and instil fearlessness among them.

"So much for those who are in prison, what about those outside? They must engage in constructive work as the embodiment of the active principle of ahimsa. If it does not appeal to them, it will only betray their lack of faith in ahimsa.

The other thing is internal. They must cultivate a living faith in God,—an attitude of utter reliance on Him to the exclusion of all external aids. A single Satyagrahi imbued with such faith will inspire the whole people by his example and may induce a heart change even in the opponent who, freed from fear, will the more readily appreciate his simple faith and respect it."

As a result of the talk it was decided to suspend the Jaipur Satyagraha indefinitely.

23rd March:

After a final consultation with the Travancore friends Gandhiji issued a statement advising suspension indefinitely of Travancore Satyagraha.

26th March:

Although the Sardar had sent in his submission as required by the Chief Justice on the 17th inst., further proceedings had been held up because no statement had been received on behalf of the Rajkot Durbar. This delay was irksome to a degree but it could not be helped. Durbar Virawala at last arrived yesterday to represent the Rajkot Durbar before the Chief Justice. He submitted a statement covering forty typed foolscap sheets. A copy of it was sent to the Sardar for reply. The Durbar's statement was full of vituperation against the Sardar. It questioned the validity of the Thakore Saheb's letter to the Sardar of December 26th

(Continued on p. 151)

H A R I J A N

June 3

1939

TO PARSI FRIENDS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Parsi friends continue to favour me with their letters, some of which do not err on the side of politeness. Some are affectionate and so simple that they believe me to be capable of performing wonders. Among these writers there is one who writes with a lacerated heart and sends me cuttings which contain palpable falsehoods. He asks me to appeal to the Parsis with a view, at least, of purging the opposition of indecency. The language used in the cuttings is not translatable. The families of those who have incurred their ill-will have not been left alone. Vulgarity is too mild a term for characterizing some of the writings. One writer uses language of violence which certainly brings him within penal laws. But the writers have no fear of the law. The writings before me are a fair sample of 'civil' liberty. I call these writings terrorism of minorities. One writer has given the prohibition campaign a communal turn and has not hesitated to say that Congress Hindus have plotted to ruin the Parsis!!!

Surely abuse is no argument. Let the Parsis who are interested in opposing prohibition carry on whatever agitation they like. But let it be decent, non-violent and within bounds.

Must one hundred thousand Parsis hold up an overdue reform which promises to bring a ray of hope in the dungeons of the labouring population which far outnumbers the whole of the Parsi population? Every legitimate ground of complaint has been removed by Dr. Gilder. No Parsi whose health requires the use of spirituous liquors will be deprived of them. If Parsi religious rites really demand the use of the fiery liquid, they shall be supplied. Then there is the economic question. Many poor liquor dealers will be hard hit by the deprivation of their means of livelihood. I understand that the ministers are taxing themselves to devise some legitimate method of dealing with them. But it will surely be very difficult, if not impossible, for them to do anything, if the wild ferment is kept up and terrorism short of physical violence is applied. Not that the ministers should not do justice because of terrorism, but it incapacitates them from taking effective action. For instance, it is necessary for the heads of the Parsi Pan-chayat to confer with the ministers and in consultation with them think out a plan whereby prohibition in Bombay can be inaugurated with the least possible hardship. This can be done only if all parties recognize that prohibition has come to stay.

My correspondents have asked me to use my influence with the ministers for withdrawing their measure. They should know that I have my limitations. If I have any influence, it is due to my never crossing the boundary line. Let all concerned know that I have never interfered with the Congress ministers although many of them have been and are my valued co-workers. Having withdrawn from the Congress, it would ill become me to interfere with their work. The very purpose of my withdrawal would be defeated. What is more, I am most interested in prohibition. No one in India perhaps knows its beneficial effect as well as I do and therefore no one feels its necessity as keenly as I do. I have seen with my own eyes people otherwise sane lying in the gutter. Having identified myself with labour, I know what ruin drink has brought to the homes of labourers given to drink. I know that they will not touch liquor if it was not within reach. We have contemporaneous evidence that drinkers themselves are in many cases asking for prohibition. Have I not my eldest son who was intelligent, brave, patriotic, and capable of sacrifice, and who has been ruined by the drink habit and who is today lost to his parents and lost to society and exists on the misplaced charity of generous donors? This is not an exception. It is a typical case, as I can say from a knowledge of sons of persons in the so-called higher walks of life. As I write these lines, illustrations of unimpeachable authenticity crowd on my memory. I can therefore only ask my Parsi correspondents and others like them in return to help the ministers in their noble and philanthropic mission; for I feel convinced that whatever may be said for or against Congress ministers about their popular measures, their prohibition programme, if they are able to put it through to the end, will go down to posterity as unquestionably the noblest measure of all. It is no vote-catching device. Prohibition is an integral part of the programme of national self-purification. Twice has it been demonstrated what was possible in the shape of closing of liquor shops even through voluntary effort. Let the great Parsi community, men and women, discarding the unbecoming vituperation, rise to the occasion and help the great reform movement which, if it succeeds, will not only enrich India morally and materially but will serve as an impetus to similar effort in the Western world. Many eyes outside India are watching this experiment anxiously and prayerfully.

I grant that many Parsis drink moderately and without any visible bad effect. That is an argument not for opposing prohibition but for ensuring that they get their drink if it is proved to be a medical necessity. They should be patriotic enough to recognize that as against their limited experience is the universal experience of the deadly effect of the drink habit.

Rajkot, 30-5-39

THE DECISION AND AFTER

I

More about the Award

I attempted in my last article to give some measure of the oppression that the Award was exercising on Gandhiji's mind. What could be more revealing than that tender discourse with Kasturba wherein he regarded the breaking of the fast with the Viceroy's intervention as a heinous sin? On another occasion he said he had condemned his own weakness more mildly than he should have done. "For I proved myself of little faith. If I had staked my all on my faith in God and on the efficacy of my fast in melting the Thakore Saheb's and Durbar Shri Virawala's heart, the worst that could have happened would have been my death. But it would have been a worthy death. And if the Thakore Saheb and Virawala had not let me die, they would have come to me as friends and given me what I wanted. In any event the result would have been better than the breach of my faith in God and making Durbar Virawala my enemy by appealing to the Viceroy to intervene and even to turn him out. I am amazed at my own folly in thus antagonizing him and still expecting to convert him. His own generosity is, I think, out of proportion to the provocation I had given him." That shows the depth of his remorse, and it is necessary to understand it and bear it in mind to understand the steps that followed.

It is conscience that doth make cowards of us all, and the feeling of helplessness that came over Gandhiji as soon as he was stricken with the remorse is evident in the words: "My hands are shaking and my steps faltering." Another aspect of this is to be observed in the words he used on another occasion: "The very possession of this Award has made me a coward, and I am afraid if I were to retain it, it would make cowards of you too. A Satyagrahi does not depend for his strength on external means. His strength comes from within, from his reliance on God. God becomes his shield when he throws down all his earthly weapons. But if he were to hide a firearm in his pocket, his inner strength would go and he would cease to feel invulnerable. The Award was very like a firearm in the pocket of a votary of ahimsa like me. It stood between me and my God. It shamed me and made a coward of me. I have thrown it away as Christian did his load of sin, and I am feeling again free and invulnerable and one with my Maker."

That Durbar

The first step of atonement for the sin of having tarnished a pure act of prayer that the fast was, was to shun the fruit of the sin—the Award. The next step was going to the Durbar. Those who were angry with Gandhiji for having attended the Durbar little realized that it was part of the process of penance that he was going through. What else could have been his motive?

"Have I ever in my life been guilty of flattery?" he said in bitter pain. "Have I ever resorted to flattery even in public interest? I declared years ago that I would not sell truth and non-violence even for the freedom of my country, and I have repeated it many times since. Would he who said it resort to flattery? When Durbar Shri Virawala invited me to go to the palace, he even said that I had justified my claim to be as the father of the Thakore Saheb, that the latter would gladly come and see me, but that he would be happy if I went there. He said I need not attend the Durbar which was

to be held, but that he would ask the people to wait a while to see me when I went there. I saw what he meant, but I was determined to attend even the Durbar if he had so desired. I would have attended it even if he had told me that it was in celebration of the Thakore Saheb's victory and my defeat. I had offended him by having secured the Award over his head, and I owed it to him to wipe out the offence by attending the function. It was a debt I owed and I was in honour bound to repay it with interest. He might have asked for even an act of humiliation from me, and I might have done anything short of sacrificing my sense of self-respect or honour. But he asked me to do nothing of the kind. The invitation was natural and polite. The Durbar was held to announce the repeal of repressive legislations, etc., and the formation of the Reforms Committee. He who atones for sins never calculates; he pours out the whole essence of his contrite heart. I may tell you that my atonement is not yet over. I know that I am speaking in a language that is beyond you, but if you have had even a slight glimpse of true ahimsa, you should feel that all that I am doing now is the most natural thing for me.

"A non-violent fight is sharp as the edge of the sword, sharpened on the whetstone of the heart. A straight fight in an equal battle takes some bravery; but braver is he who, knowing that he is fighting an unequal battle, knowing that he would have to sacrifice 95 as against 5 of the enemy, faces death. That is why we still extol the prowess of Pratap and Shivaji. But a Satyagrahi risks all and offers of himself a willing and pure sacrifice. Without the will and the purity the sacrifice is nothing worth. I assure you that what I have done is what every true Satyagrahi ought to do. 'Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.'"

"As You Were"?

But if Gandhiji feels free as a bird having shed the burden of the Award, not so the workers. They felt they were throwing away some hard-earned wealth and being asked to sit empty-handed in despair. He has been talking to them for days. The despair has not yet left them. And yet when one comes to think of it, are they or the people of Rajkot any the worse than were the people of Bardoli or of the whole of India after the Bardoli decision of 1922? Apparently the latter were in a much worse position. They felt that they were being made to suffer for the misdeeds of far-off Chauri-chaura. They also felt that the cup which was almost near their lips was dashed to pieces. They thought it was a most suicidal step to ask the people who were overflowing with enthusiasm and ready for all sacrifices to sit quietly in their homes and turn their wheels. There was the semblance of a reason for their despair and even anger. Is there here even that semblance of a reason? What is dashed to pieces? Not the cup of nectar that the people had won with their sufferings, but the cup of poison that Gandhiji had won with his own what he calls tainted suffering. What they had won is still there. No one has wrested it off their hands. That Notification of the 26th December 1938 is still there for them to work for and to have carried out. If anything, they are in a better position to have it carried out than they were.

But I shall let Gandhiji explain. This is what he said to them in one of his afternoon talks: "You ought to understand and appreciate the

rejection of the Award. It was well-nigh impossible for you to have (to use the legal language) that decree executed. I could have got it done, but at the cost of enormous labour, and time, and legal talent that I still possess. Meanwhile your energies would have been rusting, and your hands would have been crippled. You would have learnt nothing from the skill with which I should have been tackling the fresh hurdles that were being daily placed in my way. I have saved you from the burden of my sin. You are, at worst, 'as you were'. If you want foolishly to march to jail, you are now free. Only you must not look to me. I can carry you forward along my own lines. It may be that I am unfit to lead you. You can then discard me, and you have every right to do so. You may not tolerate a general who changes his tactics every now and then. But if you will have me, you must have me on my terms."

These remarks were addressed to the workers. But he talks to the children too in a similar strain. As much light was shed on the situation by his talk with a child the other day, as was done by his talk with Kasturba. The child had no doubt about the rejection of the Award. But he was wondering what we had gained by the rejection. "The Award," said Gandhiji to him, "was a cobra. And when we have a cobra in the house how do we feel?"

"We are afraid."

"Well then so long as the Award was there both Durbar Shri Virawala and I were afraid of it, and were trying to dodge it. But it would not be dodged. I have gently put it out of the house and we are both now free from fear."

"I see that it was necessary to discard the Award, but what have we gained?"

"Is it a small gain to have been rid of a venomous cobra and thus rid of fear? It was a cobra in the house. We can now live in the house like a happy family. Durbar-Shri Virawala and I not only sought to dodge the cobra but we used to shun each other. We at least meet each other now as friends!"

"But what is it worth? What is there in Durbar Shri Virawala to draw out?"

"What is there in you?" The child was struck dumb. "Well, if there are any virtues in you, even so there are in Durbar Shri Virawala. And if I hug you as my own child, why should I not hug Durbar Shri Virawala as a member of the family? I know you; I do not know Durbar Shri Virawala. But we have to be friends with him and to make the best of the virtues that he surely has. As you have *atman* in you, even so has he. Indeed there is no human being but has something valuable in him, some quality of the *atman*, if we can but observingly distil it out."

"But what are we to do after the cobra is gone? With the cobra seems to have gone even the house—all that we had won."

"No, nothing else is gone. The Notification is still there. And we are the wiser for the experience of the past three months. I had taken a wrong route, I have retraced my step. We thought that we could achieve much by hard swearing. We know that it had a contrary result. We have examined the quality of our *ahimsa*. It was poor. We had made enemies of our opponents. We have to win them by love, and the way is now clear for us. Our fight for freedom is not over. It cannot be over. But we are now free to carry it on in a better atmosphere and with cleaner weapons."

Trust the Untrustworthy

But the fact is that the battle, like other battles in our fight for freedom, has been fought with a view to unilateral victory, and not a bilateral victory, if I may say so. We have thought little of the opponent, and never made a conscious attempt to convert him. This was pointed out in a strikingly new way by Gandhiji in his speech at the public meeting in Rajkot: "I want the Parishad people to realize the implications of *ahimsa*. *Ahimsa* trusts the opponent, *ahimsa* does not attribute motives, it harbours no evil thoughts as I did in the case of Durbar Shri Virawala. Whether he really answered to the description that was being given of him or not, was beside the point. I shamed my *ahimsa* by suspecting him; whereas if I wanted to convert him, my love for him should have increased every day. If I had to use harsh words for him, they should have been such as I might have used only for my father, mother, wife or son. And you behaved no better. The Parishad workers put no curb on their tongue and indulged in unrestrained language. You have now to begin a new chapter. You must bid good-bye to this inclination to indulge in unrestrained language. You have to understand *ahimsa* as you have not understood it before. *Ahimsa* means that you have to trust those whom you have come to regard as untrustworthy. Unless you do so, you can never convert them. Mahadev Desai and Mohanbhai who have been having daily talks with Durbar Shri Virawala tell me that his attitude has undergone a complete change. Don't tell me that his change may be only momentary. The momentary change may well become permanent some day. *Ahimsa* has no limits, and patience too has none. We lose nothing thereby. What I did lose was when I allowed my *ahimsa* or soul to be besmirched. I began the process of self-purification by discarding the Award. That process is still going on and it was for me but a step in the process to attend the Durbar."

A Christian friend was saying to me the other day that he was rather puzzled that Gandhiji called his present move in Rajkot a new technique. Had it not been his technique all his life? He was right. There is indeed nothing new in it. Only it means a new awareness of the old. What Christian does not know the golden words: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you... For if ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? And if you salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the publicans so?" But many would say, and do say: "What is this new thing that Gandhiji is now demanding of us?" If I trust those whom we know or have regarded as trustworthy, what reward have we? Do not the publicans the same? The virtue lies in trusting those whom you do not know or have regarded as untrustworthy. That is what he proclaimed at the meeting—the age-old truth in a new language. I hope our friends in Travancore, especially the Christians who are fighting a hard battle, will appreciate this all the more.

The Implication of the Step

There have been all kinds of criticisms of what has been called, and what Gandhiji has accepted as, his recantation. *The Times of India* suggested the other day that the recantation was a confession of the error of the fast. It has again repeated the suggestion. "Mr. Gandhi

has expressed his profound regret for employing the sinful method of coercion; he now says that his efforts ought to have been directed towards melting the hearts of his opponents and educating them to his way of thinking." This is a gross misunderstanding of Gandhiji's statement. The latter part of the sentence is true, but that was precisely why he went on fast, and he rejected the Award not because the fast was a "sinful method of coercion" but because he had sought adventitious aid, and thus frustrated the inherent power of the fast, which otherwise would have melted the heart of the opponent. Fasting as the highest expression of the prayer of a pure and loving heart has been for ages and will for ever remain an effective method of conversion. To suggest that Gandhiji has rejected this method and expressed his regret for it is to misread his statement and to mislead the public.

Nor is the other deduction from his statement correct, viz. that he has ruled out the intervention of the Paramount Power in affairs in Indian States. The statement applies strictly and exclusively with reference to his step of fasting. Having taken a sacred step, having kept God between him and his opponent, having trusted God to melt the heart of the opponent, he had, in a moment of weakness and in impatience unbecoming a Satyagrahi, sought the aid of the Paramount Power. The seeking of this aid is by itself not wrong, in fact it is right and necessary in its place, and Gandhiji certainly has not given it up, as would be apparant from his article on Talcher recently. The Paramount Power owes a duty to the States and the States people of which it may not divest itself, and it is our right and duty to awaken it to its sense of duty whenever there is dereliction — as there is in many cases today. (To be continued)

M. D.

THE RAJKOT FAST

(Continued from p. 147)

which it alleged had been obtained by the Sardar from the Thakore Saheb "under duress" and by "fraudulent means". The Sardar's reply to it was brief, barely covering half a sheet. The bulk of the Rajkot Durbar's submission, he pleaded, consisted of irrelevant and libellous statements, unsupported by evidence. These he requested should be ordered to be expunged. As for the Thakore Saheb's letter of even date with the Notification No. 50 of December 26th, it was self-explained and admitted of only one meaning, and extraneous evidence was inadmissible for its interpretation. He therefore prayed that the Chief Justice give his interpretation of the said Note of 26th December last without permitting any further procrastination.

The hearing took place at half past three in the afternoon at the Chief Justice's residence. At the request of the Chief Justice the Sardar gave a brief narrative of the events from the time he came into the picture till the signing of the Thakore Saheb's note to him of December 26th.

The judgment was reserved for another date.

30th March:

For the last two days Gandhiji had been carrying on important conversations with Socialist friends. These were concluded today. The European situation too had been exercising his mind. A correspondent of the *New York Times*, Mr. Birchell, had an interview with him a few days back. "You know all thoughts in Europe and America today turn on the present situation. Can you throw any light on it," he had asked. Gandhiji at first was not inclined to say anything.

"I have not got the atmosphere that will carry my voice. I am far in advance of the times," he remarked. But towards the end as the American friend was about to go, he revised his decision. "The courage has come to me and I feel I must deliver myself even at the risk of becoming a laughing-stock." And with that he gave his message: "I see from today's papers that the British Premier is negotiating with other great democratic powers. How I wish he proposed to them that they should resort to simultaneous disarmament. I am as certain of it as I am sitting here that this heroic act will open Herr Hitler's eyes and save the world from impending butchery."

Yesterday Agatha Harrison was discussing the difficulties experienced in training people in non-violence. "The thing is incredibly simple," replied Gandhiji. "But the simplest things have the knack sometimes of appearing to us as the hardest. If our hearts were opened, we should have no difficulty. Non-violence is a matter of the heart. It does not come to us through any intellectual feat. Everyone has faith in God though everyone does not know it. For, everyone has faith in himself and that multiplied to the nth degree is God. The sum total of all that lives is God. We may not be God but we are of God — even as a little drop of water is of the ocean. Imagine it torn away from the ocean and flung millions of miles away. It becomes helpless torn from its surroundings and cannot feel the might and majesty of the ocean. But if someone could point out to it that it is of the ocean, its faith would revive, it would dance with joy and the whole of the might and majesty of the ocean would be reflected in it. Even so it is with all non-violent activities. Take spinning for half an hour daily. It is nothing unless it is tacked on to non-violence. Take the counting of beads. A monkey also can count them but devotees count them to get nearer to God. I want everybody to spin as a token of his faith in non-violence, as a token of his identification with the dumb millions. Then alone shall we feel the upwelling of non-violent strength in us."

He again reverted to the theme of non-violence in the course of the day. "The non-violence that we have offered hitherto has not been the non-violence of the brave. As a weapon of the weak, as an expedient, it was good enough. It did answer its purpose for a while. But how long can the non-violence of the weak last? I have not been able to answer for Europe because I have not worked it out in India. And yet I would not rewrite those chapters in our history. God fulfils Himself even through the weakness of His instruments sometimes. But if we now do not overhaul the basis of our non-violence and if we continue to drift in the old style, it would be nothing short of a catastrophe. We shall not have evolved the non-violent strength and courage, and faced with a crisis might behave like cowards."

31st March:

Communal riots in Allahabad exercised Gandhiji's mind very much. Yesterday he got up in the middle of the night and wrote a letter to Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and another to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, setting forth some radical suggestions to arrest the spreading conflagration. Today when the little 'domestic group' at Birla House met as usual at 7 A. M., naturally, the communal situation at Allahabad came in for discussion. "What would you do in Allahabad if you were there," one of the company asked. Gandhiji replied, "I would scrap the existing Congress machinery. It is a burden today. If

there were half a dozen genuine Congressmen only on the Congress register today, they would be real messengers of peace. But today their effort is smothered under the weight of numbers. If all Congressmen whose names are on the Congress register today were worth their salt, they would offer themselves to be cut to pieces before the communal trouble proceeds any further. But today each wants to use the dagger against his fellow. We have either to revise everything in terms of non-violence or give up non-violence and rebuild the organization."

3rd April:

Sir Maurice Gwyer's Award was announced today. It was acclaimed by everybody as providing a complete vindication of the stand taken up by the Sardar.

6th April:

Gandhiji had an interview with the Viceroy on the 4th and another today. "I have come back with a clear idea of the immensity of the problem confronting us," he remarked on his return. "The fight in the States is going to be a stiff one. So far as Rajkot is concerned I must go back there."

7th April:

A letter from the Viceroy was received at 5 P. M. giving the assurance of the Paramount Power that everything would be done to see that the Thakore Sahab implemented his promise in full. Armed with this assurance Gandhiji left for Rajkot.

9th April:

Arrived at Rajkot in the morning. *En route* he had sent a wire to the Sardar, who had gone to Bombay, to join him at Rajkot. There had been pressing messages from Shri Subhas Bose to meet at Jharia where he was convalescing. Gandhiji thought, therefore, that as soon as the Committee contemplated under the Award was formed and set going he would leave the Sardar in charge of the situation at Rajkot and himself make a dash for Jharia. The Sardar arrived by air at 11 A. M.

But events took a different turn.

[Note:—In view of Gandhiji's public statement renouncing the Award it has become unnecessary to refer to the prolonged and exacting talks he had with the Muslims and later with the Bhayats. Suffice it to say here that so far as the so-called promise was concerned Gandhiji's conscience was absolutely clear. The promise as interpreted by the Muslims and Bhayats was inherently impossible unless one is to credit Gandhiji with a soft brain. He could not make a promise which would nullify the effect of his fast and of the Award, if it was to be in his favour, and all this voluntarily and without any consideration whatsoever.]

Rajkot, 28-5-39 (Concluded)

Pyarelal

tion and purchases foreign articles lays itself open to the charge of creating unemployment within its jurisdiction because goods produced for consumption create employment in their production. And then when goods are obtained from an outside province, the employment created by the demand for such goods is lost to the province. Therefore the State can create employment or unemployment by the mode of its expenditure. However cheap the imported article may be it is far too expensive from the point of view of employment, and the State that buys this is obviously doing disservice to its subjects.

(To be continued)

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

II

I give below a full summary of the chapter on General Considerations.

1. Functions of the State

Any social organisation, as for instance a nation or a political unit like a province, needs a proper adjustment of the long-range and the short-range viewpoints. The range of interests of an individual is, generally speaking, limited. Where these run counter to the general welfare it is the function of organised society to balance these interests so that no harm may come to the social unit as a whole. Similarly when we find that the interests of rural economic units and urban industrial units clash, adjustment is necessary for the economic well-being of the body as a whole. As the State is the most common organisation entrusted with the performance of this function, those in charge of State administration will be justified in interfering for the common good. For the interests of the weak must be protected and there are functions to be performed which are beyond the reach of the individual citizen. As for example, the organising of marketing facilities and a study of the needs of the people, both of which duties demand time and money beyond the means and capacity of private individuals.

2. Taxes and Expenditures

The State functions by drawing its wherewithal from the people through taxation. If it exists for the people, it follows that the incidence of taxation may not be such as will harm them economically. Therefore a heavy obligation is thrown on the administration, that of seeing that the expenditures of the State help in the distribution of wealth in a manner which increases national wealth as a whole. If taxes are drawn from the poor and expenditure enriches the well-to-do, the human value of the national dividend is not given the consideration which is its due. This applies in a special manner to a poor country like India where strictest economy is thus enjoined. Economy, however, does not signify that low prices are to be paid for articles because the Government may not look at its expenditure from the money point of view only. Locally made articles, even if they are more costly than the same from abroad, must be given preference for, in this way, the money will circulate in the province and the price will not affect the taxable capacity of the citizen. Wealth will be distributed and local enterprise encouraged; whereas if the foreign article is bought the purchasing power is transferred over a boundary line which obstructs a free flow of exchange. So long as the artificial barriers of Customs Duties, Control of Exchange, Freight Rates, etc. exist, it is impossible to expect the mutual good resulting from the free flow characteristic of a free market.

Today our economic goods are directed mainly by artificial means and ceaseless vigilance is required to find out how State expenditure may help the current of productivity of the people to flow. The Government that makes cheapness its crite-

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[ONE ANNA

NEW TECHNIQUE IN ACTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have had prolonged conversations with Shri Pattam Thanu Pillai, Shri Verghese and Shri J. Phillipose over the situation in Travancore. My rich experiences in Rajkot show me that civil disobedience in Travancore was suspended at the right time. The Rajkot recantation teaches me that it is not enough to have withdrawn the charges against Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. But it is necessary to recognise that Travancoreans have not only to reckon with the Maharaja, but also with his Dewan. I also observe that several Travancorean critics have asserted that suspension has led to greater repression. These critics do not know that suspension was not advised in order to avoid repression, nor even in expectation of its being stopped. It was advised in order to avoid popular violence, no matter how caused or by whom instigated, if it was instigated. It was also advised in order to avoid brutalisation of human nature. These two objects may be said to have been attained in a fair measure. It was also advised in order to pave the way for an honourable understanding with the authorities and to educate the people in the true way of ahimsa. These objects have still to be worked for. Here my new light, which I seem to see dimly, enables me to tender advice which, but for the light, I would perhaps not have been able to give with as much confidence as now.

I am convinced that direct negotiations should be opened with the authorities. Hitherto the State Congress people have talked at the authorities and the latter at them. The result has been a widening of the gulf between the two. It would not do for a Satyagrahi to argue that the approach must be mutual. That assumes the existence of the spirit of Satyagraha in the authorities, whereas Satyagraha is offered in respect of those who make no claim to be Satyagrahis. Hence the first and the last work of a Satyagrahi is ever to seek an opportunity for an honourable approach. Now this is impossible so long as the heart is steeled against a belief even in the possibility, let alone advisability, of such approach. And hitherto the impossibility has been unquestionably assumed. I have been a tacit party to it. I now

know better. If the leaders have active ahimsa in them, they must cultivate a belief in the perfect possibility and necessity of such approach. And if they have that belief, the way will surely be open to them. In my own person, it is well known, I have always acted on that principle. In making such an approach it would be necessary to lower the key of our note. Our aim must remain what it is, but we must be prepared to negotiate for less than the whole so long as it is unmistakably of the same kind and has in it inherent possibility of expansion. I have found that nowhere, with the only exception of Aundh, are the Princes ready to part with all the power in favour of the people. Nor is the Paramount Power anxious for the people in the States to receive full responsible government. If I interpret its mind correctly, assuming that an institution can have a mind, it would be sorry if any State of importance copied the example of Aundh. But what is most important of all, the States people themselves, as a mass, are nowhere prepared to pay the price. There is no mistaking the awakening that has taken place in the States. But it is not enough for the great purpose to be attained. It will be well to recognise this fact. In aiming beyond our capacity we are likely to lose all. I would give much to have in all the States a reign of law instead of the reign of a person or persons, however well-meaning they may be. I can then see my way to build up responsible government on that solid foundation. But responsible government, which is only a gift without the will and the power of the people behind it, will be a mere paper responsibility, hardly worth the paper on which it may be printed.

The second object of suspension is closely related to the foregoing. If it is a fact that the atmosphere for immediate responsible government among the States is not propitious and that the people are not ready to pay the price, it follows that they should have the proper training for it. I am not likely, lightly and in the near future, to advise mass Satyagraha anywhere. There is neither adequate training nor discipline among the people. I have not the shadow of a doubt that the people at large should pass one or more positive tests. Mere abstention from physical violence will not answer our purpose. In the centre of this programme of positive tests I unhesitatingly put the spinning wheel and all

it means. If there is quick response, this can be a short course. But it may well be a long course if the people do not make an enthusiastic response. I know no other programme than the fourfold constructive programme of 1920. If the people do not take it up whole-heartedly, it is proof enough for me that they have no ahimsa in them, or not the ahimsa of my conception, or say they have no confidence in the present leadership. For me there is no other test but what I have ever put before the nation since 1920. The new light tells me that I must not weaken as I have done before in exacting the discipline I have mentioned. I can quite clearly see my way to advise civil disobedience wherever the conditions mentioned are amply fulfilled. That civil disobedience will be individual but in terms of ahimsa far more effective than any mass civil disobedience of the past. I must own that the past movements have been more or less tainted. I have no regret for them. For I knew no better then. I had the sense and humility to retrace my steps whenever I discovered blunders. Hence the nation has gone forward from step to step. But the time has come for a radical change in the direction indicated.

Thus my opinion on Travancore has resolved itself in the enunciation of my present mental condition and its reaction on the Travancore situation.

To sum up: (1) suspension of mass civil disobedience should be indefinite; (2) there should be the will among the State Congress people to open a way to honourable negotiation with the authorities; (3) there should be no anxiety about those Satyagrahis who are in prison or new ones. If the spirit of Satyagraha is rightly assimilated, these imprisonments and disabilities should hearten the people; (4) the pitch of the immediate demands should be lowered if necessary, in order to quicken the progress towards the final goal; (5) the condition precedent to any civil disobedience is the fulfilment by the general mass of the constructive programme as a test, if nothing more, of their coming under the discipline of the State Congress.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that it is open to the workers to reject my advice. They should adopt it only if it appeals to their heads and their hearts and tallies with their own reading of the local situation of which I own they must be better judges.

Bombay, 4-6-39

Cent Per Cent Swadeshi
OR

The Economics of Village Industries

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MY RAJKOT SPEECH

[My speech at the public meeting in Rajkot on the 31st May has been the subject of all kinds of comment. "Virawala declared to be an angel." "Was poison the result of a God-given fast?" And so on. I give below a resume of it, in order that I may be judged by what I said, and not by what I did not say. M. D.]

I am no speaker, not at any rate a speaker in demand. But when Shri Dhebar asked me to appear before you I could not resist him, for I knew that he wanted me to render an account of my doings here—especially of my talks with Durbar Shri Virawala. I shall gladly do so, but let me tell you at once that there is not much worth telling you. All that has happened is that we have come to understand each other better—or rather that Durbar Shri Virawala now knows Gandhiji better, Gandhiji too knows him better. I may go a little further and say that trust has taken the place of distrust, and friendliness the place of hostility. You know what Durbar Shri Virawala said in his public statement about Gandhiji's statement rejecting the Gwyer Award. He has said to me personally much more. He said: "This unique statement can be made by Mahatmaji and no one else. He has now become the real Bapu of our Bapu (Thakore Saheb)." Don't tell me please that he said these words because the statement was entirely in his favour. No. I think he meant what he said, and I am sure that he understands and trusts Gandhiji to this extent that if, God forbid, he should have to fast again some day and go and sit at Durbar Virawala's door, the latter far from resenting the fast would respond to it. I have had long talks with him about our workers like Shri Dhebar and Shri Shukla. I know the language that he used about them some time ago, and I know that he uses now a different language for them.

But I would warn you against expecting quick or uniform results. Ahimsa works silently and slowly, though surely, but we nowadays go by immediate results and will not wait for a policy to work itself out. The notification repealing repressive legislation, etc., that was issued on the 19th was, I believe, full-hearted. The other announced a Committee on which he wanted the Parishad to serve. Durbar Shri Virawala wrote to Gandhiji to say that he would be happy if Gandhiji could persuade the Parishad people to serve on the Committee. Gandhiji felt that the cause would be better served by the Parishad not being represented, but assured him that some Parishad people might give evidence before it.

I am told that there is a lot of dissatisfaction and disappointment over the renunciation of the Gwyer Award. With Gandhiji it was a purely moral issue. As you know he discussed the question with the Parishad workers for two or three days but finally took the burden of the decision upon himself. He said to them that they might have to consider the pros and cons;

as for himself his duty was clear, viz. to reject what he ought never to have obtained. The moment he had realized that it was an ill-gotten gain he wanted to cast it away. It was a snake which had been keeping Gandhiji and Durbar Virawala both in fear and suspicion of each other. It was a wall between them and unless it was broken down there was no meeting ground. It was possible to work out the Award to the logical conclusion, but it would have left a legacy of poisonous ill-will and distrust.

I do not see what you have lost by the rejection of the Award. Bardoli in 1922 had more apparent reason for grumbling against the decision to suspend Satyagraha. Chaurichaura was not Bardoli's doing, and Bardoli was apparently ready. And yet no one now questions the wisdom of the Bardoli decision. You have less cause to be disturbed than Bardoli, and the decision to renounce the Award affects you, if anything, for the better. The Notification of the 26th December is still there. You have got to work for its fulfilment. But by 'you' I mean all the Rajkot people and not the Parishad people alone. Most of the critics of Gandhiji's latest step are people outside the Parishad. They evidently seemed to believe that it was for the Parishad people to fight, whilst they would look on as detached critics. I must tell you that responsible government is not to be the exclusive property of the Parishad, it is to be enjoyed by all and has to be won by all. And unless all co-operated with the Parishad, not necessarily by going to jail, nothing would happen, and the Notification of 26th December would remain a dead letter. But I am told everything would have been gained if the fight had been continued. Let me tell you that no one would prevent them from renewing the struggle if they were so minded. Gandhiji had suspended the struggle because he had instinctively seen the situation, but it was open to them to reject his advice and begin the struggle afresh. I would, however, ask you to gauge the situation. Supposing plague or a similar epidemic was raging whilst you were engaged in a fight, would you carry on the struggle or suspend it? I assure you that the plague that was raging in Rajkot and other States was of a more dangerous type than the physical plague which takes a heavy toll but generates no hatred. Gandhiji first by suspending the struggle and then by rejecting the Award had cleared the ground for us, and by enunciating his new technique has suggested a far more effective method of carrying on the struggle. What, I ask you again, have you lost by Gandhiji's decision? You may not gainsay the fact that part of our stock-in-trade was violence of language. Would you prefer to keep it or reject it? Little children who go out with me for evening walks give me little titbits which tickled their fancies during the struggle and still continue to do so. One of the devices to ridicule Durbar Virawala was to write in coal-tar on an ass's body in big bold letters "Virawala" and run the ass about the

town. In the result we saw the procession of seven asses organised by Muslims and Bhayats as soon as the seven names of the Committee were announced. Resort to himsa and you provoke in your opponent ten times as much himsa. The law of ahimsa was the reverse. You must muster in you ten times the ahimsa you wanted to evoke in your opponent, but you cannot otherwise hope to convert him.

One of the newspapers has said that Gandhiji's new technique amounted to nothing more than asking the people to lay down their arms and resort to persuasion which was an euphemism for flattery. Not even his worst opponent would charge Gandhiji with suggesting measures of cowardice and flattery. You are new fighters in the field, and know little of the shocks Gandhiji is accustomed to give the people occasionally. But far from those shocks paralysing the people they galvanise them with fresh zeal and energy. I would ask you to dismiss the suggestion that the decision to reject the award could have any other effect. Let me tell you that nothing on earth can crush or kill the spirit of fight in him and he is the same general and warrior that he was of old. But he has purged his method of violence and weakness. Above all as a general he must be allowed to fight on his terms. But he has told everyone to follow his own line, if Gandhiji's plan failed to appeal to him. Indeed Gandhiji has said in so many words that if anyone else could win responsible government or Swaraj for them by other methods, even by himsa, he would congratulate him. But those who wanted his leadership must accept it on his terms.

Rejection of the Award has left no room for communal feeling, and he now wants you to demonstrate your faith in non-violence by doing constructive work. What better auspices could you have to work under than the Rashtriya Shala which is a real temple of the charkha with Shri Narandas Gandhi as the devout votary in it? The spacious hall in the school could easily accommodate five hundred to one thousand spinners. Would you care to take up the message of the spinning wheel and fulfil the constructive programme? The number of Parishad workers who were 67 the other day has dwindled down to 11 today. I congratulate the outgoers on their honesty, and Gandhiji is sure that if the eleven who are still there worked earnestly they would one day be 11,000, as the 16 Satyagrahis in South Africa, after the vicissitudes of eight years, had swelled to 60,000 and won the battle.

The future will depend largely upon the report of the Committee of which Durbar Shri Virawala is the head. He and his Committee are expected to produce a report which would carry out the spirit of the notification of 26th December last. The "new technique" was not the monopoly of the Parishad workers. It must be adopted by the non-Parishad people as well, for that is the master-key to harmonious work, and I commend it to you with all the emphasis at my command.

Bombay, 5-6-39

H A R I J A N

June 10

1939

THE ANTI-PROHIBITION DEPUTATIONS

The Economic Argument

That the path of the reformer legislator is not strewn with roses is a truism. It is particularly difficult where customs and practices, religious or believed to be religious, are concerned. It is also difficult where vested interests are adversely affected. But no one would have expected the storm that has been raised against the introduction of prohibition from August 1st in Bombay by a small section of the population of Bombay. That section is predominantly the Parsi population of Bombay. The programme of prohibition has been one of the principal planks of the Congress programme since 1920, and consequent upon it considerable suffering has been borne by the sympathisers and workers during the past twenty years. Gandhiji issued several appeals to the Parsis during the interval, and never before did the agitation assume such proportion as it has done during the past few months. Its questionable nature was described by Gandhiji in his article last week. When an agitation crosses the limits of decency it loses its point and often recoils on itself.

In refreshing contrast, however, to this ugly agitation was the criticism of the Bombay Government's policy made by the deputations that waited on Gandhiji in Bombay on Saturday last. The first deputation consisted of representatives of toddy, country liquor and foreign liquor dealers. Their representation addressed itself mainly to the hardships and sufferings that would be the result of several thousand Parsi families being thrown out of employment; their being reduced to poverty and even bankruptcy; illicit sales and clandestine breaches of the law; impossibility of disposing of 50 to 60 lakhs of rupees worth of material by August 1st; the loss on having to dispose of costly furniture.

Gandhiji congratulated them on the restrained language of their representation. They had every right to go to him, as he was specially attached to the Parsis. "What I gather from your representation is that far from being opposed in principle to prohibition you have pointed out the difficulties and hardships involved. But I am afraid you have come to the wrong man. I never interfere with the work of the ministries. But on prohibition I am keener even than the ministers. I confess I have not studied the economic aspect of the question. With me it is a creed and I would, if I could, fulfil it at any cost. If I had the administration in my own hands, I should study all the figures you have given. I am sure the ministers have

studied them, and you should approach them. They would gladly discuss the whole question with you and try to show the way out of the difficulties you have pointed out."

Short Notice ?

They also raised the question of short notice. The Congress Election Manifesto, they said, did not contain this programme, and the decision to introduce it in August had come upon them as a bolt from the blue. In reply to this Gandhiji said: "The Congress Election Manifesto is principally a political document and naturally does not contain the prohibition programme. But prohibition has been in the forefront of the Congress programme since 1920. With me it has been a passion ever since my close contact with the Indian immigrants in South Africa and also with the South Africans. I have seen with my own eyes the terrible scourge drink can be. It has ruined people morally, physically, economically, and it has destroyed the sanctity and happiness of the home. My heart bleeds as I think of the disaster that comes in its wake and I have really pined for the immediate introduction of prohibition. When the Congress decided to accept offices I thought it had a golden opportunity to introduce it at once, but it was the ministers who pleaded for fixing the time-limit at three years. To my mind, therefore, there is no question of short notice. It is coming several years too late. Hundreds and thousands of women have in the past picketed liquor shops, suffered insults and assaults. In one case a woman volunteer was so hit on the forehead that the evil effect still persists. There was no compulsion. It was all peaceful persuasion, and it had succeeded so remarkably that in some provinces the excise revenue was almost reduced to zero. As for its effects here in India I would like you to study the condition of workmen in factories, and I would like to tell you also the boon prohibition has been to them in Ahmedabad."

Toddy and Niro

One of the gentlemen in the deputation said that 12 to 15 thousand tappers would be adversely affected and that fresh toddy had great medicinal value. "It is *niro* you are referring to," said Gandhiji to him, "For I agree it is a refreshing drink, and we make *gud* out of it. I would invite you to sample some of it." With this he offered a plate of palm-juice and date-palm-juice *gud* to them. "If the tappers took to tapping the juice for *gud*-making, there was no question of their unemployment. In Bengal tons of *gud* was prepared from *niro* and in South India *arrack* was prepared from *gud* made out of fresh juice." But the gentleman maintained that it was impossible to draw fresh *niro* from a tree more than ten times during a season and that *gud* was not a feasible proposition. Gandhiji said that the evidence in his possession was to the contrary. He would, however, inquire.

Exempt the Community

The other deputation was headed by Sir Cowasji Jehangir and its other members were Sir.

J. C. Koyaji, Sir H. P. Modi, Messrs Khareghat, A. D. Shroff and Saklatwala. The gravamen of their charge was that the prohibition policy was tantamount to coercion as the community had for centuries indulged in drink without being any the worse for it. There was the argument of dislocation of trade and financial and economic structure of the province, of the hardships it would cause to traders and tappers, and the interference with the religious rites of the people. They said they also resented the distinction between Asiatics and non-Asiatics, and even suggested that not only the Parsis but Mussalmans and Hindus were also opposed to the policy!

Some of the gentlemen have been friends of Gandhiji for years, especially Sir Cowasji. And so he was the most vehement in his attack, but the utmost friendliness prevailed during the discussion. "Drunkenness is bad, not drink. And for the sake of a few who drink, why penalize the whole community? I take two or three glasses of sherry every day and I know hundreds of others who talk of prohibition but who do drink and will do so in spite of prohibition," said Sir Cowasji. There was obvious defiance in his voice, but Gandhiji disarmed it by ultimately reminding Sir Cowasji how he had helped him (Gandhiji) in the past at various junctures, and how he expected him to stand by him at this! Sir Cowasji had a hearty laugh.

Mr. Khareghat, the veteran temperance reformer who, said Gandhiji, reminded him of Dadabhai by his silvery beard, entered a curious plea: "I do not drink, nor am I dealer in drinks. But this policy will ruin thousands, and I want you to realize your error and do as you did in Rajkot. I would then honour you with all my heart." He also said: "According to our religion it is the duty of the host to offer the guest good bread and good wine." "But," said Gandhiji, "it must be unfermented wine." Whatever it may be, one wonders how this can be a religious duty at all! What would a poor man do?

Then followed Mr. Saklatwala. "I do not drink," he said, "and thank God I have enough property to enable me to pay the property tax. But why should others regulate my life? I tell you, although I do not drink, if someone came and told me I might not drink, he would make my blood boil." He did not finish the sentence. He would, I suppose, drink if only to defy the guardian of the law! "But," said Gandhiji, smiling, "even so you do not steal, and yet there is the law against thieving. Would you therefore steal to defy the law?"

Sir H. P. Modi, to my mind, summed up the case, which boiled down came to this: "We do not believe in prohibition. Why do you tempt us to break the law? We want to be exempted. Drink has become part of our social habit, our daily life, and we want to drink."

Sacrifice 35 Crores for a Lakh ?

Now Gandhiji summed up his reply: "As I told the deputation that preceded you, you have come to the wrong man. There is a wide

gulf between you and me. It was Dadabhai Nowroji who taught me prohibition, and the distinction between Prohibition and Temperance. Individual liberty is allowed to man only to a certain extent. He cannot forget that he is a social being, and his individual liberty has to be curtailed at every step. I would appeal to you to consider one thing. What is your population? One lakh at the most in a population of 35 crores. You have become famous in the world not as residents of Persia but as Indians. I want you to consider not in terms of your one lakh but in terms of India, not the narrow interest of your community but of the larger interest of the whole country. How can you interrupt and ruin a noble experiment? You say you cannot get rid of this, so very much you are wedded to it! You are not fair to yourselves there. You have given up so many things. You gave up your language and adopted Gujarati, you changed your dress, you changed many of your manners and customs. Why must you then stick to this one infirmity? You may plead your weakness, but for Heaven's sake don't advance the plea of individual liberty. There you have given away the whole case. You have sacrificed much for India, sacrifice this bad habit too. I have seen men and women wallowing in gutters in South Africa and families ruined."

Sir H. P. Modi, interrupting: "Where do you see the ruin in India?"

"I tell you I have seen it with my own eyes. There is the tragic case of my own son. 60,000 men in Ahmedabad are blessing the prohibitionist. I claim that the moral conscience of the public is with me. The issue between us is the narrowest possible. Do you want to press the question of a few individual consciences to the extent of ruining a whole country?"

"But are there not other evils? There is gambling, for instance."

"None so disastrous as this, and this breeds the rest. But I am for the abolition of gambling too. This evil, however, ruins the victim body and soul."

"The same thing would happen if you were to overeat! You are talking of the 60,000 mill-hands in Ahmedabad. Why not listen to the appeal of 50,000 Parsis of Bombay? Drunkenness is unknown amongst us."

"Let us assume that for a moment. It proves that you are temperate. Well then, why will you not carry your temperateness a little further and co-operate in this the greatest of all moral reforms in India? And remember there is ample provision for those who need drink for their health or religious rites. I suggest your working along these lines but not seeking to ruin the reform."

"But why draw the line between Europeans and Indians?"

Gandhiji retorted, "Call it my weakness, and agitate for including the Europeans too in the prohibition. They will, like us, profit by being included in the general law. Their health will not suffer for they will have all the drink they may need for their health."

Bombay, 5-6-39

M. D

THE DECISION AND AFTER

II

No Issue

One of the criticisms of the decision to renounce the Gwyer Award came from the Bhayats and the Muslims. Gandhiji, they have suggested, had not the courage to face the Chief Justice's decision and hence backed out of his promise. I am putting it bluntly, but they have said it in even worse language, and even after the decision pressed for the reference being made. Is there any substance in their criticism? No more than there was in their contention that Gandhiji had given them the promise they had attributed to him. If he did give them the promise, why did he undertake the fast, and why did the Mussalmans and Bhayats let him go on the fast? It presupposes on Gandhiji's part folly his worst enemies have not credited him with, and on the Mussalmans' and Bhayats' part readiness to gloat over suffering which no one would like to associate with them.

But if their contention was so palpably absurd, why not let the Chief Justice say so? Gandhiji is not built that way. For the academic pleasure of having his own moral position established he would not put that unnecessary strain on the Chief Justice. But if the Mussalmans' and the Bhayats' contention was right? The bone of contention having been removed there remains nothing to contend for. Remains the moral issue. It is one between Gandhiji and his Maker, and not for any earthly authority to determine. It will be remembered that the Chief Justice declined to say anything in his Award regarding the question of breach of faith on the part of the Thakore Saheb. Assuming the impossible — viz. that the Chief Justice had decided, on a reference being made, that Gandhiji's promise was unconditional, would that prove that Gandhiji was guilty of a breach of promise? Oftentimes in law courts the guilty are acquitted and the innocent are punished. Are the innocent therefore to believe that they are guilty?

Discipline — Satyagrahi and Military

Gandhiji's decision, as I have said before, came upon most of the workers as a surprise. The decision to go on the fast must have been no less a surprise. How can workers stand frequent shocks of this kind is the question, or rather was the question, posed by some of the workers. Whilst Gandhiji repeatedly gave them the liberty to decide for themselves and to break away from him as they liked, he made no secret of his own mind on this important question. He said: "I have not yet known a general who has not altered time and again the plans of his campaign and made eleventh hour alterations in his orders. The ordinary fighting soldier knows nothing of these plans. In fact they are a closely guarded secret unknown to all but the general himself. That is why Tennyson wrote those immortal lines — 'Thine not to reason why, theirs not to make

reply, theirs but to do and die.' But these words apply, if you please, to a Satyagrahi army more appropriately than to the ordinary army. For a military general may change his plans in view of the changing situation every day. Military strategy depends on the changing tactics of the enemy. The Satyagrahi general has to obey his inner voice, for over and above the situation outside he examines himself constantly and listens to the dictates of the inner self. But both in Satyagraha and military warfare the position of the soldier is very nearly the same. He knows no rest, no certainty of movements, the only certainty for him is to face heavy odds and even death. His promise to be under discipline and to obey the general's command applies even during the period of suspension of hostilities. But I have not asked for this kind of discipline. I have always tried to carry conviction to my co-workers, to carry their hearts and their reasons with me. I shall go on doing so always, but where you cannot follow you will have to have faith. In ordinary warfare one soldier cannot reason why. In our warfare there is enough scope for reasoning, but there is a limit to it. You will go on arguing until you are convinced, but when no conviction comes, you must fall back on faith."

With these words he explained why there was no alternative for him but to reject the Award. This argument has been summarised more than once in these pages. As I have shown it was essentially a moral issue, but Gandhiji had no difficulty in showing that it could not but have the best results. "There is now the way of negotiation open to you, but if you cannot think of it, it is open to you to fight. In fact if I had not cast away the Award, the fight would have been long delayed. I have saved you a few months. But you can overthrow my leadership and be free. From the point of view of Satyagraha there is nothing but good coming out of the decision. A general is none the worse for realisation of his weakness and for atoning for his sin. In fact sin, ignorance, weakness are synonymous, and in asking for the Viceroy's intervention and clinging to the Award I was guilty of all the three. When a general purifies himself as I have done, far from weakening his army he adds to its strength enormously."

More about the New Light

The essence of the new technique lies in faith in the convertibility of the opponent by means of purest non-violence. Gandhiji explained it once again in the course of a talk to the workers. "There should not be the least little suspicion in your mind that Durbar Virawala cannot be converted, no matter how non-violent you may be. Do you mean to say that he is the concentrated essence of evil in Kathiawad? Let me assure you that we in his position might have done no better. Every one of us is a mixture of good and evil. Is there not plenty of evil in us? There is enough of it in me and I always pray to God to purge me

of it. The difference that there is between human beings is the difference of degree, and you must always try to place yourself in the position of the man you are about to judge. Virtue lies in discovering the best in your opponent and in appealing to it."

What Next?

The answer to this question is succinctly given in the statement issued from Bombay on the 5th of June, with special reference to the situation in Travancore and general reference to that in all the States. The whole statement must be read with this important proviso—"My advice applies only if the evidence of your senses coincides with the description of the general conditions I have given in most of the Indian States. If you accept my reading, lower your key, pitch your immediate demands a little less high than you have hitherto done, and concentrate your energies on producing an atmosphere of non-violence of the brave."

He explained the programme in detail to the Rajkot workers:

"This depends on individual workers cultivating non-violence in thought, word and deed, by means of a concentrated effort in the fulfilment of the fourfold constructive programme. Maximum of work and minimum of speech must be your motto. In the centre of the programme is the spinning wheel—no haphazard programme of spinning, but scientific understanding of every detail, including the mechanics and the mathematics of it, study of cotton and its varieties, and so on. There is the programme of literacy. You must concentrate exclusively on it, and not talk of any other thing. The work should be systematic and according to time-table. Don't talk of politics—not even of non-violence—but talk to them of the advantages of literacy. There is prohibition of drink and intoxicating drugs and of gambling. There is medical relief by means of the propagation of simple rules of hygiene and sanitation and elementary preventive measures, and of cheap home remedies and training intelligent villagefolk in these.

"There should not be one house in Rajkot with which you have not established contact from the point of view of pure service. You have to cultivate the Mussalmans, serve them unselfishly. There are the Harijans. Establish living contact with them.

"All this constructive work should be for its own sake. And yet be sure that it will develop the quality required for non-violent responsible government. That is how I began my work in South Africa. I began with serving them. I did not know that I was training them for civil disobedience. I did not know myself that I was so training myself. But you all know what happened in the end.

"This constructive programme may go on endlessly. Why should you be tired of it? Do you know the Hundred Years' War in England? If they fought for a hundred years, we should

be prepared to fight for a thousand years, inasmuch as we are a continent. That we will have given our contribution to the fight for freedom, will be our reward.

"That is the mass constructive programme I want you to do, and that is the basis of the training for the non-violence of the brave. It is whole and indivisible, and those who do not believe in it whole-heartedly must leave me and work according to their own lights."

But, as I have said, this programme depends on Gandhiji's own reading of the situation in the States. If the situation is different, if the people in a State are to a man ready to offer the utmost they can? "Then I would say to them—Be reduced to ashes. But that will be on one condition, viz. that you have reached the state of non-violence of my description. If I can have that assurance, I would say that though it is unequal battle, you may fight single-handed in spite of opposition from the Paramount Power and the States. I would be the last person to cool the zeal and ardour of the people."

The Essence of the Mass Programme

But would it not suffice if the workers were pledged to carry out the programme and carried it out faithfully? "Hardly," said Gandhiji. "For you have to give a visible demonstration of the fact that the whole of the State obeys your discipline. You want responsible government for all, not merely for the workers." Gandhiji gave two instances. In 1922 he was sent to jail. He gave express instructions to the effect that there should be no hartal, no demonstrations, work should go on as usual. A Secretary of State had described the situation in his derisive way—"When Gandhiji went to jail not a dog barked." But Gandhiji accepted it as a compliment and said that he was responsible for the quiet that prevailed. The people had literally carried out his instructions. Another instance. In 1921 there were the riots in Bombay. Gandhiji declared a fast until the rioters came to their senses. Mian Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani was then living. He had complete control on the mischievous element, and he said to Gandhiji: "Please break the fast. I know these men, they are under my control and I assure you they will be quiet." "You should be able to say that," said Gandhiji, "with regard to all whether they belong to your party or not. To acquire that control the people should fulfil the constructive programme in all its details. Non-violence has failed in exact proportion to the failure of the charkha. There are other items—prohibition, Hindu Muslim unity, removal of untouchability. It is difficult to submit individuals to the test in these items. There is room for self-deception. Not so in the matter of the wheel. The work can be measured from day to day.

"You have to take up the programme with apostolic zeal. I cannot give you a new programme. Civil disobedience is for the few who are saturated with the spirit of non-violence and are

ready for the utmost sacrifice. Constructive programme is for all. It is to be accepted by all actively and not as a lip profession. It has got to be worked or not worked. Khadi is worn or not worn. Let this fourfold programme be the acid test of your followers. Otherwise of course don't the cinema companies and cigarette sellers have a large enough following? Don't be deluded by those who gather about you and shout 'inquilab zindabad' or swear at someone or other.

"Banish all idle thoughts from your hearts and concentrate only on the thoughts you must have. You will thus obtain marvellous control over yourselves and others. A good man's thought never goes in vain. Thought control means maximum of work with minimum of energy. If we had that control, we should not have to put forth the tremendous effort we do. Non-violent action does mean much silent work and little speech or writing. These will always be necessary because thought control is not an easy thing. Nevertheless we have to cultivate that habit if we will have non-violence reigning supreme in this land and if we are to have responsible government through unadulterated non-violence.

Bombay, 5-6-39

M. D.

Notes

Leaders Must Lead

A Cutch worker came in yesterday and said, "Some leaders in Cutch are telling the people there that but for your stopping civil disobedience they would today be enjoying responsible government or something near it." I must deny having stopped civil disobedience in Cutch or for that matter elsewhere. All I gave was my opinion. I had told Shri Mulraj who had come to consult me that the workers should weigh my opinion in the light of their own personal experience of things and adopt it only if it coincided with their own experience. It should be noted that my opinion was not given publicly. If it was not acceptable to the local leaders, it need never have been published. Even now in Cutch as elsewhere responsible leaders are free to act according to their own judgment. We should never develop the requisite qualities of leadership, unless leaders shoulder responsibility and even dare to commit mistakes in acting contrary to the advice of persons like me. Here there would be no question of indiscipline, for I am not in active command anywhere. I give advice as an expert when reference is made to me. Those who seek my advice will wrong themselves and those whom they lead, if they will suppress their own judgment when it seems contrary to mine, especially when mine is not based on direct local knowledge.

Jaipur Again

Things are moving much too slow in Jaipur. The papers reported that a settlement between the Durbar and the people was imminent and that Seth Jamnalalji and his co-workers would be free. The matters in dispute seem to be incredibly simple. Civil disobedience was decided upon only to vindicate civil liberty. It was resorted to when even the right of the Praja Mandal to function for the purpose of educating the people in a constitutional manner to agitate for local responsible government in the State was questioned. Some time ago a communique was issued by the Durbar setting forth the conditions for the recognition of the Praja Mandal. Surely the Durbar could easily have adjusted the conditions to suit the civil disobedience leaders. Thus, for instance, the condition that 'no office-holder of the local association shall be also an office-holder of any political association outside the State' seems to be vexatious. Why should Seth Jamnalalji be disqualified from being President of the Praja Mandal by reason of his being a member of the Working Committee of the National Congress? Or is the condition specially aimed at him? An explanation is necessary. There are other conditions which too require elucidation. The last two are: (1) "That the Association shall undertake to represent aspirations and grievances of the people of the Jaipur State through the proper channels, as they develop from time to time under the constitution established by His Highness the Maharaja Saheb Bahadur, and (2) that membership shall be restricted to persons domiciled in Jaipur State." Both are vague. Why should the people not be free to advocate reforms in advance of what the State is prepared to grant? But the meaning of the penultimate condition seems to restrict this natural right. And the term 'domicile' is a risky legal term of little political use. Why should not the homely word 'resident' be used instead?

Bombay, 7-6-39

M. K. G.

Handmade Paper

Samples of all varieties of handmade paper (made at Junnar, Erandol and Jaipur), envelopes and blotting paper, can be obtained by sending postal stamps worth two annas to *Harijan* office, Poona 4.

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[ONE ANNA

THE ARCHBISHOP'S LETTER

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

So many people have commended to your attention my Rotary Club address on Prohibition broadcast last Tuesday that I venture to address a copy to you personally. I am further emboldened to write on account of the real joy I have experienced in India by reason of the supremacy accorded to principle as against expediency. It is no exaggeration to say that, in this, you are giving the world the lesson it most needs, and perhaps the other-worldly idealism of your Prohibition programme is its best defence. But you have not hesitated either to allow others to point out implications of your policy which your very love for your people may have caused you to overlook.

You will certainly be the last to deny the statement in my address that "To win the allegiance of body, of mind and of heart needed by any law, but most of all by a law making great demands, that law must be just. It is not enough that the Legislator say "This is just", but the conscience of the millions must say "This is just".

I trust you will allow me, for the benefit of others, to use an example to illustrate the abstract principle: We will suppose that the Bombay Government is due to pay its creditors on a given day in certain bank notes; these notes suddenly become suspect as forgeries. Obviously, you would not allow those notes to be distributed before their examination by experts. To do so would be to show readiness to do wrong, and it would be no excuse to say that, possibly, no injustice would occur. For if the value of the notes is doubtful, the obligation to pay full value is certain.

Now, is not the Bombay Government in that position with regard to the money soon to be lost by thousands who need it to feed their families, by those whose capital is invested in the liquor trade, by all the thousands to be so heavily taxed to pay for Prohibition? In effect, all that money is in dispute. It is not possible for the Government to solve their problem of conscience by consulting experts as in my example of the bank notes, for this case falls into the category of moral problems where ten prudent men might decide for the Government (admitting a good case on the other side) while ten others would decide against (admitting a sound case for the Government).

The only question possible, therefore, but one that is also imperative is: "Is the Government claim to this money so *reasonably clear* as to exclude all prudent doubt?"

You may conclude that the answer has already been given in the number and weight of the protests addressed to you. Alternatively I suggest that a number of demonstrably honest men be assembled from various communities, without commitments financial or political, and that a judge explain this question: — "Is the justice of the Bombay Prohibition plan clear beyond reasonable doubt?" If their answer is "yes", the Government is obviously strengthened. If the answer is "no", then the Government of truth and non-violence must decide whether or not it is prepared to use violence in order to impose injustice.

Nearly all the great sons of India, yourself included, stress constantly the need of reverence for law. I trust you will believe me when I declare that I am moved to write by the intimate persuasion of this truth; also by my fear that reverence for all law must suffer a grievous blow from the imposition of a single law so suspect already on grounds of justice and wisdom.

If any further apology were needed for writing this, I would stress the constant anxiety that oppresses one responsible for maintaining and extending works of charity. The last few months have convinced me that the cause of charity in Bombay is threatened with a shattering blow.

Lastly, I would respectfully call to your attention that you have in the Christian Community a body so systematically trained to self-control that whole nations have been thereby converted to temperance without loss of liberty, without expense, without any threat to holiness of law. But I know only too well the havoc wrought by drunkenness among our own people, and I should esteem it a privilege to throw the whole weight of our moral influence into a crusade against the deadly vice of intemperance. As a pledge of my own fidelity to such a voluntary crusade, I would gladly promise — as so many thousands of priests have done — never to drink alcoholic liquor except at the times when we believe its use enjoined by God in His own temple.

With my prayers and best wishes that the Holy Spirit of Truth may guide you.

June 1st, 1939

Yours sincerely,
T. D. ROBERTS
Archbishop of Bombay

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

III

3. Capital and Labour Wealth

Our economy differs considerably from that of the West. Their organisations were based on the presumption of capital being available in abundance. Prior to the Industrial Revolution hoards were transferred from eastern countries, and ever since their efforts have been towards reducing the labour cost of articles produced and increasing the returns to the middleman.

In our country a visit to any village will convince us that capital is scarce while labour is abundant. Therefore any system of prosperity for us will be based on the fact of abundance of labour and not on the availability of capital. In the matter of Key Industries, Public Utilities, and in the exploitation of natural resources where large capital is required, the State must undertake such enterprises on behalf of the people. The standard, in one case, cannot, therefore, be used in the other. In our own case, we have to see that the equipment for the production of goods is the cheapest possible. Where the percentage of labour cost in an article is high, it indicates that distribution of wealth has taken place in the very production of that article.

A Government, generally speaking, is financed by the annual productivity of the people which forms part of their income as against their capital. Often the durability of a foreign article draws the Government into indenting for such. This, again, is a wrong principle in economics. What we require is that since the money that is drawn by the Government is contributed from the annual income of the people, the expenditures can also form a charge against revenue.

For example, throughout India even in the countryside and jungle areas telegraph posts that dot the border of railway lines are made of steel while the country abounds in timber, and the metal used is foreign. Even in wealthy countries like America and England such posts are of wood. The only reason given in support is that the steel posts last longer because wooden ones are destroyed by white ants and other insects. No State or Public Utility concern should advance such an argument for expenditures which are inimical to the interests of the country. If timber were used, employment would be available to large numbers of people. Wooden poles would also be cheaper if less durable, and even if more frequent renewals are needed, the amount spent on such ones out of taxation is only made to circulate more frequently within the country. Ordinarily the State should not capitalise the revenue drawn from the people, for such action unnecessarily dams the current of circulation and a situation likely to lead to dire poverty is created. The people who pay the taxes can barely afford the mere necessities of life. Taking money from such and laying it by for the future is wrong financial policy. The proper thing to do is to utilise such a fund so that the amount spent falls

more or less on the revenue rather than on the capital.

Another advantage of this policy is that if the asset wears out sooner the Government will have to go to the people again for money and thereby keep the transactions of the Government more clearly before the people. It is a very important check in dealing with public expenditures of a democratic institution; it curbs any tendency towards extravagance.

We should like to suggest that every year, in every village, a statement should be issued showing how much income the Government has received therefrom and how much Government expenditures are allocated to the village concerned, and the same should be hung up there in prominent places like the school, the post office and the hospital.

There is an aspect of our economic order which is rarely understood and unless we bear it in mind will make it impossible for us to fit into the general background. In India, as we have already said, the industries which have to have a wide base should be founded on labour rather than on capital. We may not disable our cottage and village industries, to the extent of even making them compete with foreign articles made under methods of centralisation. A casual look round a village will reveal the fact that the houses of the needy poor are built of mud and thatch while the Sawkars' and Malguzars' will be found to be of brick and mortar and tiled. This is not only a sign of poverty; it is part of the economic order and denotes an adjustment to circumstances and environment over a period of centuries. If a pukka building needs repair, an outside mason has to be called in and paid for his labour, whereas the cottager will plaster and mud his own mud wall himself. Therefore, because material wealth is required to maintain brick houses they are often in disrepair, while even the Harijans can keep their houses neat and clean because of their wealth in labour.

4. Money and Barter Economics

In this connection we must state that the system of partial payment in kind, the payment of goods in terms of the unit which is available, is also appropriate. Too great an emphasis has been laid on the use of money. This has been necessitated by the economic organisation in the West where articles from very great distance become primary needs for industries. The farther we go for raw material the greater the need for a money economy. This emphasis on money has placed the villager at the mercy of foreign salesmen by the extension of markets from which they bring their articles in a country which has not got the necessary power to control the environment best suited to it. Money is not a commodity which satisfies any primary need and man cannot live by it alone. It represents man's power to control the lives of others because the owner of money is on a foundation that differs from that of the possessor of the exchangeable article, and

an exchange in commodities cannot take place when one person has the stronger bargaining power. Gold does not depreciate by itself, but most commodities for which it is exchanged depreciate inherently and with time. Therefore if we introduce a money economy on a wide basis into the villages, we place the poor at the mercy of the rich. Whatever may be said in favour of metal as money, it certainly operates unfairly when the perishable is balanced against the non-perishable. The villagers should, therefore, be less dependent on world market and more on their own productive forces.

5. Barter and Government Funds

The tendency in this connection has been greatly to reduce the human value of the purchasing power taken from the people for Government expenses. Those who cannot afford the bare necessities of life have to support a heavily paid administration. Whenever we were the guests of the villagers we slept on mud floors or verandahs or in the open spaces near the cattle in most insanitary conditions. This was not due to the inhospitality of the villagers.—for the poor have large hearts—but their purses are small. Even a spare *charpai* was not available. Government funds are largely drawn from these people and spent in a way which has no relation to the source of revenue itself. In striking contrast were the carpeted and luxuriously fitted rooms in the Assembly Rest House, a building which has cost Rs. 132,000. Our M. L. A.s are the guests of hosts with an income of Rs. 15 p. a., and to call upon these to entertain in rooms costing Rs. 3,300 per member proves the anomaly of the situation. The putting up of palatial buildings alone brings about a decrease in the national wealth of the country in human values.

If revenues could, to some extent, be collected in kind, there would be some check in the fall of utility because the use of paddy or wheat collected by Government will be restricted to payment to officers locally and the difficulties of marketing these products will create a certain amount of friction in bringing the purchasing power from the villages to the cities. Though the expenses of collection may be heavy, the conservation of the marginal utility, especially in terms of human values will more than justify any administrative difficulties. We do not recommend a complete system of barter, but we do feel that to a certain extent payment in kind, if properly schemed and worked, will relieve the distress of the people to an appreciable extent.

6. Raw Materials, Production and Profit.

Another fundamental consideration that is often lost sight of is the fact that, generally speaking, the labour spent on an article nearer its consumption stage pays far better returns than one which is nearer the raw material stage, because the principle of the ability to bear the charge operates. A consumable article sold for Rs. 100 can easily bear a profit of Rs. 5 whereas the raw materials of which this article is made,

which cost Rs. 10, though they may bear a profit of 8 annas in the same proportion, will not bear a profit of five rupees. An artisan, therefore, who works nearer the consumption stage of the article will receive a better return for his labour than one who works at the raw material stage. There will be people working at both stages within a limited area and therefore society as a whole will not suffer. But the present organisation is such that one set always works at consumable goods and one at the production of raw materials, with not only thousands of miles but all kinds of artificial barriers between them. The former group wins all along the line while the latter suffers from perpetual underpayment.

Export of raw materials is conducive to creation of unemployment and spread of poverty. Agriculture cannot, as a whole, pay so long as it is confined to the production of raw materials only. Every Government should take into account what benefits society as a whole and should realise that food crops contribute very much more to the welfare of the nation while money or commercial crops, for purposes of export, impoverish the people. During the last generation or so there has been an undue emphasis on money crops and the result faces us at every turn in the villages.

A farmer who cultivates money crops for factories is no better than a factory labourer. He loses his independence, he has little or no bargaining power, and he therefore gets the lowest of returns. Proverbially the farmer is a freedom-loving person, but when he deserts food crops or crops which he and his neighbours can convert into consumable goods, he leaves his traditional love of independence. The policy of our agricultural department has enhanced the evils attendant on this change. Its researches have been mainly directed towards commercial crops and this has been a short-sighted policy. For instance, various kinds of palm trees, though they abound and could be converted into sugar by cottage process, have been utterly neglected, while emphasis has been laid on the growing of sugarcane which requires intensive cultivation and good wheat lands, simply because it is a good raw material for mills. No time or thought has been expended on the field of production of consumable products. India is one of the largest oil seed producers in the world, and yet the seeds are exported rather than converted into consumable products in spite of the need for such. If the market for finished goods from oil had been extended, we would easily have devised some kind of lamp for burning vegetable oils rather than importing, as we do, thousands of gallons of kerosene oil.

7. Administrative or Creative Efficiency

We have to draw attention to the fact that under the plea of efficiency Government has tied itself into a knot. After certain limits efficiency even becomes harmful. Officials of senior rank are burdened with routine work which could be done

by office boys. There is no room for either planning or initiative. "Administrative efficiency" with all its red tape has reached the stage of petrification while creative faculties have been frozen to death. No risks and no gains, that is the policy that seems to be ruling governmental expenditure today.

8. Impediment to Production

With great eagerness to raise funds for the Government all manner of taxes have been levied at all stages of production without regard to the result that such impediments to production will bring about. The nearer the incidence is to the raw material, the greater the leverage to the impediment. Eight annas per unit charged at the point where raw materials are collected at the early stages is likely to stop the possibility of a much greater tax at the

(Continued on p. 167)

H A R I J A N

June 17

1939

MEANING OF PROHIBITION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

His Grace the Archbishop of Bombay has been kind enough to send me a letter and a copy of his address to the Rotary Club against prohibition. I have read both with the respect and attention their author deserves.

My study of His Grace's letter and address at once revealed a serious flaw for which I must be held primarily responsible. The word prohibition is a misnomer for what the Bombay Government and the other Provincial Governments where the Congress controls the ministries are doing regarding the liquor trade. What the Governments are in reality doing is not prohibiting drink but they are closing liquor shops which are absolutely under Government control. The shop-owners have no statutory protection save what they get from year to year. Every owner of a liquor shop knows that his licence may not be renewed next year. He may be even outbidden if he possesses a country liquor or toddy licence as these are auctioned every year. Therefore the licensees have no vested interest in their licences beyond the year for which they are held and then too subject to the observance of the stringent conditions laid down for them. Therefore I claim that the law for the abolition of liquor licences "is an ordinance of reason for the common good made and promulgated for the community by the competent authority." All that the State is doing is to remove from the drinker the temptation or the facility which the State considers is harmful to him except for medicinal purposes.

The Archbishop says, "To win the allegiance of body, of mind and of heart needed by any law ... that law must be just," that is to say, "the conscience of millions must say this is just."

I have no difficulty in endorsing the proposition. Viewed in the manner indicated by me the State does not need to carry with it the conscience of millions. But I hold that India is the one place in the world where the conscience of the millions would justify the law of abolition of the State trade in intoxicating liquors and drugs. There is no need to take any referendum. It consists in the overwhelming number of legislators approving of the law. Let me remind His Grace of the past history of this great reform movement. It began with the G. O. M. Dadabhai Naoroji. In 1920 it became an integral part of the Congress constructive programme. In the absence of political power the Congress arranged an elaborate programme of picketing liquor and opium shops. In this programme thousands of men and women took part all over India. All communities including Parsis took part in the picketing programme. Attempts were made even in the days of non-cooperation to induce the authorities to undertake the abolition legislation. Without exception they pleaded financial inability, never the impropriety of so-called interference with the right of the people to be supplied with liquor by the State. Indeed one minister told me that if I would help him to raise the revenue needed to make up for the loss caused by the drop in the drink revenue, he would introduce prohibition at once. It is an open secret that the reform has been delayed simply for the sake of the revenue. In other words, the people have been tempted to drink for the sake of raising the revenue. The black history of the opium trade bears out the truth of this statement.

Those who speak in the name of individual freedom do not know their India. There is as much right of a person to demand drinking facilities from the State as there is to demand facilities for the supply of public women for the satisfaction of his animal passion. I hope that those who pride themselves on their moderation in drinking will not feel hurt by the illustration I have taken. In this country we are not used to legislation for the regulation of vice. But in countries like Germany the houses of women who sell their virtue are licensed. I do not know what will be more resented in those countries, the stopping of the licences for the houses of ill fame or the houses of drink. When woman realises her dignity she will refuse to sell her virtue and those members of the sex who are jealous of its honour will move heaven and earth to have legalised prostitution abolished. Will it be then contended that such abolition will go hard with the prostitutes and their dependants whose only means of livelihood depended upon this calling?

I plead that social workers cannot work effectively so long as licensed liquor dens continue to lure the drinkers to enter them. It is curious that in all India any opposition to Prohibition comes from the Parsis. They pride themselves on their tem-

perance and resent what they call encroachment upon their personal liberty. They also make it a grievance that the Europeans have been given facilities, thus constituting a bar sinister against Asiatics. I have already pleaded with the Parsis that they should rise superior to their habit and allow the great reform to proceed with their active co-operation. As to the alleged bar sinister let me point out that a bar sinister is imposed from without. In the case in point we the Asiatics voluntarily recognise the limitations of the Europeans. But even they have to secure exemption and submit to regulations. The proper course for the Parsi friends would be to agitate, if they wish, for the removal of the discrimination, not use it for securing similar exemption for themselves.

His Grace has further argued that if the price to be paid for removing the temptation of drink from the drunkard "is out of all proportion to the good attempted," the reform is harmful. The proposition is well stated, but it is a matter of opinion whether the price to be paid is out of all proportion to the good attempted. I have endeavoured to show that the whole of the excise policy has been not to supply any felt want but to increase the revenue. I would invite the Archbishop to study the history of the excise administration. He will find that all the advanced legislators have condemned the policy in unmeasured terms. The price that is being paid for the attempted reform is insignificant if the history is borne in mind. And even the insignificant price will not have to be paid, if the Archbishop and the influential Parsi friends will lead an agitation for the reduction in the wholly indefensible army expenditure and free the money thus saved for the purpose of bringing about all-India abolition of the liquor traffic. It is an overdue reform. They should congratulate the Bombay ministers on their courage in levying a tax which was the easiest to be borne. But I have no doubt that the ministry will gladly remit the tax, if they are helped by the Central Government. Only they could not delay the reform whilst they were fighting the Central Government single-handed. Let all the parties recognise the necessity of the reform and demand justice from the Central Government and the hardship referred to by the Archbishop will be reduced almost to a nullity.

There is a curious question asked of Dr. Gilder. To do the Archbishop justice I must copy the question in his own words:

"Does he admit that there are several kinds of intoxication which have nothing at all to do with drink? Drunkenness paralyses the reason and wrecks homes. But the intoxication of false ideals is now wrecking whole nations and the world itself. Moreover, does Dr. Gilder admit that such intoxication is highly infectious? He will hardly deny it, knowing as he does the recent history of the nations. Then will he tell us, 'Is India necessarily immune from the infection of false ideals which intoxicate?'"

This suggests that the exercise by the State of the undoubted discretion to stop the issue of drink shop licences is a false ideal which intoxicates and which has infected Dr. Gilder. Of course everything is possible in this world. But I venture to suggest that this abolition being a half century old national cry is not likely to be a false, intoxicating and infectious ideal. An ideal that is false and intoxicating and highly infectious must in its nature be temporary.

The last paragraph of the address is a question addressed to me. The half dozen lines are packed with suggestions which hardly answer known facts. Thus His Grace suggests, among other things: "Prohibition tends to be regarded by its advocates not as one possible course but as the only possible religion." Nobody has called it a religion. After having stated the proposition His Grace ends: "The author of the creed of truth and non-violence will not resent this last question: 'Is he still quite certain that all religions are true?'" In any other mouth I would consider the question to be unpardonable. But I do not expect a busy administrator like the Archbishop of Bombay to study all a man like me may say or to verify his quotations. His question to tally with what I have said should have been: "Is he still quite certain that all the known great religions of the earth are equally true?" My answer to this revised question would be, "*Emphatically yes*". Only the revised question is obviously irrelevant to the Archbishop's thesis.

His Grace has propounded a conundrum in his letter which now hardly needs a separate answer. So far as I know the ministers have no qualms of conscience. They are robbing no one. All trade is precarious. Liquor trade is doubly so everywhere. The Bombay Government are straining every nerve to see that poor traders do not suffer avoidable hardships.

There is one sentence in the letter which makes me pause: "The last few months have convinced me that the cause of charity in Bombay is threatened with a shattering blow." All the Archbishop's beliefs have been based, as I think I have shown, on unproved assumptions. I should want proof for this unqualified assertion. If the cause of charity is threatened as stated, I would request him to produce the proof before the ministers and I doubt not that they will soon set the thing right.

The Archbishop's last paragraph in his letter is worthy of his high office. Only his offer appears to be conditional. Let him and his assistants and disciples unconditionally become total abstainers and help the noble cause of temperance. They will lighten the task of the lawgiver and help to make of the abolition of liquor traffic the success that it deserves to be in this land where the public conscience, i. e. the conscience of the dumb millions, is undoubtedly in favour of the abolition.

Segaon, 11-6-39

THE DECISION AND AFTER

III

More Self-introspection

I have in the last two articles attempted to give some idea of the workings of Gandhiji's mind since the decision to renounce the Award. In fact I described the statement issued on the Travancore situation and on the situation in the States in general as the first corollary to the decision. The statement, to speak chronologically, was prepared on the train taking us to Bombay on the first of June. It might have been issued to the Press on the 2nd, but work in Bombay delayed its revision until the 4th.

On the 31st May in Rajkot was held a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Kathiawad Political Conference. What Gandhiji said to the members of this committee already foreshadowed what was to appear in the statement on the States: "It is growing upon me every day that we shall have to lower our key, our demand for full responsible government will have to remain in abeyance for some time. Not that we are not entitled to it, but it is clear to me that we have not the will for it, we are not ready to pay the price. There is an awakening, but it is not the awakening of active non-violence of the brave. Not that I have suddenly realised this. The realisation was there, the will to face the conclusion was not there, and I am reaping the fruit of that weakness of the will. I have been weak-willed ever since Bardoli onwards, but my co-workers deluded themselves into the belief that we had attained the requisite non-violence and I shared their delusion.

"I do not repent of this. It is likely that if we had acted otherwise there would not have been the awakening we see today. But that seems to lead one to a rather dreadful conclusion, viz. that compromise with non-violence was necessary for a widespread awakening! But that is not the conclusion. The conclusion is that God chooses as his instruments the humblest and weakest of His creatures to fulfil Himself.

"Today with great realisation I would not lead another Dandi March. The breach of the salt laws was a perfect proposition, but violence of the mind had crept in almost from the beginning. All that we had learnt then was that it was expedient to refrain from the use of physical violence. This was the non-violence of the calculating Bania, not of the brave Kshatriya. This non-violence of the calculating Bania has not, could not have, carried us far. It could not possibly avail to win and retain Swaraj, to win over our opponent who believed in the use of arms.

"Today I sense violence everywhere, smell it inside and outside Congress ranks. In 1921 even the good element outside the Congress was more or less under our control. Perfect non-violence is difficult. It admits no weakness. It made me take the false step of approaching the Viceroy in order to end my fast. It was unpardonable on the part of a general who claims to derive

his whole strength from God. But God gave me the courage to retrieve the blunder, and we are all the stronger and purer for it."

Cowardice Worse than Violence

What led to the realisation and prompt action thereupon? The fact that the so-called ahimsa had failed to breed ahimsa. It had bred the opposite of it. Surely then there was something wanting about that ahimsa. "I am not tired of repeating again and again that we should be non-violent in thought and word and deed. We had been saying so, but there was no emphasis on the first of these. A dissolute character is more dissolute in thought than in deed. And the same is true of violence. Our violence in word and deed is but a feeble echo of the surging violence of thought in us.

"Are you prepared to go with me so far? Does all that I say carry conviction? If so, violence should be eschewed from the innermost of our thoughts. But if you cannot go with me, do go your own way. If you can reach your goal in any other way, do so by all means. You will deserve my congratulations. For I cannot in any case stand cowardice. Let no one say when I am gone that I taught the people to be cowards. If you think my ahimsa amounts to that, or leads you to that, you should reject it without hesitation. I would far rather that you died bravely dealing a blow and receiving a blow than died in abject terror. If the ahimsa of my dream is impossible, you can reject the creed rather than carry on the pretence of non-violence.

"Fleeing from battle—*palāyanam*—is cowardice, and unworthy of a warrior. An armed fighter is known to have sought fresh arms as soon as he loses those in his possession and they lose their efficacy. He leaves the battle to get them. A non-violent warrior knows no leaving the battle. He rushes into the mouth of himsa, never even once harbouring an evil thought. If this ahimsa seems to you to be impossible, let us be honest with ourselves and say so, and give it up.

"For me there is no laying down arms. I cannot do so. I am trying to be the warrior of my description and, if God wills, I may be that during this life. Such a warrior can fight single-handed."

Fighting Single-handed

What does this fighting single-handed mean? It simply means that perfected ahimsa becomes infectious, and so the environment responds. If such a time ever comes, the civil disobedience of one would cover all. Not that the others would be doing nothing, they will be doing the task allotted to them. This I take it is the meaning of Patanjali's aphorism: "As soon as ahimsa is perfected, all enmity around ceases." The sage did not utter the words in vain. It must have been the quintessence of his own experience, on no matter how narrow or different a field. If God fires one with the ambition to fulfil it, He must give him the power for it. Gandhiji invites everyone to have the ambition and to fulfil it. Who

knows? There may be someone better fitted than he? But even if everyone turns aside incredulously, he cannot turn back. This is how he explained it:

"Let me give a bit of my own experience in South Africa. When thousands joined the movement, I had not spoken to them, not even seen them. Papers they could not read. My heart was working in unison with them. Living faith is all that is necessary. It is evident that I have not the capacity today to inspire faith in the millions. This needs superior living faith in non-violence and in God. This faith is self-acting, and illumines man's life more and more every day. In the pursuit of my earnest research I may seem to act strangely. I should not grumble if everyone left me in the honesty of his conviction. Let no one stick to me in the blind faith that something will happen. Such will hinder rather than help the cause."

Speaking on another occasion to a Muslim friend he said: "I have been talking of non-violence these 20 years but I have made unlawful compromises with myself. My mind goes back to the days of Khilafat agitation. I had the friendship of thousands of Muslims then. When at a meeting of the Muslim League before 1920 I asked for the supreme sacrifice, two or three names were given by Khwaja Saheb Abdul Majid, but I believed that many would come forward at the right time. And they did. But looking back upon those times I see that I compromised non-violence. I was satisfied with mere abstention from physical violence." With this Gandhiji gave instances which I omit here. Continuing he said: "The fact is I have never placed unadulterated ahimsa before the country. If I had done so, there would have been complete Hindu Muslim unity. No doubt I kept on saying there would be no Swaraj without Hindu Muslim unity, but I should have seen that there was no Hindu Muslim unity because there was not that insistence on unadulterated ahimsa on the part of all, whether Hindu or Muslim. No wonder my new technique puzzles many. But I must go on. If I am right, the puzzles will be solved."

That Living Faith in God

That brings me once again to Gandhiji's insistence on a Satyagrahi having a living faith in God. Again and again he has been asked about this. He has not said in reply, as he might well have done, that the Indefinable cannot be defined. But he has continued explaining it. "Whether we stand the test or not, you alone can say, not we," said a co-worker. "No," said Gandhiji, "I cannot presume to say that. If you can affirm that you have a living faith in God, no matter how you define God, it should be enough. You believe in some Principle, clothe it with life, and say that it is your God and you believe in it. I should think it enough. I fasted apparently with complete faith in God. But instead of God I called the Viceroy to my aid. The Satyagrahi has no other stay but God. For the moment my faith in God was dead."

"But then an atheist like Bradlaugh may have the capacity to sacrifice all. But you would rule him out as a Satyagrahi?"

"I am afraid I would. Such a man is worthy of my reverence; but such a one would himself say he is not a Satyagrahi of my definition. But I may be doing an injustice to his memory. I never had the privilege of meeting him. He might have had a living faith in an indefinable self-acting Power whilst he declared himself an atheist."

Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala has tried to explain living faith in God in an article which is published elsewhere. I would venture to put it in yet another language. We use these terms of physics — light, warmth, power, activity — and derive them from outside objects. The moment we derive these not from an outside source but from something within us, we have achieved living faith in God. The Gita defines a man with that living faith as one who gains his happiness, his peace and his light from within (*Gita* 5.24).

M. D.

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

(Continued from p. 164)

consumable stage. But the present system has valued the golden egg and killed the goose. Not only are Government taxes crushing industries but malguzars and local bodies have joined in to make the burden intolerable. A note of warning must be sounded, for the burdens are now reaching a point where disaster will soon come if immediate steps are not taken to rectify the error. Malguzari exactions must be carefully examined and legislation, if necessary, should be introduced to safeguard the people from such.

The financed organisation of municipalities in the larger villages is anything but scientific. The main idea is the collection of revenue. Many industries are being killed by thoughtless octroi duties and terminal taxes. The same applies to the large district towns also. The villagers are ignorant and do not understand the full implications of the taxes they pay; even overpayments are common through ignorance. It is up to the Government to examine scientifically the system of taxes and to make sure that none of these at least harm village industries even if they cannot be helpful.

The tendency of the taxes again has been to increase the cost of raw materials. The taxes, detached from the condition of the industry, may not be heavy, but the incidence and the point at which they are levied are wrongly placed.

Bazaars in most villages are stocked full of foreign goods. This is a clear indication of the extent to which employment in our own country has suffered from the exploitation of the opportunities of production by foreign countries. If municipalities were to levy high sales taxes on these goods which are imported into the village instead of taxing locally

made articles, they would probably be doing a service. Even articles supplying primary needs are now being imported into the villages. The more these come in the less employment will there be. The organisation of the movement of goods requires intelligent guidance. These are functions which naturally fall to the department of industries. In villages, at any rate, foreign goods should be the exception rather than the rule, but the reverse almost holds goods today. A careful scrutiny as to which articles are harmful to village economy is therefore essential.

GOD AND SATYAGRAHA

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

Gandhiji had always implied and, of late, has been saying emphatically that a non-violent satyagrahi must have implicit faith in God. This has puzzled several people, not excluding those who accept 'Gandhism' otherwise. The Socialists, who generally lean towards atheism are, of course, puzzled, as they are puzzled with so many other acts and doctrines of Gandhiji. The question was pointedly raised at the Brindaban Conference, and Gandhiji's reply has been reported by M. D. in the *Harijan* of the 3rd of June. One or two Socialist friends discussed it with him also privately. I carry the impression that Gandhiji's reply did not convince them.

Let me try to explain in a different way the fundamental idea behind Gandhiji's enunciation.

I think that it is not necessary to enter into a philosophical or theological discussion about God to understand this question. It causes more confusion than clarity. Nor is it a thing for ordinary analysis. You cannot understand electricity by weighing or cutting open a live wire with insulated instruments. If the galvanometer test is not regarded by you as convincing, you must courageously touch it. Or believe the testimony of those who know.

It will be possible to collect from history hundreds of instances in which a single unaided individual,—at times even a child, as in the Pauranic stories of Prahlad and Sudhanva,—dares to stand firmly and alone on what he feels to be his clear path of duty, undaunted by any persecution, temptation or natural calamity. What is it that sustains him in that resolution? What is that Thing in one's breast, which enables one, in the language of Christianity, to bear one's own cross? What was it which made the young Roman soldier, when threatened to be burnt alive unless he disclosed certain secrets, to thrust his hand into a burning flame to show that such a threat could not swerve him from his duty towards his City? What gave the young boys of Guru Govind Singh the courage to suffer the cruel death of being built up alive in a wall rather than surrender? Unless a person feels the powerful presence of Something in him, and feels himself more closely

related to It than to the creature life in him, it is not possible for him to endure to the last in a satyagraha struggle.

That one must experience an extraordinarily powerful 'Feeling' in him to act so will not be denied even by the atheist. Such a feeling is not a mere perception, or a sensation; but it is the feeling inside him of the working of a Great Power which makes the feeler feel stronger than all the combined forces of the universe opposing him.

Gandhiji's plain question to the would-be-satyagrahi is, Do you experience that active powerful Feeling in you? Do you feel, not simply believe, that there is an undoubted Something in you, which is greater than all the temptations and fears of the world, and which will enable you to stand firmly and even alone by the side of your principles at the cost of everything, otherwise dear to you—even at the cost of the success of the very undertaking in your hand? And this last is important; because this Something is very different from a strong passion too—like that of patriotism, love, greed, adventure, etc., which also often gives a person extraordinary valour and power of resistance: the difference being that a passion, however strong, never allows a person to give up the fruit itself of his activity, if it can be attained at the cost of a principle.

Gandhiji names this great Thing of power in one God or Truth. Perhaps a Christian martyr might have called it Christ, a Sikh, like Tej Bahadur or the sons of Govind Singh, the Guru. Perhaps they might all give different descriptions or conceptions of that Thing; perhaps they may frankly acknowledge their inability to express it in words; perhaps they may even quarrel with the name or description given by others. But they would be all agreed that they do 'know', at least vaguely, that Power, and even its vague realisation gives them greater courage than the control over every other material power could.

If one feels certain that he has It, it does not matter whether one gets to know It through intuition, devotion, austerities, intellect, yoga, science or service. But perceive It and cling to It one must. Satyagraha, in the last resort, is impossible without this.

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[ONE ANNA

HOW FAR?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

With reference to my advice to the States people to lower their demands if necessary, a correspondent asks, "How far are the people to go and what reduction if any is suggested or contemplated, for instance, in the Jaipur demand which has been practically framed by you?" This question would never have arisen if my language had been properly attended to. In the first place, I have added the proviso 'if necessary'. This must be clearly proved and each committee should judge the necessity and the extent of the reduction. In the second, there can be no question of reduction where the people are ready for the exercise of the powers demanded and for the sacrifice involved in the development and the consolidation of the strength to enforce the demand. Take the case of Rajkot itself. Award or no award, if the people in general had the capacity for the required measure of sacrifice and if they had been ready for Swaraj, nothing would have kept them from their prize.

It would be wrong to say or believe that but for my mistake the people of Rajkot would have got what they wanted. My mistake has been admitted. But it must not be held responsible for the failure of the famous notification. The talk of demoralisation resulting from my 'bad handling' of the situation is nonsensical. In Satyagraha there is no such thing as demoralisation. Those who are truthful, non-violent and brave do not cease to be so because of the stupidity of their leader. Of course there would be demoralisation or rather exposure, if the three virtues were put on for the occasion and were to fail on the real test being applied. People who are strong by nature displace weak leaders and go about their business as if they never needed a leader. If they needed one, they would soon elect a better one. Workers in the States should try to understand the Rajkot case, if they will profit by it. If it is too complicated for them, they should leave it alone and go forward as if it had not happened. Nothing will be more misleading than to think that before my so-called mishandling of the Rajkot case the Princes were so trembling in their shoes that they were about to abdicate their powers in favour of their people. What they were doing before I even went to Rajkot was to confer among themselves as to

the ways and means of meeting the menace, as they thought it to be, to their very existence. We know what Limbdi did. The talk of combining with the Muslims, the Girasias and even the Depressed Classes against the Congress workers was in the air. My action has resulted in the discovery of the unholy combination. A true diagnosis is three-fourths the remedy. The workers are today in a position to devise remedies to combat the combination. It simply resolves itself into the necessity of Congressmen or Satyagrahis gaining control over the forces arrayed against them. They are as much out to gain liberty for the Muslims, Girasias, Depressed Classes and even the Princes as for themselves. The Satyagrahis have to show by cold reasoning and their conduct that the Princes cannot remain autocrats for all time, and that it is to their interest to become trustees of their people instead of remaining their masters. In other words, what I have done by correcting myself in Rajkot is to show the true way to the Satyagrahis. In following it, they may find it necessary to lower their immediate demands but only so as to really hasten their progress to their goal. Therefore there can be no lowering out of weakness. Every lowering must be out of a due appreciation of the local situation and the capacity of the workers to cope with it. Here there is no room for demoralisation and a rout. In cases like Jaipur of course there can no question of lowering. The demand itself is in the lowest pitch. There is no room in it for lowering anything. In essence it is one for civil liberty. Civil liberty consistent with the observance of non-violence is the first step towards Swaraj. It is the breath of political and social life. It is the foundation of freedom. There is no room there for dilution or compromise. It is the water of life. I have never heard of water being diluted.

Another question has been raised by another correspondent. He says, "You expect us to work by negotiation. But if there is no wish on the other side and the only wish is to humiliate the party of freedom, what is to be done?" Of course nothing is to be done except waiting and preparing for suffering and promotion of constructive work.

Absence of wish for negotiation by authority may mean despise or distrust of the party of freedom. In either case silent work is the remedy. Negotiation has been mentioned as a

substitute for the ignoring of, i. e. the despise of, the constituted authority whether it is the Dewan or any other. And what I have pleaded for is desire and readiness for negotiation. It is not inconceivable that the stage of negotiation may never be reached. If it is not, it must not be for the fault of the Satyagrahis.

Segaon, 19-6-39

BENGAL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Gandhiji has received the following letter dated 31st May from Shri Sarat Chandra Bose which with his consent is released for publication :

My dear Mahatmaji,

You have probably learnt from the papers that I and Sjt. Lalit Chandra Das, M. L. C., my colleague on the Prisoners' Release Advisory Committee, felt compelled to resign from this Committee. The reason we gave the Home Minister for doing so was that our approach to the question of release of the convicted prisoners differed fundamentally from that of most of the other members of the Committee. This became clear to us during the last few weeks, more particularly in course of the discussions following the interviews with a number of prisoners which took place on May 6, 7, 8 and 9. Those discussions showed that the attitude of the majority of the members of the Committee was very stiff in the case of prisoners convicted in the more serious cases, and that they were not prepared to release them either on the assurance contained in your letter of the 13th April 1938 or on the reiteration by the prisoners of what they had told you when you met them. It became apparent to us that the majority of those prisoners stood no chance of being released until they had served or practically served out their term. As regards the rest it became apparent that the most that the majority of the members of the Committee were prepared to do was to recommend reduction of sentences in some cases and conditional release or release on giving specific undertakings in some other cases.

To the Home Minister we gave our reasons for our resignation in general terms only. But I feel I ought to give you more details as well as a resume of what we did during the time we served on the Committee.

You probably remember that when the proposal for an Advisory Committee for the release of political prisoners was put forward and I was requested by Sir Nazimuddin to suggest names from the Congress Party, I was not quite sure in my mind as to what we should do. I asked Subhas to seek your advice and he discussed the matter with you when he met you at Delhi towards the end of September or beginning of October last. You were of opinion that I should accept membership of the Committee. Accordingly, I made the position of the Congress Party in regard to the question of releasing political prisoners perfectly clear to Sir Nazimuddin, and communicated to him our decision to serve on the Committee in the hope

that the Government would release the prisoners within a short time. Copy of my letter to Sir Nazimuddin (dated October 23, 1938) is set forth below:

"Kindly refer to D. O. No. 3810 dated the 26th September from Mr. R. H. Hutchings to me, in which he asked me on your behalf to suggest the name of a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and also that of a member of the Bengal Legislative Council from the Congress Party who might be invited by Government to serve on the Advisory Committee re: release of political prisoners.

You are well aware as a result of the conversations you had with Mahatma Gandhi and with the President of the Congress that the Congress Party cannot identify itself or agree with the Government's policy in respect to political prisoners. Mahatma Gandhi's letter of the 13th September to you has also made that clear.

At the same time, I feel that we should not obstruct any endeavour to bring about the release of these prisoners. It is out of this feeling that I am responding to your request for assistance. I earnestly hope that Government will see their way to set at liberty all the political prisoners at a very early date.

I would suggest the name of Sjt. Lalit Chandra Das, M.L.C., from the Congress Council Party. As regards the Congress Assembly Party, I am prepared to represent it on the Committee. You may issue invitations to Sjt. Lalit Chandra Das and myself."

After this the work of the Committee began and we made some progress. Naturally, the less difficult cases came up for consideration first, and we were able to bring round our objecting or hesitating colleagues to our point of view, so that recommendations for unconditional release were sent to Government, resulting in the release of 112 prisoners, including all the women prisoners. But as we proceeded with our work, a cleavage of opinion made itself distinctly felt. It became obvious that the Government were not prepared to follow the recommendations of the Committee in all cases. The unanimous recommendation of the Committee, in which the initiative was taken by the Chairman himself (who, I may tell you, had always been over-cautious rather than under-cautious) was referred back to the Committee. It also came to my ears that in some cases the Government were imposing conditions (not recommended by the Committee), when it was perfectly well-known that prisoners were not prepared to submit to any conditions or give any assurance except the one they had given to you.

This attitude of the Government had its reaction on the members of the Committee. In the first place, they shrank from making recommendations even when they were satisfied about the attitude of the prisoners. Of this, the case of Sjt. Purnananda Das-Gupta, who was convicted in connection with the Inter-Provincial Conspiracy Case, is a good example. There was a consensus of opinion among the members of the Committee that he had made a perfectly frank statement disavowing faith in terrorism.

Yet the majority of the Committee did not venture to make the necessary recommendation for his release but accepted the suggestion of the official member on the Committee that a further report be called for from Government about him. Secondly, there was insistence on individual declarations which amounted to a specific undertaking for good behaviour. While most of the prisoners were prepared to reiterate their declaration to you, and actually did so, they resented fresh individual undertakings and were not prepared to give them. I and Lalit Babu considered that the prisoners had said enough in their statements to you and, by reiterating their adherence to those statements, had given convincing indication of a change of heart. After the interview I told the Committee that I was perfectly satisfied that the prisoners had abjured violence for good and all of them should be released. But my views did not find favour with the majority of the Committee. They were not prepared to accept that kind of declaration as satisfactory.

I also noticed an increasing restiveness among the prisoners in respect of the interviews as well as the assurances required. This restiveness and impatience had been present in greater or lesser degree from the very first. But we had been able by tactful management to keep it from becoming obtrusive. It was, however, impossible to overcome the reluctance of the prisoners when they found that guarantees of a more hard and fast character were required of them. In such circumstances, their hostility to the procedure of the Committee came to the surface, and we became convinced that sooner or later its work was bound to come to something like a deadlock.

This is in short what we saw and thought as members of the Committee. Besides this, the general attitude of the Government in regard to the remaining convicted prisoners had also to be taken into account. It was clear to us that the Government were not prepared to release all the prisoners, no matter how favourable the atmosphere was. In these circumstances, I did not think it advisable for us to remain on the Committee any longer.

After our resignation, the Government issued a communique, copy of which is set out below:

"The Committee appointed by Government to advise on the release of terrorist convicts has considered 183 cases. Government have passed orders on the recommendations of the Committee in 112 cases and in 68 the recommendations of the Committee are about to be submitted to Government. Three cases are under consideration by Government, and 56 cases remain to be examined by the Committee. The Committee have recently interviewed a large number of prisoners individually before disposing of their cases in particular. All the female prisoners appeared before the Committee and were recommended for release after giving satisfactory assurance as to their future conduct. They have since been released. Government regret to have to announce that two members of the Committee, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and Mr. Lalit Chandra Das, have tendered their resignations which have been

accepted. The two members gave as the reason for their resignation that their approach to the question of release of the convicted prisoners differed fundamentally from that of most of the other members of the Committee."

The question now is, what should be done to procure the release of the remaining prisoners. I would very much like to have your advice as to how we should proceed. What I am apprehensive of is that the prisoners may commence a hunger-strike. If they do so, the situation will become extremely complicated. At the same time, I do not know what hopes I can hold out to them.

I hope you are better now. My health is still below par.

With pronams,

Yours affly,

SARAT CHANDRA BOSE

In releasing the letter Gandhiji says:

It is a pity that Shri Sarat Chandra Bose and Lalit Chandra Das had to resign from the Prisoners' Release Advisory Committee when they found that they could not make further headway and that their views differed from those of their colleagues and of the Government. They had no option. I had hoped when the Committee was formed that they would evolve a joint scheme whereby the question of political prisoners would be solved on an all-India basis and on non-party lines. Provincial autonomy should have meant at least the release of all political prisoners throughout India especially when they declared their faith in non-violence as the vast majority, if not all, have done. The releases already effected have shown that there is no danger of revival of terrorism such as the country has known. Therefore I would suggest that Shri Sarat Chandra Bose and Lalit Chandra Das be reinvited to serve on the Committee and a formula be found so as to satisfy their viewpoint. It would be unfortunate if a hurricane agitation were to be restarted on an issue which does not warrant any such agitation and which is capable of being decided by mutual accommodation. I hope that my appeal to the Government of Bengal not to abandon the policy of conciliation they had adopted on this very important question of the release of political prisoners will not go in vain. It ought to be enough for them that the prisoners have declared their faith in non-violence. I hope that the prisoners will not be restless but will allow friendly effort to take its course without the interruption of a hunger-strike or the like. I would ask them to continue the dignified restraint they have so wisely observed.

Segaon, 14-6-39

Cent Per Cent Swadeshi
OR

The Economics of Village Industries

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HARIJAN

June 24

1939

ITS IMPLICATIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I am sorry that my recent statements about States have perplexed even those who have hitherto had no difficulty in understanding my writings or my actions. But the Rajkot statements, my actions in Rajkot, and the statement on Travancore have made 'confusion worse confounded'. Pyarelal and latterly Mahadev have been manfully trying to interpret for the readers of *Harijan* both my writings and doings. I know that they have somewhat helped to clear misunderstandings. But I observe that something is required from me directly. I must therefore try to give the implications as I understand them of my recent writings and actions.

I had better first say what they do not imply. Thus my ideas on civil disobedience—individual, group or mass—have not changed, nor have my views about the relations between the Congress and the Princes and the people changed. Nor has my view undergone any change that it is essential for the Paramount Power to do its duty towards the people of the States—a duty which it has woefully neglected all these years. My recantation had reference only to my distrust in God in whose name the fast was undertaken and my seeking to supplement His work by Vice-regal intervention. For me to rely upon the Viceroy, instead of God or in addition to God, to act upon the Thakore Saheb, was an act of pure violence which the fast was never conceived to imply or use in the remotest degree.

The positive implication of the Rajkot chapter in my life is the discovery that the non-violence claimed for the movement since 1920, marvellous though it was, was not unadulterated. The results though brilliant would have been far richer if our non-violence had been complete. A non-violent action accompanied by non-violence in thought and word should never produce enduring violent reaction upon the opponent. But I have observed that the movement in the States has produced violent reaction on the Princes and their advisers. They are filled with distrust of the Congress. They do not want what they call interference from it. In some cases the very name 'Congress' is anathema. This should not have been the case.

The value of the discovery lies in its reaction upon me. I have definitely stiffened in my demands upon would-be Satyagrahis. If my stiffness reduces the number to an insignificant figure, I should not mind. If Satyagraha is a universal principle of universal application, I must find an effective method of action even through a handful. And when I say I see the new light only dimly, I mean that I have not yet found with certainty

how a handful can act effectively. It may be, as has happened throughout my life, that I shall know the next step only after the first has been taken. I have faith that when the time for action has arrived, the plan will be found ready.

But the impatient critic will say, 'The time has always been there for action; only you have been found unready!' I cannot plead guilty. I know to the contrary. I have been for some years saying that there is no warrant for resumption of Satyagraha.

The reasons are plain.

The Congress has ceased to be an effective vehicle for launching nation-wide Satyagraha. It has become unwieldy, it has corruption in it, there is indiscipline among Congressmen, and rival groups have come into being which would radically change the Congress programme if they could secure a majority. That they have failed hitherto to secure it is no comfort to me. The majority has no living faith in its own programme. In any case Satyagraha through a majority is not a feasible proposition. The whole weight of the Congress should be behind any nation-wide Satyagraha.

Then there is the ever-growing communal tension. Final Satyagraha is inconceivable without an honourable peace between the several communities composing the Indian nation.

Lastly, there is the provincial autonomy. I adhere to my belief that we have not done anything like justice to the task undertaken by the Congress in connection with it. It must be confessed that the Governors have on the whole played the game. There has been very little interference on their part with the ministerial actions. But the interference, sometimes irritating, has come from Congressmen and Congress organisations. Popular violence there should not have been whilst the Congressmen were in office. Much of the ministerial energy has been devoted to dealing with the demands and opposition of Congressmen. If the ministers are unpopular, they can and should be dismissed. Instead they have been allowed to function without the active co-operation of many Congressmen.

It will be contrary to every canon of Satyagraha to launch upon the extreme step till every other is exhausted. Such haste will itself constitute violence.

It may be said in reply with some justification that if all the conditions I have mentioned are insisted upon civil disobedience may be well-nigh impossible. Is that a valid objection? Every measure carries with it conditions for its adoption. Satyagraha is no exception. But I feel within me that some active form of Satyagraha, not necessarily civil disobedience, must be available in order to end an impossible situation. India is facing an impossible situation. There must be either effective non-violent action or violence and anarchy within a measurable distance of time. I must examine this position on a future occasion.

Segaon, 20-6-39.

NO QUARREL ABOUT WORDS

Independence

It is seldom that Gandhiji these days discusses political questions with newspaper men. But Mr. Steel of the *New York Times*, who waylaid him recently at Rajkot, proved to be a lucky exception. Independence, Hindu-Muslim Unity and Federation formed the theme of the talk that he had with Gandhiji. "What is your idea of Independence?" was the first question he put to Gandhiji. "By Independence I mean complete withdrawal of British power from India," replied Gandhiji. "It does not exclude partnership between two nations enjoying equal independent status and terminable by either at will." "It need not be different from Dominion Status," continued Gandhiji in answer to another query. "But perhaps Dominion Status won't be a happy term to use for a continent like India which is ethnologically and politically different from other Dominions like S. Africa, Canada, Australia, etc. But perhaps this term is as elastic as the English Constitution. And if Dominion Status could be so defined as to cover a case like India and if India could come to an honourable agreement with England, I would not quarrel about words. If British statesmen feel it convenient to use the word Dominion Status about India rather than any other, in order to describe that honourable agreement, I will not quarrel."

"But" rejoined the American friend, "there are elements in the Congress like Subhas Bose and his group who want absolute independence outside the British Empire."

"It is only a question of terminology," replied Gandhiji. "I won't admit any difference between Subhas Babu and myself on this point though we may use different language. Supposing such free and equal partnership as I have postulated were feasible, Subhas Babu won't say 'no' to it. But today if such a proposition were put to him, he will probably say, as he well may, it is ruled out for him. For he would say the British are not likely to yield so easily as some might think. If he talks to me like that, I won't combat him but would say that I prefer to use the language that I use as being more suited to my temperament and my faith in the essential identity of human nature."

No Fear of Federation

Gandhiji's interviewer next wanted to know if there were any negotiations going on between him and the authorities in connection with the 'Federation'. "None whatsoever," was Gandhiji's reply. "All suggestions to this effect that one sees in the Press are mere figments of imagination. The present Viceroy is not made that way. He does not believe in doing things secretly. He puts all his cards on the table and likes taking the public into his confidence. At any rate that is my impression. I think he does believe that no cause is damaged by open negotiation."

"But I feel certain that the 'Federation' won't come whilst it is not acceptable to the Congress or the Mussalmans or the Princes. I am inclined to think that the British statesmen won't

impose Federation upon an unwilling and dissatisfied India, but will try to placate all parties. That, at any rate, is my hope.

"It would be first class tragedy if it is imposed upon India. The Federal Structure cannot be brought into being in the midst of sullenness and opposition. If the Federation is not wanted by any of the parties, it would be the height of imprudence to force it."

This provoked the next question, "What is the alternative?"

"The alternative may be to offer something that would be acceptable to all or either of the three parties," replied Gandhiji.

No Ultimatum without Effective Sanction

Mr. Steel, "But you do not believe with Subhas Bose that the best alternative would be to issue an ultimatum?"

Gandhiji: "That is the fundamental difference between Subhas Babu and myself. Not that the ultimatum is in itself wrong, but it has to be backed by an effective sanction and there are today no non-violent sanctions. If all the parties come to an honourable understanding, an effective sanction could be easily forged."

Is It Receding?

Referring next to the communal situation, Mr. Steel asked whether, in Gandhiji's opinion, the Hindu-Muslim situation was getting worse.

"Apparently yes, perhaps," answered Gandhiji. "But I have every hope that ultimately we are bound to come together. The interests that are common to us and that bind us together are so tremendous that the leaders of both the sections must come to terms. Force of circumstances will compel them to do so. That we appear to be farthest apart from one another today is a natural outcome of the awakening that has taken place. It has emphasised the points of differences and accentuated prejudices, mutual suspicions and jealousies. Fresh demands that are coming into being every day with the new leadership have further made confusion worse confounded. But I hope that out of chaos order is going to emerge."

Mr. Steel: "Are not the differences between the Muslim League and the Congress unbridgable?"

Gandhiji: "The differences are insubstantial."

The Next Step

Returning to the question of the ultimatum, Gandhiji's interviewer again put him the question, "You think the time is not ripe for an ultimatum; what then should the next move be?"

"To put our own house in order," replied Gandhiji. "Immediately we have done that and brought the various elements together, we should be ready."

The next question put to Gandhiji was, "What help do you expect from the U. S. A.?"

"I expect a lot of help from the U. S. A.," replied Gandhiji, "by way of friendly criticism, if it must be criticism. What I find today is that it is either excessive praise of Indian effort or hopelessly unenlightened criticism. Your Press has made very little effort to enlighten American opinion on the right lines."

The last question asked by Gandhiji's American interviewer was about the Gwyer Award: "Does your renunciation of the Award imply an abandonment of effort?"

"By no means," replied Gandhiji. "On the contrary, having eased myself of the burden of error, I feel as light as a bird and freer to continue my effort to solve the problem of the Indian States."

Pyarelal

WILL KHADI KILL KHADI?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

When the increase in the spinners' wages was decided upon by the A. I. S. A. the Maharashtra Branch was the foremost in giving enthusiastic support to the proposal. It has the direct guidance of Shri Vinoba. It has worked out the increase programme with a precision not approached by the other provinces. The result is that the other provinces not having increased the wages to the same extent as the Maharashtra Branch are able to undersell the latter's khadi and do not hesitate to send their stock to the areas covered by the Maharashtra Branch. Unscrupulous merchants are not slow to take advantage of the situation. Thus uncertified stores have sprung up in Nagpur, Wardha, and elsewhere. The unwary public, not knowing the new arrangements and eager to buy cheap khadi, prefer to patronize the uncertified stores, thus doing great damage to the Maharashtra Branch stores. The result is that the Maharashtra Branch has either to reduce wages or to close down its business. This would amount to khadi killing khadi. Khadi-lovers should know that the economics of khadi are different from and often contrary to the ordinary economics of the competitive system which is not governed by the principle of the greatest good of all, i. e. of the least among the downtrodden. Thus I have endeavoured to show in these columns that if khadi is to fulfil its mission—

1. There must be progressive increase in the rise of the wages of the spinners till the minimum of one anna per hour is reached.

2. The ideal is that each village should produce and use its own khadi. From this it is clear that the least that should be done at present is that each province should produce enough and no more for its own requirements, permission being given for the sale outside its limits of such khadi as can only be produced by that province. For instance, Andhra can export, say, 80 counts khadi outside its limits but not coarse khadi no matter how cheap it is.

3. No profits can be made for the sake of profits. The wage-earners are the shareholders and the proprietors in this the greatest co-operative organization in the world. If, therefore, there happen to be profits made in any single year, the proper use to make of them is to devote them to increase the number of spinners so long as there are any to be provided for, otherwise to increase the wages of the existing spinners.

4. Any province that makes an attempt to increase the wages of spinners to the desired

level should be encouraged by the other branches and khadi-lovers.

5. The general public should restrict their use of khadi to the khadi produced in their own provinces although it is dearer than in the other provinces. They must trust the A. I. S. A. to do its best for every province.

6. The policy of the A. I. S. A. no doubt should be to reach uniformity of wages and prices throughout India. But till that ideal condition is reached the public should have humanitarianism enough to know that they have a duty by the wage-earners of their own province. It is almost as bad to have interprovincial competition as it is to have competition with the outside world.

The immediate thing to be wished for is that all uncertified stores should be closed. Congressmen and others should warn the public against buying from such stores, and provincial branches should resolutely refuse to sell their stock outside except at the instance of the provincial agencies concerned of the A. I. S. A.

Segaon, 19-6-39

THE DECISION AND AFTER

IV

An Undue Emphasis?

It has been asked: "What about Swaraj that we have been fighting for? How does Gandhiji's faith in non-violence burning brighter than ever help those who want Swaraj here and now? Does not the emphasis on non-violence of his conception make of Swaraj a very remote vision hardly to be fulfilled?"

This is what he said to the Travancore friends as he explained to them his statement on the train:

"For me, it is true, as I have often declared, ahimsa comes before Swaraj. I would not care to get power through anarchy and red ruin, among other things, because I want freedom and power even for the least among the people. This can only be when freedom is won through non-violence. In the other case the weak must go to the wall, only the physically strong and fit will remain to seize and enjoy power.

"But you too cannot help putting ahimsa before everything else if you really mean business. *Ahimsa must be placed before everything else while it is professed. Then alone it becomes irresistible.* Otherwise it will only be an empty hulk, a thing without potency or power. A soldier fights with an irresistible strength when he has blown up his bridges, burnt his boats. Even so it is with a soldier of ahimsa."

"But how will this lowering of the pitch work out in action? How will it help us in attaining our goal of responsible government?" asked another friend.

"Today when we talk of responsible government," explained Gandhiji, "it frightens the States authorities. The Paramount Power too do not like it. They think it will result in red ruin and anarchy. The argument is unsound, but let us give them credit for honesty. If you follow

my advice, therefore, you will say, 'We, for the time being, forget Swaraj. We shall fight to vindicate the elementary rights of the people, to remove corruption.' In short, you will concentrate your attention on details of administration. The authorities won't be frightened, and it will give you the substance of responsible government. That has been the history of all my work in India. If I had only talked of Swaraj, I would have come a cropper. By attacking details we have advanced from strength to strength.

"What did I do at the time of the Dandi march? I reduced our demand for complete independence to my eleven points. Motilalji was at first angry with me. 'What do you mean by lowering the flag like this,' he said. But he soon saw that if those points were conceded independence would stand knocking at our door.

"Let me explain to you the working of my mind. As I have already told you, I had thought that responsible government in the States was within easy reach. We have now found that we can't at once take the masses with us along non-violent lines. You say that violence is committed by a few hooligans only; but capacity to obtain non-violent Swaraj presupposes capacity on our part to control the hooligans too as we temporarily did during the non-cooperation days. If you had complete control over the forces of violence and were ready to carry on the fight with your back to the wall in defiance of the Paramount Power, looking neither to me nor to the Congress outside for guidance or help, you would not need to lower the key temporarily even. In fact you will not be here to seek my advice at all.

"But that is not your case, on your own admission. Nor, so far as I know, is it the case anywhere else in India. Otherwise people would not have suspended civil disobedience in many places even without my asking."

Responsibility Entirely with the States

The resolution that the Working Committee of the Travancore State Congress has passed on Gandhiji's statement on Travancore makes it absolutely clear that though he has been guiding the movement, the responsibility of giving the movement future shape belongs entirely to the Congress. "We accept Gandhiji's advice, and our acceptance is fully warranted by the circumstances," the resolution says in effect, "but the responsibility for acceptance is entirely our own." People from some of the States who have approached him for advice do not seem to see this. He made it abundantly clear to the Mysore Congress representatives who saw him last week. "If," he said, "the proposed reforms are unacceptable as you fear they are likely to be, you may take no part in working them. But regarding offering any opposition to them you must be the best judges. What I have said in my statement on Travancore does not apply wholly to any single State. You must study the general principles laid down in it, and do what you think fit. Do not ask me to judge whether Mysore is well organised or

ill organised. You are the best judges. Facts themselves are opinions. If you are ready, you are ready, irrespective of what I may say.

"The readiness may be of two kinds. You may be able to embarrass Government sufficiently by making a big enough demonstration which invites shooting or compels them to yield. But the demonstration may not be non-violent as I am defining it. Not that my definition has changed. There is only a difference of emphasis. I formerly compromised non-violence in the belief that thereby India would progress further on the path of non-violence, but that belief was not fulfilled. So the non-violence that you display may appear to be effective but it may not be unadulterated non-violence in thought, word and deed. If it is not, I should rule it out. What I would not rule out today I cannot say. I have come up to the point of saying, in the language of the Vedic seer, 'Neti, Neti (Not this, not this)', but I have not yet been able to say, 'It is this, it is this.' That is because I have not seen the full light yet."

The Middle Course

What then is this middle course which is neither naked violence nor unadulterated non-violence? Mr. Case gave the appropriate word for it—*Non-violent Coercion*—which he made the title of his book. It is open to everyone. In fact there is a school of thought in India which makes no secret of it, and says, 'Satyagraha of Gandhiji's definition is not for us, non-violent coercion is what we understand!' As Gandhiji explained, "That school says, 'We believe both in violence and non-violence, for sometimes violence answers, sometimes non-violence answers, and we resort to non-violence because it appears to be best under the circumstances.' But for me means and ends are convertible terms, and non-violence and truth are therefore the end, so long as the end conceived has not been attained. But in Rajkot I compromised the means; I was weighed in my own scales and found wanting. But no harm has been done because I retrieved my error immediately I saw it. My surrender was not due to weakness, it was a surrender out of the fullness of strength. It came out of non-violence which for me is the weapon of the bravest and not of the weak. I will not be guilty of encouraging cowards amongst us, or of allowing people to hide their weakness under cover of non-violence."

What then can those who avow a faith in non-violence and yet confess their inability to carry it out in thought and word as well as in deed do? Must they suffer wrongs meekly and in a cowardly fashion? The way of non-violent coercion is always open to them, as the historian of this form of coercion has shown it working through history. "You will say," said Gandhiji, "that you will not make a declaration about non-violence or Satyagraha or civil disobedience. It need not on that account be the reverse of any of these. But you will say, 'After having

read all that Gandhiji has written, or has been written about it in *Harijan*, we have come to the conclusion that we must not bandy about these technical expressions. Whether you call it violent or non-violent, we offer what resistance we can and what we feel our people are ready to offer. If you want further guidance, you should approach Vallabhbhai who has been handling this movement, and Pandit Jawaharlal who is the Chairman of the States Committee. I come in as author of Satyagraha, but for the moment I am bankrupt. My faith is brighter than ever but I have not seen the full light. I am advising Travancore, Rajkot, and to a certain extent Talcher, as I have been constantly guiding them. But even with regard to them I have been tendering my advice which it is for them to accept or reject.

"But I would ask you to see the Sardar who has a marvellous capacity of separating wheat from chaff. He is no visionary like Jawaharlal and me. For bravery he is not to be surpassed. If he had any sentiment in him, he has suppressed it. Once he makes up his mind he steels it against all argument. He has all the making of a soldier. Even I do not argue with him, but of course he allows me to lay down the law. He will always be the people's man. He cannot hit it off with the people in power. See him. He has studied the situation, and he may be able to make concrete suggestions. Have the setting from Jawaharlal and concrete suggestions from the Sardar."

Lowering the Flag?

I think this will settle all criticism to the effect that Gandhiji wants people to go back to the pre-non-cooperation days of the Liberals when we used to go before the rulers with suppliant petitions and requests. "If," it is said, "we are asked to lower our demands in States, why not lower our demand of Independence also? That is what Gandhiji's advice will ultimately come to. We are asked to go back to the days of the Liberals, with the privilege to use the spinning wheel and the *mantra* of non-violence!" Those who indulge in this mordant criticism do not see that our demand of Independence was not made before any ruler or rulers, but that we have made the declaration of Independence and that we cannot make it good because we have not the power to do so. And so long as we have not the power to make good our claim, what matters it whether it is sky-high or tree-high? The question of the means is the only relevant one. So far as Gandhiji is concerned he declares it in no uncertain terms that he can no longer make any compromises with non-violence. But as for the rest, there are various ways short of armed violence which have proved effective in certain circumstances and on certain occasions and which it is open to them to try without any let or hindrance. Thus all that Gandhiji asks for is absolute honesty of thought, word, and deed.

Segaon, 16-6-39

M. D.

GANDHI SEVA SANGH

IV

Basic Education Workers

The Gandhi Seva Sangh, as I have explained in these columns, has become almost unwieldy like the Congress with all kinds of other interests. This year there was not only the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition, but there was the Basic Education Exhibition also, besides speeches by various leaders like Shri Satish Chandra Dasgupta, Kakasaheb Kalelkar and others on various aspects of village work. There were basic education teachers and classes and also rural reconstruction workers.

I happened to look in at the basic education workers' meeting. There were teachers there and assistant inspectors of education. They were all invited to discuss their problems and difficulties. I was particularly struck with a Mussalman school teacher who seemed to be absolutely in tune with the new idea. He said his pupils never liked to leave the *takli*. Books they abhorred, but *takli* they would like to work the whole day; in such a fascinating manner he had presented it to them. He had become their companion and tutor and he watched with unobtrusive interest every one of their activities since leaving the bed in the morning to retiring to bed in the evening. He had evidently realised that in basic education (to use Prof. Dewey's phrase) the centre of gravity is inside the child and not outside the child as under the old education.

There was a discordant note too. An assistant inspector inveighed against the new system and said that it was like falling into the fire from the frying-pan. I wondered why he had consented to go to the training centre. The Basic Education Scheme has now been sufficiently discussed, and care must be taken in selecting as future teachers and inspectors only those who have grasped the principle and who will bring to bear some originality on the question.

That is what Gandhiji told these young men who met one evening to listen to him. The neat little Basic Education Exhibition organised by Shrimati Ashadevi was a useful demonstration of the various aspects of basic education. Gandhiji had visited it and was struck with it. He wished he had stayed there longer to study how the various processes were correlated to various subjects of study. He especially commended to them a hand-carding-bow made of *munja* grass. A man or woman in the weakest health could work it, and it yielded the finest possible carding. That was the product of someone who had devoted his mind to it and brought to bear his originality on the subject. The moment they realised that all the training to be given is through a craft, they could bring all their originality and resourcefulness into full play and teach innumerable things through the craft and make new discoveries in the craft. Gandhiji was not impressed with a normal class conducted by one of the teachers.

Everything was being done in a lifeless, mechanical, haphazard way. The teaching of a vocation or a craft in the traditional way was not the thing, but making a craft a living medium of instruction was the foundation of basic education. The B. A.s and M. A.s among them, he said, must bring to bear their resourcefulness on the whole subject and make of education which is a dull drab affair today a lively and fascinating subject.

Rural Reconstruction

One evening Gandhiji was invited to give a brief talk to the rural reconstruction workers engaged by the Bihar Government. His message was the briefest possible. "It is a tragedy," he said, "that many of you should be coming from cities or should be accustomed to life in the cities. Not unless you switch your minds off the cities to the villages can you serve them. You must realise that it is not cities that make India, but the villages, and that you cannot reconstruct them unless you revive the village life with its defunct handicrafts. Industrialisation cannot bring life to the moribund villages. The peasant in his cottage home can be revived only when he gets back his craft and depends for his necessities on the village and not on the cities as he is compelled to do today. If you do not grasp this basic principle, all the time that you give to rural reconstruction work will be wasted. There is one thing more that I would ask you to bear in mind. Whoever wants to qualify himself for the service of the village must go about with his mind and his eyes pure and must look upon every woman as his mother or sister."

Next Congress Venue

Rajendrababu and other Bihar workers had discussion with Gandhiji on the venue of the next Congress which is to be in Bihar. Phulwari Shareef, which is only four miles from Patna and said to have various other advantages, had been proposed. But Gandhiji said:

"You won't count nearness to Patna an advantage? We want to go to the villages. Is Bihar going to drag us back?"

"Time is very short, the city affords various conveniences, there would be less expenditure."

G: "But that means that we change the policy we have been carrying out for the last three years? Why not Brindaban itself?"

Sonepur was discussed, but it is a glorified village. "I want you," said Gandhiji, "in the heart of a village. Don't emulate Haripura and Faizpur. You should excel both in simplicity and in freedom from splendour."

"Visitors are a problem, especially in Bihar where we would have lakhs of them."

G: "You should make arrangements for them as the Arya Samajists do. They ask everyone to come with their provisions, lanterns and so on. They only provide them accommodation (under the trees) and water. For this last no water-works are necessary. Whatever you do, do not accept defeat and run to Patna. No need for

electricity at all, and as we meet in winter no fans would be needed. Start work from 8 to 11, and then from 2 or 3 to 7. A little winter's sun would be more agreeable than otherwise. No, you must try your best to change your decision for Phulwari. Everyone must be asked to bring his or her own lantern. You can say beforehand you can give so much and no more."

"Even so we should have to spend a lot on construction? We must afford protection against cold?"

G: "Why not use your grass for warmth both above and below? There should be no need for cots excepting for the ill and the infirm."

"And we won't get money. Both Zamindars and Kisans are against us. Gate money will be much less."

"I do not agree," said Gandhiji. "Have it somewhere but not near a city. And you have had tube wells here very cheaply."

"We will have tube wells, but we have to cope with the need of nearly 60,000 gallons per hour. But electric light may be dispensed with."

"I hate it," said Gandhiji. "We must not think in terms of illumination. Make the place attractive in other ways during the day. Don't copy what is bad. No one will blame you if you have no fireworks and no illuminations. You want cleanliness and simple wants satisfied. Give the simplest food. But I agree that you must spend on water. Collect one pice per head from each of the 70,000 villages and satisfy your needs. Then it will be a Congress worth going to for seeing. Decide on the principle of a village. I don't mind where it may be, and you will gain strength by getting every village to contribute its mite. Volunteer corps must be enough and efficient. They must be experts in sanitation. No smell and no dirt must be allowed. Organisation of this must begin early."

"The volunteer corps will cost us a good deal—probably Rs. 50,000."

"I don't mind it, but the ultimate benefit accruing will be great. There should be no wastage in training. We may forget uniforms, etc., which go to waste, but the body of youth for our service is for all time an asset of no mean value. Therefore don't stint in water and volunteers."

"Even the simple huts put up here have cost a lot."

G: "I hear so. But there must have been some mismanagement somewhere if it has become so expensive."

"Our problem is of rain which generally comes then. Patna would have been convenient from that point of view. We could shift into pukka buildings in case of need."

G: "There is no escape from it now. Manage somehow. Don't give hot water, don't give fruit, don't give any delicacies. Give me contract for fruit. If anyone comes to me for it, I shall ask him to return to Bombay."

M. D.

(Concluded)

FACTS, NOT FICTION

I observe that after the deputation of the representatives of the Bombay Victuallers' Association waited on Gandhiji on the 3rd of June, a lot of false propaganda has gone on in the Press. Here are some of the false statements:

1. That Gandhiji showed the deputation "his bottle of nira". ("An old observer" in the *Times of India*, June 5)

2. "During the interview we had we saw Mr. Gandhi sipping a glass of what Mr. Gandhi calls nira syrup. We told him that what he drank was not nira syrup but sweet toddy, and that it contained five to six per cent alcohol." (A member of the deputation to a representative of the *Times of India*)

3. That nira could be obtained only three or four times from a single tree. (During the interview)

4. "That Mr. Gandhi then produced samples of *gur* which the deputation told him was manufactured not from nira but from sweet toddy which contained five to six per cent alcohol." (A member of the deputation to a representative of the *Times of India*)

5. Sweet toddy tended quickly to undergo alcoholic fermentation while nira could never ferment but only turned flat. (During the interview.)

Now I can categorically say that every one of these statements is false or inaccurate.

1. Gandhiji showed the deputation no bottle of nira. He was sipping no glass of nira, but was having his drink of hot water and *gur* (the *gur* being made from fresh date-palm-juice called nira).

2. The word "sweet toddy" is borrowed from Madras. The latest Madras Government communique issued on the 25th May says: "The palms from the sweet toddy of which jaggery or sugar could be obtained are the palmyrah, the cocoanut and the date. From the sweet toddy of any one of these the following could be prepared: jaggery, directly from sweet toddy, sugar directly from the sweet toddy, and sugar from jaggery by refining in a factory on a large scale."

The word "nira" is used only in Gujarat, and is the same as the word "sweet toddy" used in the Madras Government communique.

3. The nira or sweet toddy would begin to ferment immediately after daybreak, (if the fermentation has not commenced before) if the pots are not treated with lime or similar preservatives. And *gur* can be made only *before* it has begun to ferment, and not *after*. This is a matter of daily experience in Bengal and Madras and for the last two years in Segaoon. It has been demonstrated times without number that it is only unfermented nira (or sweet toddy, if you please) which can be converted into *gur*, the fermented juice when boiled produces only something which is miscalled molasses but is an elastic India-rubber-like substance which sticks more to one's fingers than can go into one's mouth.

We have in our possession a letter from a Parsi gentleman, Shri Sorabji Patel of Tadgaon (Dist. Thana), wherein he says he tried experiments of manufacturing *gur* from nira from 1915 to 1921, and pleads for general permission to drink nira which he describes as "a natural sweet juice drawn from palm trees having the same properties as sugarcane juice, or *sharbat*", and asks for the prohibition of toddy. These experiments in *gur*-making have been described in detail by Shri V. G. Gokhale in a Government blue-book published by the Department of Agriculture called *Palm Gul Manufacture in the Bombay Presidency* (Bulletin No. 93). He describes how the pots had to be lined with lime or smoked in order that the juice may not be fermented. In the early stages sometimes the tappers failed to take these precautions and succeeded in producing not *gur*, but molasses which had no market. Later "liming the pots was regularly followed as required by the conditions of the licence. As a result of all this a larger quantity of juice and good crystalline *gur*" was obtained.

Smoking the pots (as in Bengal) or liming them with lime or formalin is essential to produce nira and check fermentation, after which no *gur* is possible.

4. It is wrong to say that nira can be drawn only four or five times from a tree. Shri Sorabji Patel, as the Bulletin shows, drew nira for nearly eighty to ninety days in the season (December to April) and in 1917-18 drew 29.9 gallons of juice per tree from his 400 trees, and succeeded in making 34.5 lbs. of good crystalline *gur* per tree, which was equal to Rs. 3-11-9 per tree per year.

In Segaoon nira is drawn from a tree for half the days of the season and a tree yields 300 lbs. per season. The pots are invariably lined with lime, for Mr. Annett has proved that liming of pots is a better and cheaper method of preventing fermentation than formalin.

5. The most liberal construction that we can put on the deputation's statement is that the members did not know this process of drawing unfermented nira and that they were talking of sweet juice freshly drawn in pots unsmoked or unlimed.

Nira or sweet toddy, call it by whatever name you like, is bound to ferment immediately after daybreak, if the fermentation has not begun before it is treated with preservatives. Fermented it becomes toddy. A member of the deputation sent to Gandhiji seven bottles, three said to be of nira and four sweet toddy. All became frothy and began to overflow within a couple of hours and the content had to be thrown into the gutter. The pots, in this case, were inevitably not properly treated.

6. Shri Gajanan Naik, who has been in charge of the Jaggery Department of the A. I. V. I. A., has contributed an exhaustive article to the Press on this subject. He has stated on the authority

of Government experts that nira or sweet toddy (which alone can be converted into *gur*) is non-alcoholic, and has given the following analysis by Mr. Annett, Government Agricultural Chemist, in a Memoir of the Department of Agriculture in India (Chemical Series, Vol. V. No 3 September 1918):

Date Palm Nira

Contents

1. Sucrose	10.62	per cent
2. Reducing Sugar	.96	" "
3. Ash	.24	" "
4. Albuminoids	.30	" "
5. Co 2 Na 2 Co 3	.65	" "
6. Water	87.20	" "
7. Undetermined	.63	" "

Facts alone are effective propaganda, and not fiction which damages the cause.

Segaon, 17-6-39

M. D.

G. O. M. AND PROHIBITION

At this juncture it would not be out of place to recall the attitude on prohibition, or 'temperance' as it was then called, of that noblest of Parsis, the late G. O. M. of India, whose biography by Shri R. P. Masani* has just been published and a copy of which was presented by the author to Gandhiji the other day. Incidentally, it provides the completest answer, in Dadabhai's own words, to almost all the points raised by the anti-prohibitionist spokesmen of the Parsi community.

In a noble autobiographic chapter which Dadabhai contributed to *Progress* he has recorded how the awakening of the soul came to him at the age of about fifteen when at a certain shop he took a vow never to use low language. He then goes on to describe how he became a prohibitionist:

"As a boy, I was accustomed to have my little drink before dinner. One day there was no liquor in the house and I was sent to have my drink at a shop opposite. Never did I forget the shame and humiliation I felt at being there. It was enough. The drink shop never saw my face again."

From this time forth prohibition became a passion with him. In 1885 he proceeded to England with Mancherji Hormusji Cama and Kharshedji Rustomji Cama, to found a firm under the name of Cama & Co. These three were to form a triumvirate. No action was to be taken unless they were unanimous in their decision. "Among the varied commodities handled by Cama & Co., in the course of its business, were opium, wine and spirits. Dadabhai could not persuade himself to pocket the earnings of dealing in articles which led to the degradation and ruin of thousands of human beings. In a letter written to Kharshedji Nassarwanji Cama in the Gujarati language, which was then the medium of communication between them, he informed his more practical partners that he had decided not to accept his share in the profits accruing from such transactions."

Cama replied using the usual stereotyped anti-prohibitionist argument which one even hears today:

"Will you tell me," he asked, "from what sources Government get funds for the payment of salaries to professors of colleges and other officers? Did you not receive your salary as a professor from revenue derived from the traffic in opium and liquor? If you retire from business and revert to Government service, will you not once more live on the tainted

revenue obtained from the same business that stinks in your nostrils? If our firm ceases dealing in opium, will it put a stop to the traffic in that commodity? Will not others deal in what you taboo?"

"Nothing however," proceeds his biographer, "could induce Dadabhai to change his mind. The result of all such differences of opinion was that Dadabhai severed his connection with the house of Cama's."

The opium policy of the Government of India naturally aroused his ire and engaged his energies during the period of his political activities in England. In 1886, the Rev. Goodeve Mabbs, Secretary to the India and China League, called on him to seek his active co-operation in organizing a concerted attack on the nefarious traffic in opium that the Government of India was forcing upon China. Every poppy plant that was grown was licensed and the cultivator was subsidized by the Government who bought the crop at a fixed price, manufactured the drug expressly for the Chinese market, sold it by auction at Calcutta and pocketed the profits. When expostulated with "they pleaded their inability to do without the opium revenue and their apologists refused to admit that opium taken in moderation had any deleterious effect." This aroused the moral indignation of some of the Christian missionaries even, one of whom indignantly burst forth into a biting parody of Bishop Heber's hymn:

"Bishop Heber had sung:

'Waft, waft, ye winds, His story,
And you, ye waters, roll,
Till like a sea of glory
It spreads from pole to pole.'

But by their deeds the Britishers were as if saying:

"Waft, waft, ye winds, the opium
Prepared in England's name,
To bring its golden millions,
Whatever be the shame."

The crusaders won a partial victory on the floor of the House of Commons on April 10, 1891, when a resolution was passed, affirming that the system by which Indian opium revenue was raised was morally indefensible and expressing the opinion that the Government of India should cease to grant licences for the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medicinal purposes, and that they should at the same time take measures to arrest the transit through British territory of opium cultivated in Indian States.

Drink was another curse which Dadabhai hoped to see eradicated in his lifetime. In 1888 he helped his two lifelong colleagues in politics to found the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, "with a view to save India from the growth of the drinking habit amongst the people".

"It was Dadabhai's contention," records his biographer, "that Indians were not a drinking people and that the religion of large numbers of them has prohibited the use of intoxicating liquors." But the British Government, while giving India British civilization, "had introduced in that country, which was by religion and life abstinent, what Caine called 'the most Western of all institutions', the excise system, and with it the liquor shop..... They let out liquor shops by public auction to the highest bidder who undertook to sell the largest number of gallons of liquor from the distilleries."

The Association got a resolution carried in the House of Commons (April 1889), calling upon

* *Dadabhai Naoroji-The Grand Old Man of India* by R. P. Masani. George Allen & Unwin - London.

the Government to introduce drastic reforms in the Indian excise administration. In their annual statement exhibiting the moral and material progress of India, Government took credit for having restricted the use of illicit intoxicants. "But did it affect the sobriety of the people? In that romantic publication itself was to be seen from year to year evidence of considerable increase in the excise revenue, which was due not merely to improved excise administration but also to the increased consumption of 'licit liquor'."

Addressing one of the Temperance Lodges, on April 8, 1891, Dadabhai pointed out that the Drink Bill of the English nation amounted to about £ 130,000,000. His remarks in this connection will, *mutatis mutandis*, bear repetition today with regard to India:

"Now (said he) if so much money were simply thrown away into the sea, it will be but a small evil. But the evil is doubled and multiplied. So much material, the gift of nature and labour, fit for the food of man, is converted into so much not only un-nourishing but destructive material. While, therefore, on the one hand the people are deprived of good with all this money, they are on the other hand demoralized by the drink that takes the place of the destroyed food. This want of food, then, not only diminishes so much production and power of labour, but makes the labourer worse than useless, inflicting poverty, starvation and misery upon him and his family and causing crime. I do not know how the misery and suffering of the general deterioration of the whole race can be valued by amount of money. A few figures speak more eloquently than a volume of words. I take the total cost of drink to be about £ 130,000,000. This means that the same amount would have supplied the whole people of the United Kingdom all the year round with all the bread (£ 70,000,000), butter and cheese (£ 35,000,000) and milk (£ 30,000,000), or the same amount would have supplied all the people all the year round the whole house rent (£ 70,000,000) and all the woollen and linen goods (£ 66,000,000). Fancy all this good not only not obtained, but on the contrary evil to that amount inflicted upon the people and thereby the power of reproducing all the wealth more or less destroyed. But worst of all, there is general deterioration of the nation and the diminution of the average length of human life."

In his opinion the position taken up by the Association, namely the Veto, was the only right course to adopt. "Wherever a good majority of the people desired to get rid of the evil, they should have the power of stopping it. It was simply the right application of the democratic principles that the good of the people at large and not the indulgence or supposed pleasure of a few should decide the condition of the community." (*Italics ours*)

In pursuance of a resolution passed at the annual meeting of the Association, a considerable number of Indian residents in London, mostly students, met at Westminster Town Hall, to inaugurate an "Indian Brotherhood of Total Abstemious". Samuel Smith presided. "He believed with Dadabhai that one of the most hopeful and effective ways of grappling with the drink evil was to make the rising generation to detect it and regard it as its duty and life's purpose to destroy it."

The Indian Brotherhood was formally inaugurated and Dadabhai was elected President. "The founding of this Brotherhood," he observed,

"is a little seed sown for the emancipation of India, and as such he was proud to be connected with it. Another promising feature about it was that Hindus and Mussalmans were able to meet together and take concerted action upon the great question which affected all communities alike."

"Although the Brotherhood did not come up to the full expectations of its President," observes his biographer, "Dadabhai was content to see young students interested in temperance movement and carrying with them to India a sense of abhorrence of the drink habit. Ever optimistic, he looked forward to the day when all India would vote for prohibition."

Now that Dadabhai's dream bids fare to be fulfilled, is it not a tragedy that the present-day representatives of the great Parsi community should, instead of rejoicing over it and throwing themselves heartily into the privileged task of furthering it, see red in it and seek to interpose obstacles in its way by raising specious and frivolous objections? How one wishes that they caught a few sparks from the sacred fire that filled Dadabhai's evangelical soul.

Bombay, 8-6-39

Pyarelal

British Support to Prohibition

Gandhiji has received the following from the British Temperance League, Sheffield:

"At the recent Conference of the British Temperance League the following resolution received unanimous assent:

"That this conference sends greetings to the Nationalist Party of India and warm congratulations on its efforts for the prohibition of drink and drugs. It also urges upon all citizens in the home country and particularly upon Christians the duty of giving such sympathy and support to this programme of reform as shall create a worthy public opinion in this matter."

May I assure you of the pleasure with which we are observing your work in India and the very sincere wishes we have for its success."

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The annual subscription for Burma is Rs. 5, payable by money order or by V. P. P.

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HARIJAN
(MAHATMA GANDHI'S WEEKLY)

EDITOR :
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FERGUSSON COLLEGE ROAD
POONA 4

June 30, 1939

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a copy of to-morrow's issue of the ' Harijan ' and to invite your attention to a note by Mr. Gandhi entitled " Rajkot ~~Was~~ It a Betrayal ?", appearing on the first page, and an article by him entitled " South Africa Resolution," appearing on the fourth page.

Yours faithfully,

The Private Secretary
to H. E. The viceroy
Simla

C. P. Shukla

Manager

HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1939

[ONE ANNA

Notes

India's Ambassador of Peace to Ceylon

The A. I. C. C. has done well in choosing its best man to proceed to Ceylon as the nation's Ambassador of Peace. It is, at least it should be, impossible for India and Ceylon to quarrel. We are the nearest neighbours. We are inheritors of a common culture. There is daily contact between the two countries. From Rameshwar one almost steps on to Ceylon and finds that one is on no foreign land. But even as blood brothers sometimes differ, so do next-door neighbours. And like brothers, they usually adjust their differences and are often more closely knit together after the clearance. So may it be between Ceylon and India through the efforts of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

No better man could have been chosen for the task. The Indian side is clear. Several thousand men who have been in Government service for years, whether as day workers or other it does not matter, are being dismissed for no fault save that they are Indians. Private firms have been, it is said, told to copy the Government. Now this procedure seems to be extraordinary, arbitrary and unjust. But we do not clearly know the other side. It will be for the Pandit to study the Ceylon Government case and make due allowance for everything that might be justly pleaded on their behalf. Let us hope that both the Ceylon Government and the Indians in Ceylon will make the way smooth for an honourable settlement.

I must confess that these acute differences come upon me as a revelation. I have a vivid recollection of my visit to Ceylon. There seemed to be most cordial relations between the Indians and the Ceylonese. The monks and the laymen of Ceylon vied with the Indians in lavishing their affection on me. I do not remember anybody having complained to me about acute differences between the two. Why has the partial responsible government that Ceylon enjoys made all the difference that we witness today? It will be for the Pandit to unravel the mystery.

"Rajkot — Was It a Betrayal?"

"I have always felt that whatever Gandhiji has done at any time from his spiritual standpoint, has been proved to be correct from the practical point.

He is not great for his enunciation of spiritual theories which are to be found in the scriptures of all countries. His contribution to the world is his showing the way to put into practice, in the ordinary day-to-day life, those great spiritual theories. For me, if any of Gandhiji's actions done from a spiritual point of view failed to prove that it was *the* correct thing to be done from a practical standpoint, then he would be considered to have failed to that extent. Let me apply that test to what he did in Rajkot.

When he discovered that his fast became vitiated by his having requested H. E. the Viceroy to intervene, he renounced the Gwyer Award. The practical effect was to free him from Rajkot. But did his renunciation free the Viceroy from the obligation of seeing that the Rajkot notification was acted upon according to the Chief Justice's interpretation? In my opinion Gandhiji's renunciation casts a double duty on the Viceroy. And if the Viceroy does not perform his duty, the people of Rajkot are free to act as they choose, and the Congress will have a powerful case against the Viceroy if the notification proved abortive."

This is an abridgment of an article sent by a noted Congressman for publication in *Harijan*. He has built up an elaborate case in defence of my action regarding Rajkot, in reply to the criticism that I had betrayed the cause of the Rajkot people. The heading of this note is the correspondent's. I need not weary the reader with the whole of his argument. After all, time alone is the true test. It will finally show whether my action was right or wrong. But the abridgment is given for the novelty of the thought about the Viceroy's duty. I had no thought of the consequence of the renunciation. As soon as I saw that my fast had become tainted for my seeking Viceregal intervention, I renounced the Award. But now that my correspondent mentions it, I must admit the force of his reasoning. My renunciation should act as a double spur to the Viceregal duty of seeing that the Rajkot Notification No. 50 is carried out according to the interpretation put upon it by the Chief Justice. So far as I am concerned my renunciation debars me, in this instance, from invoking Viceregal intervention. I also endorse the correspondent's statement that if any action of mine claimed to be spiritual is proved to be unpractical it must be pronounced to be a failure. I do believe the most spiritual act is the most practical in the true sense of the term.

Bombay, 26-6-39

M. K. G.

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were passed by the A. I. C. C. at its session held this week at Bombay:

1. The All India Congress Committee views with grave concern the measures proposed by the Ceylon Government with reference to their Indian employees and hopes that it may be possible to find a way to avoid the most undesirable and grave conflict that, as a result of these measures, is threatened between such near and ancient neighbours as India and Ceylon.

The Committee cannot contemplate without much concern a quarrel between the two countries which are separated only by a strip of water but which have a common culture and which have been intimately connected from times immemorial. The Committee desires to explore every means of avoiding conflict and, therefore, appoints Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to go to Ceylon and confer with the authorities and representative associations and individuals on behalf of the Working Committee and do all that may be possible to effect a just and honourable settlement.

2. The A. I. C. C. regrets the attitude of the Union Government towards Indian settlers. It betrays utter disregard of the obligations undertaken by the predecessors of the present Government. The policy just initiated by them is in direct breach of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914, the Capetown Agreement of 1927, the Feetham Commission of 1932 and the subsequent undertakings on behalf of the Union Government. The A. I. C. C. notes with pride and satisfaction the firm stand taken up by the Indians of South Africa. They will have the sympathy of the whole Indian nation behind them in their fight for self-respect and honourable existence. The A. I. C. C. trusts that there will be no dissensions among them and that they will present a united front. The A. I. C. C. appeals to the Union Government to retrace their steps and carry out the promises of their predecessors to adopt a policy of progressive amelioration in the status of the Indian nationals in South Africa, 80 per cent of whom are born and bred in that sub-continent and to whom South Africa is their only home.

3. This meeting of the A. I. C. C. resolves that no Congressman may offer or organize any form of Satyagraha in the Administrative Provinces of India without the previous sanction of the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

4. The Working Committee has repeatedly laid stress on the desirability of co-operation between the Congress ministry, the Congress party and the Provincial Congress Committee. Without such co-operation misunderstandings are likely to arise with the result that the influence of the Congress will suffer. In administrative matters the Provincial Congress Committee should not interfere with the discretion of the Congress ministry, but it is always open to the executive of the Provincial

Congress Committee to draw the attention of the Government privately to any particular abuse or difficulty. In matters of policy if there is a difference between the ministry and the Provincial Congress Committee, reference should be made to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee. Public discussion in such matters should be avoided.

5. This Committee views with grave concern the prolonged strike at Digboi and expresses its sympathy with the strikers in their distress. The Committee regrets that the Assam Oil Company has not seen its way to accept the modest suggestion of referring the question of the method and time of re-employment of the strikers to a Conciliation Board to be appointed by the Government of Assam.

In the opinion of this Committee no corporation, however big and influential it may be, can be above public criticism or Government supervision and legitimate control. Moreover as was declared at the Karachi session the Congress policy is that there should be State ownership or control of key industries. The oil industry is undoubtedly a vital key industry. This Committee therefore hopes that better counsels will prevail with the Company and that its directors will accept the modest suggestion made on behalf of the Committee by the President of the Congress. If, however, the directors do not see their way to do so, the Committee advises the Assam Government forthwith to undertake legislation for making the acceptance of the decisions of Conciliation Boards obligatory and further give notice to the Company that the Committee may reluctantly be obliged to take such steps as may be necessary to stop renewal of the lease to the Company on its termination. At the same time that this Committee urges the Company to fall in with the just suggestion made by the Committee, it hopes that the Labour Union will be ready to listen to the Committee's advice and if they were to retain Congress and public sympathy they will be ready and willing to abide by the advice that may be tendered to them by the Committee.

6. The All India Congress Committee is strongly of opinion that immediate steps should be taken for the formation of a separate Andhra Province.

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AT GRIPS WITH THE OCTOPUS

There is no part of India where the stranglehold of the opium evil is deadlier than in Assam. In fact the opium problem occupies the same place in Assam as the liquor problem does in some other parts of India. The total consumption of opium during the pre-war year of 1910-11 for Assam stood at 1,568 maunds as against 12,527 maunds for all India. In respect of consumption per head and the number of addicts, Assam thus constitutes the blackest spot in the whole of India.

The startling diminution in opium consumption as a result of the self-purification wave during the Civil Disobedience days constitutes one of the most brilliant episodes in the history of that movement. Unfortunately under the conditions then prevailing a permanent suppression of the evil was not possible. A determined and systematic attack has now been organized against it by the Congress Ministry of Assam.

Total prohibition of opium was introduced in two sub-divisions, viz. Sibsagar and Dibrugarh, to begin with from 15th April 1939, and it was decided to accelerate the reduction of rations in other places, whatever the age of the addict, by deducting one-eighth each quarter, so that all issue by Government of raw opium will have completely come to a finish within two years. The most encouraging feature is that large numbers of addicts, both registered and unregistered, have come for treatment. It is here that, thanks to Col. R. N. Chopra, the greatest victory has been scored. Opium is one of the worst habit-forming drugs. Once a person becomes an addict to it, he cannot give it up without experiencing what are known as "the withdrawal symptoms". They may take the form of severe pains in the body, breathlessness, faintness, diarrhoea, cramps, and may even result in death. To devise a treatment for these symptoms has been one of the problems of medical science. Col. Chopra, the Director of the Tropical School of Medicine, Calcutta, who recently received American honours for his services to the Science of Pharmacology, has added another feather to his cap by the brilliant results he has been able to show in the treatment of opium addicts.

The measure of success that has been achieved as will be seen from the following letter from Shri Gopinath Bardoloi, Prime Minister for Assam, in reply to an enquiry from Gandhiji as regards the anti-opium drive of the Assam Ministry:

"I received, just now a letter intimating your kind enquiries regarding prohibition of the opium evil in Assam and directing Col. R. N. Chopra for giving us advice in this matter. The fact of the matter is that the entire medical operation of this scheme is actually under the direction of Col. Chopra although actual work is being done by our Director of Public Health. As a matter of fact, before the scheme was inaugurated, Col. Chopra sent an Assistant of his, Dr. G. S. Chopra, to experiment on the possibilities of the treatment suggested by Col. Chopra. It was only

after the experiment was found very successful that we finally adopted the method of treatment proposed by him. It must be said to the credit of Col. Chopra that the treatment has proved a complete success. We have till now treated about 8,000 addicts and there has not been a single case of death till now. I thought when I met you in Calcutta that Col. Chopra had already told you that he was acting as a virtual director of the whole scheme. It seems that Col. Chopra probably did not tell you what he had done for us.

About the success of the scheme it is extremely gratifying for us to intimate to you that it has been a complete success in every way. The whole of the scheme contemplated activities in three different ways. Firstly, an organization of local committees and volunteers in different centres whose main object was (1) to carry on the propaganda, (2) to bring such addicts as would not willingly come for treatment to the treatment centres, and (3) to keep an eye on the addicts falling a prey again to the habit through the activities of smugglers who are so plentiful and whose activities could hardly be controlled by the Excise Department unaided by local vigilance. In order that these committees might function well we appointed one of our very good Congress workers, Shri Omeo Kumar Das, M. L. A., not only to organize these committees and volunteer organizations but also to supervise their work. The second part of the scheme was of course the organization of medical centres in the areas, and we are having about 50 centres in which the addicts are being treated. The treatment consists mainly in the nature of recouping in the system the deficiencies that are created by the use of opium. The medicines given are mainly Lecithin and Glucose. The third part of the scheme is vigilance, and it is here that we have to exercise our best judgment. Although it is only a month and twelve days since we inaugurated this scheme, you will be pleased to hear that official reports indicate that at least 70 per cent of the addicts have already given up opium. By your blessings and all well-wishers of the movement we feel that in three months' time the opium habit will be completely abandoned in the area where we have taken up the work. The result has heartened all workers, and we expect that the energy which has been so amply demonstrated in the work that has been done hitherto will be exhibited in an equal degree till the end. There is, however, one grave difficulty before us, and that is relapse that might come on some of the addicts if vigilance does not continue. For that purpose we are increasing our excise staff; and if the vigilance that has been exhibited by the local volunteers and workers remain, I hope addiction to the opium habit will be completely a thing of the past.

Undoubtedly the Province is fulfilling itself in this great work."

Bombay, 4-6-39

Pyarelal

Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence

By Gandhiji

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H A R I J A N

July 1

1939

SOUTH AFRICA RESOLUTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is a matter of congratulation that the South Africa Resolution of the A. I. C. C. escaped complete disfigurement which the learned Doctor Lohia's amendment would have caused. I tender him my thanks for having listened to Pandit Jawaharlal's advice to respect the opinion of an expert like me who had passed the best part of his life in South Africa and who had not lost touch with that great country after retiring from it. This incident is an illustration showing that mere learning, mere humanitarianism divorced from actual experience may spell disaster to the cause sought to be espoused. Dr. Lohia's amendment had as much place in the resolution as mine would have in a resolution framed by him as an authority on socialism to meet a socialist difficulty. If I made any such attempt, he would very properly say, "Don't pass the resolution if you don't like it, but don't disfigure it. It would defeat the purpose for which it is framed." What I have said about the South Africa resolution applies more or less to the Working Committee's resolutions. That Committee is the expert body on matters relating to the Congress. It is dangerous to tamper with its resolutions unless reason convinces the Cabinet of the soundness of alterations suggested by members of the A. I. C. C. Acceptance of this practical advice, which I tendered more than once when I was a member of the Working Committee, would facilitate the despatch of national business.

Having said this let me say for the information of Dr. Lohia and his fellow humanitarians that I yield to no one in my regard for the Zulus, the Bantus and the other races of South Africa. I used to enjoy intimate relations with many of them. I had the privilege of often advising them. It used to be my constant advice to our countrymen in South Africa never to exploit or deceive these simple folk. But it was not possible to amalgamate the two causes. The rights and privileges (if any could be so called) of the indigenous inhabitants are different from those of the Indians. So are their disabilities and their ~~causes~~. But if I discovered that our rights conflicted with their vital interests, I would advise the foregoing of those rights. They are the inhabitants of South Africa as we are of India. The Europeans are undoubtedly usurpers, exploiters or conquerors or all these rolled into one. And so the Africans have a whole code of laws specially governing them. The Indian segregation policy of the Union Government has nothing in common with the policy governing the African races. It is unnecessary for me to go into details. Suffice it to say that ours is

a tiny problem compared to the vast problem that faces the African races and that affects their progress. Hence it is not possible to speak of the two in the same breath. The A. I. C. C. resolution concerns itself with the civil resistance struggle of our countrymen on a specific issue applicable solely to them. It is now easy to see that Dr. Lohia's amendment, if it had remained, would have been fatal to the resolution which would have become perfectly meaningless. The appeal to the Union Government would have lost all its point.

But good often comes out of evil. The amendment, wisely withdrawn, shows to the Africans and to the world in general that India has great regard and sympathy for all the exploited races of the earth and that she would not have a single benefit at the expense of the vital interest of any of them. Indeed the war against imperialism cannot wholly succeed unless all exploitation ceases. The only way it can cease is for every exploited race or nation to secure freedom without injuring any other.

My examination of the South Africa resolution would be incomplete if I did not warn the Indians in South Africa against building much on the resolution itself. It is a potent resolution only if the Indians take the contemplated action. The motherland will not be able to protect their self-respect, if they are not prepared to protect it themselves. They must therefore be ready to suffer for it. The struggle may be prolonged, suffering great. But they will have the moral backing of the whole nation. In this Hindus, Muslims, and all political parties including Europeans are united. The Government of India may feel powerless. I fancy they are not so powerless as they imagine. I am reminded of 'the thought for the day' in the *Times of India* of the 24th instant. It begins, 'We have more power than will.' I know their sympathy is with the Indians. If they have the strength of will, they have the power. Our countrymen in South Africa know the conditions of Satyagraha. The foremost condition is unity among themselves.

To the Union Government I would say, "You have never proved your case. Your best men have admitted that there is no difficulty in your absorbing the two hundred thousand Indians in your continent. They are but a drop in the ocean. Remember that 80 per cent of them are born in South Africa. They have adopted your manners, customs and costume. They are intelligent. They have the same feelings and emotions that you have. They deserve better treatment than to be regarded untouchables fit only to be relegated to ghettos. This is not playing the game. And you should not wonder if, at last, Indians say, 'We shall rather die in your gaols than live in your segregation camps.' I am sure you do not want to go to all that length. Let it not be said of you that you had no respect for your promises."

Bombay, 26-6-39

THE NATIONAL FLAG

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The question of the use of the National Flag still continues to agitate the public mind. It was designed when non-cooperation was at its height. It was accepted without reserve, without opposition by all communities. The Muslims and others vied with the Hindus in hoisting, carrying and honouring it. I recall having listened to the Ali Brothers enthusing over its praises from many a platform. It was conceived as a symbol of the peaceful revolt against imperialistic exploitation of a nation pledged to non-violence through a mighty constructive and united effort through the spinning wheel and khadi signifying out and out Swadeshi and identity with the poorest in the land. It also symbolized unbreakable communal unity, the colours being specially and deliberately designed and chosen. That flag can admit of no competition as national flag. At national gatherings it should command unquestioned and universal respect. But it has to be admitted that it does not command that respect today. Instead of being a symbol of simplicity, purity, unity, and through these a determined revolt against exploitation, moral, material and political, it nowadays often becomes a signal for communal quarrels. Even among Congressmen attempt is sometimes made to prefer the red flag to the tricolour. Some Congressmen do not even hesitate to run it down.

In these circumstances I personally would like to remove it from public gatherings and not unfurl it till the public feel the want and impatiently demand to see it restored to its original and unique place. But the vast majority of Congressmen who have suffered under this well-tried banner and drawn inspiration and strength from it will not go the length I would like them to. I therefore suggest that where there is any opposition in a mixed gathering, the flag should not be hoisted. This can happen in schools, colleges, local boards, municipal councils and the like. The flag should not be insisted on when there is opposition even from one member. Let it not be called the tyranny of one person. When one person among many offers opposition and if he is allowed to have his way, it is proof of magnanimity or farsightedness on the part of the overwhelming majority. I have no doubt that this is the most effective non-violent way of dealing with the question. My advice applies even to those places where the flag is already flying. It was triumphantly flown in many places when the nation was offering non-cooperation on a scale perhaps hitherto unknown in history. Times are changed. Opposition wherever it is offered is fomenting communal dissensions. Surely it is wisdom on the part of those who treasure the flag and unity to submit to the opposition of a minority be it ever so small.

What I have said about the flag applies *mutatis mutandis* to the singing of the *Bandemataram*. No matter what its source was and how and

when it was composed, it had become a most powerful battle cry among Hindus and Mussalmans of Bengal during the partition days. It was an anti-imperialist cry. As a lad, when I knew nothing of *Anandmath* or even Bankim, its immortal author, *Bandemataram* had gripped me, and when I first heard it sung it had enthralled me. I associated the purest national spirit with it. It never occurred to me that it was a Hindu song or meant only for Hindus. Unfortunately now we have fallen on evil days. All that was pure gold before has become base metal today. In such times it is wisdom not to market pure gold and let it be sold as base metal. I would not risk a single quarrel over singing *Bandemataram* at a mixed gathering. It will never suffer from disuse. It is enthroned in the hearts of millions. It stirs to its depth the patriotism of millions in and outside Bengal. Its chosen stanzas are Bengal's gift among many others to the whole nation. The flag and the song will live as long as the nation lives.

Bombay, 27-6-39

CITIZEN TRAINING IN THE
WARDHA SCHEME

A Review of the Social Studies Syllabus

(By Dr. G. S. Krishnayya, M.A., Ph. D.,
Teachers College, Kolhapur)

Undoubtedly one of the most outstanding features of this era is the growing realization of the fundamental importance of common men and common things. To this fact we must adjust our education. We have got to see what can be done for that very large class of boys and girls who must take up the burden of life prematurely and who must look forward to earning their livelihood by the work of their hands. Until recently education had not tried seriously to reckon with the common man who must do common things. It has presupposed leisure, spare cash and freedom from the pressing cares of life. With its priestly robe of literature and logarithms tightly drawn about itself, education has passed on the other side, to avoid contamination, leaving the home, the community and the village half dead and untouched. It is high time, therefore, that we set to work without any timid reservation to bring our education into the closest possible relation to the actual life and future duties of the great majority of those who fill our country's schools.

The Basic National Education Scheme in general, and the social studies syllabus in particular, might well be said to be the outcome of this very determination. There are many who are unable to see the wisdom of certain features of the Scheme. There are others who entertain grave doubts regarding the practicability of the plan. But the finality of the laws of the Medes and the Persians has never been claimed for this scheme. In fact, it is expected that experimentation on a small scale, in selected areas and in different parts of the land, will reveal the modi-

fications which may be necessary to ensure the success hoped for it. But so far as the course in social studies is concerned it would be difficult for the most chronic of critics not to accord almost unqualified approval. So sound are the principles underlying it, and so desperately urgent is the changed angle of attack, that it might be recommended for general adoption with or without the other parts.

A brief description of the syllabus, especially for the benefit of the large number of people who have not seen it, will indicate the remarkably sensible nature of the programme. The course has for its conscious and constant purpose the training of good citizens. That is the admitted object of the teaching of the social studies. It contemplates seven years' work in a composite known as social studies, with a little marked off for each grade.

Breaking entirely new ground, the Committee proposes for the First Grade (for children 7 years old) the story of the Primitive Man, Life in Ancient Times, Life in Distant Lands (all in an easy interesting form), and Training for Civic Life. Under this last the children will learn about cleanliness and sanitation, social responsibilities, tidiness and orderliness in craft work, fair play in games, and the discharge of responsibilities in the school and at home. Folk dances and imitative games are also included.

In Grade II you find new fascinating matter under some of the old headings, but Training for Civic Life is given a more practical turn. In addition to the observation of life in the village, the child gets practice in keeping the neighbourhood and the village roads clean and entertaining the village by school programmes.

For Grade III is provided Life in Ancient Times to be given through stories dealing with Buddhist India, Ancient Persia, Ancient Greece — Life of Man in Distant Lands (life of a boy in New York, China, Russia and on an Indian tea plantation), elementary study of the district including a guided tour and the making of maps and plans, a study of the Globe (shape, land and water spheres and principal sea-routes). A study of the village community (administration and amenities) leading to the organization of the School Panchayat and Social Service Groups. Civic Training is entirely practical and involves protection and cleanliness of streets and wells, and organization of games and entertainments for the children and the adult population of the village, and volunteer work in fairs, festivals, etc.

In Grade IV the same framework is used, but amongst the new matters introduced are the story of Christ and the early Christians, an industrial survey of the district and a study of the town as organised community (followed by a guided trip to the nearest town), and the study of current events through the daily reading of newspapers in reading circles and discussion groups.

In Grade V the historical part deals exclusively with the Story of Muslim Civilization in India

and the world. The geographical study turns largely round India—divisions, climate, industries, population, communications, etc., but the pupils are also introduced to the different regions of the world and the story of the discovery of the world. A history of the spinning technique is given here, in continuation of the account of the various methods of ginning and carding used at different times and places taught in the previous class. Training for Civic Life takes the form of editing a daily news sheet, study of the local boards, the public utility services and the administration of the district.

Grade VI deals with the History of India with special reference to the modern period, a concrete treatment of the influence of Western civilization on Indian culture, a History of the Indian National movement and of the Textile Industry in India. The class gets also an outline geography of the main regions of the world with a fuller treatment of Eurasia. Civic Training involves a detailed survey of the religious, social, economic and cultural life of the village to be made by the pupils under the guidance of the teacher. The senior social group is expected to engage in a large number of civic and social activities—spread of literacy, hygienic inspection of wells and dwellings, preventive measures against infectious diseases, care of natural beauty spots, etc.

The final Grade takes up in a simple outline form the study of the modern world, science in modern life and the story of industrialism and imperialism in the world of today. Exploitation, the World War, the socialist experiment in Russia are suggested under this head. Stress is laid on Democracy—in ancient India, America, France, Europe, and the development of the present Indian constitution. These topics are obviously calculated to orientate the pupils in the modern world. Current Events include the international situation, League of Nations, and the outstanding Problems of Modern Life. Under this last the school-leaving pupil learns about the social, political, economic, cultural and language conditions of his country and the efforts being made to meet them. Taking his cue from the village fair, he acquires an elementary knowledge of the economic geography of the world, especially of those countries with which India has economic relations. The many useful activities begun in the previous grade are continued here.

Before pointing out the achievements of the syllabus, a few matters needing further thought and experiment might be briefly indicated here. It is possible to feel that the syllabus might be a bit too ambitious and that the quantity and the quality of the subject matter might be in places beyond the capacity of the pupils. Experience will have to decide. There is special need for systematizing in a curriculum which depends to an extent on activity and investigation. Periodical revision should be provided for, as in the General Science Course. The logical should not be sacrificed altogether on the altar

of the psychological. No effort has been made to weave the social studies round any particular craft, and wisely. The syllabus is capable of adoption anywhere, and had an effort been made to make it "evolve simultaneously with the progress of a craft", it would not have possessed the unhampered excellences pointed out later. Many will feel that matters relating to ginning, spinning and weaving are simply tacked on and also that one occupation (however important it may be) had been singled out for exclusive attention. Perhaps the inclusion of agriculture and improved methods of farming might be worth while. Finally, there is no doubt that the success of this splendid course will depend on the treatment. Books with the right spirit and content are necessary. Between the studies on the one hand and the scholar on the other, stands the teacher as the living mediator. He will have to be carefully selected and trained, for only one who is intensely patriotic and at the same time a citizen of the world will do. He will have to aim, in the words of Bertrand Russel, "Not at a dead awareness of static facts but at activities directed towards the world which our efforts are to create."

Emancipating oneself from the bondage of tradition and steering on an uncharted sea are by no means easy. The short account given above will reveal even to the casual reader much that is commendable in the course under review. The up-to-date student of the Social Sciences will be struck by its several progressive features. A few of them may be picked out for special mention.

To start with, the three social studies run parallel to each other, with more or less direct dependence upon each other, and with a good deal of one subject taught as an aspect of the other two. The idea is to make of education not a process of instruction in a variety of subjects, but a process of living, of growth, during which the various relations of life are united—historical, geographical, civic. The co-ordination is expected to be so close (in the hands of a skilful teacher) that the pupils will be hardly conscious that they are studying three "subjects". They are studying certain phenomena of life in their different aspects. The multiplication of subjects has proved to be so definite a hindrance that experts prescribe a decided move in the direction of synthesis and integration.

One of the most frequent and damaging charges against those who teach in the schools, and their pupils as well, is a lack of practical understanding of the realities of everyday life. This is probably not so much because of defect of qualities in the mind of the school man as it is because of the traditional pattern which emphasizes attention to words and other symbols to what Prof. Whitehead speaks of as "formalized information", while neglecting experience with the things which they represent. Very often neither these teachers nor these pupils are aware of the wealth of significant material and problems

which are lying just outside the classroom door. The work contemplated here will correct this traditional and deplorable indifference. The school will escape from the school house and make itself at home in the whole community, learning from the whole community and teaching its learning to the whole community. A school which interpenetrates the community in this vital manner does not believe that all of education is bound up between the two covers of the text-book and can hardly become 'academic', intellectualized and unrelated to life. Education is not something done by the teacher to the student, but an experience in which both participate.

In its enthusiasm to relate education to the child's environment, the Committee has not sacrificed breadth of horizon. In fact, from the very start, the child's eyes are directed not only to his home and his school and the village roads, but to what is distant in time and space and the child's usual modes of thought and behaviour. Education like charity must begin with the home but it should not end there. As someone has put it, "When love circles the globe it takes the country on the journey; when cosmopolitanism returns home, it but loves the country the more." There is no danger of a pupil's outlook becoming narrow and parochial when he can count amongst his friends Ashoka, Darius, Socrates, Alexander, Kalidas, Prithviraj, Hiuen Tsang, Kabir, Akbar, Chand Bibi, Guru Nanak and their like. What is local and contemporary takes its rightful place along with what is remote, thus enabling the little learners to get perspective and an understanding of how the present came from the past.

Indian education has not struggled to create a common devotion to a common motherland, much less to make of heterogenous castes, creeds and colours one people undivided and indivisible. It has not attempted to minimise the differences and emphasize the similarities. Small wonder that there is no patriotism big enough to consume petty prejudices. Obviously, the schools of the land have not been made to solve one of India's most desperate problems—the making of Indians. The whole trend of the syllabus under consideration is to solve this big problem. It aims at giving the pupils an appreciative understanding of the nature and contribution of the different peoples who now make up this great land. It fills them with admiration for the heroes of all religions and of every province. It enables the pupils to derive their inspiration for the future from a known and real past. They are made aware of the defects and dangers in India's present condition. The course fosters a legitimate pride of country and teaches them dignity and self-respect. The items of instruction can be so fastened to the minds of the children as to give them the steady mood of the good citizen. The studies promise to save citizenship from the reactions of a passing emotionalism and instead support it by some rational considera-

tions. The framers have shown themselves to be advocates of the quieter heroisms of peace, the moral equivalent of war, by suggesting various types of public usefulness. All these lessons—the tragic lessons of war and the sober lessons in times of peace—are capable of being so presented as to stir the national consciousness and to give to each new generation its fresh baptism of patriotism.

This leads to the last point. The stress on service at every stage and to the best of one's ability, gives the course no little distinction. Virtues do not grow in a vacuum. The pupils are to be made to feel that they are a privileged class, that they owe a debt to the folk at home, that they have been lighted to lighten.

POTENTIALITIES OF PALM GUD

(By Gajanan Naik)

According to the information supplied by the Deputy Commissioners of the districts in C. P. and Berar, there are 10,20,103 date palms and 39,742 palmyra palms in the province. The following figures indicate that 4,27,222 maunds (md. of 40 seers, of 80 totals each) of *gud* can be made from these palms annually. The industry will enable the villagers to earn 26,70,137 rupees every year. In making date palm *gud* 40,804 workers will earn Rs. 15,30,150 in about 5 months, and in making palmyra *gud* 7,948 workers will earn Rs. 1,98,700 in 3½ months. Besides these, a number of village potters, smiths and fuel collectors will be benefited.

(A) Date Palm Gud

- (1) Date palms available 10,20,103
- (2) *Gud* that can be obtained annually, @ 15 seers per tree 3,82,513 maunds
- (3) Price of *gud* @ Rs. 6-4-0 per md. 23,90,706 Rs.

Employment & Distribution of Wealth

(Note: Season for manufacture of date palm *gud* is 5 months, from November to March.)

A tapper taps twenty five date palms daily, but would require 50 trees as the trees have to be rested alternately.

Kind of labour, etc.	Number	Earnings
		Rs.
(1) Tappers	20,402 @Rs. 50 per head, for 5 months.	10,20,100
(2) Helpers	20,402, @ Rs. 25 per head for 5 months.	5,10,050
(3) Fuel, @ 8 as. per tree per season		5,10,051
(4) Tree Rent		2,55,025
(5) Pots (earthen)		30,603
(6) Other accessories		64,879
		23,90,708

(B) Palmyra Gud

- (1) Palmyras available 39,742
- (2) *Gud* that can be obtained annually @ Rs. 9-8-0 maunds per tree per season 44,709 maunds
- (3) Price of *gud* @ Rs. 6-4-0 per maund 2,79,431 rupees

Employment and distribution of Wealth

(Note: The season for palmyra *gud* manufacture is 3½ months, from March to the middle of June. A tapper taps 10 trees daily.)

Kind of labour	Number	Earnings Rs.
(1) Tappers	3,974 @ Rs. 35 per head for 3½ months	1,39,090
(2) Helpers	3,974 @ Rs. 15 per head for 3 months	59,610
(3) Tree Rent @ 8 as. each		19,871
(4) Fuel; @ 8 as. per tree per season		19,871
(5) Other expense for pots, pans, etc.		40,989
		2,79,431

Distribution of Palms in C. P. & Berar

District	No. of palmyras	No. of date palms
Akola	600	60,000
Amraoti	673	19,500
Bhandara	78	8,500
Bilaspur	201	1,488
Betul	90	1,500
Buldhana	127	6,225
Chanda	36,500	15,700
Drug		1,000
Hoshangabad		1,000
Jubbulpore	100	3,000
Mandla		1,500
Nagpur	1,223	2,38,678
Nimar		1,000
Raipur	100	4,400
Saugor	50	15,400
Wardha		6,26,612
Yeotmal		14,600
	39,742	10,20,103

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[ONE ANNA

PARSIS AND LIQUOR TRAFFIC

(By M. K. Gandhi)

How I wish Parsis will shed their anger and look at the liquor policy of the Congress square in the face. If they have made it a principle to resist by all means at their disposal the Government's undoubted right to refuse to auction or sell liquor licences, there is no argument left to be advanced. It is the assertion of a principle against principle. But I hope they have taken up no such uncompromising attitude. The deputation of licensees and tappers took up no such attitude.

But apart from the question of principle there are objections raised against the working out of the policy. They are chiefly about

- (a) the right to use wines for religious purposes,
- (b) the right to have liquor on medical, i. e. health, grounds,
- (c) racial discrimination,
- (d) compensation to those who will be thrown out of employment, i.e. tappers, contractors and liquor-dealers, etc.,
- (e) the effect of the property tax on charities.

All these are pertinent questions demanding clear answers. Ministers are bound to remove every valid objection that can be advanced against the working out of the policy.

The right to use wines on religious or health grounds has always been recognized by Dr. Gilder.

I understand that in law there will be no racial discrimination. It may appear to be in the administration of the law. No one will be entitled to have the permit for the asking, not even the European, if only so that the law might not be evaded. Every case will be examined on merits. Even Europeans will be expected to respect the liquor policy of the country and, wherever they can, to refrain from asking for permits. The Archbishop of Bombay, in spite of his unconvincing opposition to the closing of liquor shops, has gracefully announced that he and many under him are not going to ask for permits for their personal use. Many Protestant divines, I understand, have already announced similar self-denial. I should not be surprised if many European laymen copy the estimable example of the European divines. Nevertheless there is no doubt that in the administration of the law there will

be more indulgence to Europeans than to those like Parsis for whom India has been their home for centuries. But I have not the shadow of a doubt that every genuine case will be considered with sympathy. May not the Parsis be expected to fall in with the general sentiment, especially when it conduces to the conservation of the social and economic welfare of the labouring classes? Enlightened Parsis must surely recognize the necessity of checking the drink evil while there is still time.

The points (d) and (e) cannot be dealt with at all satisfactorily without the hearty co-operation of the parties concerned. Thus, so far as the charities are concerned, it is surely up to the trustees of these charities to support their case with facts and figures. Some hardship no doubt there will be. Every tax is a hardship. But I should be surprised if any single charity is seriously affected. After all, the tax calculated to bring in from the city of Bombay about Rs. one crore is so widely distributed that no individual or corporation will be hit beyond endurance. But it is for those who contend otherwise to prove their case.

Liquor-dealers have to present their case with full detail so as to enable the Government to deal with it. I understand that most owners of stocks of wine have not even furnished the information asked for by the Government. How is the Government to deal with them, if they will sullenly refuse to help the Government to help them? I know that the Government are taxing themselves to meet every case of proved and avoidable hardship. I use the word 'avoidable' purposely. The 'Taj' will certainly be affected, but that is as much as saying that the liquor-shop-keepers will be affected. The 'Taj' is a mighty liquor-dealer. The house of Tata is resourceful enough to devise other and better ways of supporting the many charities for which it is so justly famed. I dare say that the charities themselves will bear richer fruit for their being purged of the questionable income from the drink traffic. Let it not be said of the Parsis, known the world over as the greatest philanthropists as a class, that they lagged behind, nay actually obstructed a reform which was urgently needed for the sake of saving the helpless labouring population from social and economic ruin.

Bombay, 4-7-39

THE NEW MENACE

I

In the April issue of *Survey Graphic*, Mr. Harold J. Ruttenberg describes what is happening to a certain steel town, which is referred to under the fictitious name of Steelville, in the Ohio River Valley, and to the steel workers in that town, as a result of technological advances in steel production. Previously steel used to be manufactured by the old-fashioned process. A new process was then devised by which steel could be turned out in the form of strips by a continuous production technique. The new product was called 'strip steel' and the mills producing it were named after it as 'strip mills'. Mr. Ruttenberg's research for the Steel Workers' Organization, as the editor points out, has more than once made headlines. His grim picture of the decline of this steel town and the puzzled anger of the men, for the time being beaten by the machines which they cannot help admiring as marvels of scientific achievement, therefore, deserves to be well pondered, digested and inwardly assimilated by all those who are concerned with the well-being of the working class in this country.

As Mr. Ruttenberg's party were leaving the premises of one of the big, new, continuous production, steel mills, where they had gone on a visit, one of the friends remarked to another, "Is it not impressive — all that big, automatic machinery running virtually without man-power like the works of a delicate Swiss watch?"

The remark was overheard by Mike, an officer of the local union. For thirty years he had served in the 'sheet mill' before it was abandoned last year in favour of the new mill. For twenty years he was a roller, an "aristocrat of labour", earning \$12 to \$15 a day. Now he was eking out a living by sweeping up paper, baling "tie ends" and dust in the "shipping room" at 63 cents an hour. He indignantly burst forth, "Impressive? Huh! I'd call it oppressive, I would. Here I am pushing a broom, where I started over thirty years back. I'm not an old man yet But I'm too old to work on any of that impressive, I call it oppressive, machinery." He continued, "Look at her! You know what we call her — 'The Big Morgue'. When we meet one another on the street and get to talking, we call this 'The Big Morgue', the place where all our jobs went dead."

"Eightyfive thousand hand-mill workers in Steelville," remarks Mr. Ruttenberg, "are less fortunate than Mike Michaels. They are permanently displaced and cannot even get a labouring job in the strip mills." In Elwood (Ind.), when their mill was closed down eleven hundred workers offered to work for 20 per cent less wages if the Company would resume operations. Their offer was rejected. Even if the men worked for nothing, they were told, the Company's strip mills could produce a superior product at lower costs. The fifteen hundred displaced, Portsmouth, Ohio, workers spend their energy in vain trying to promote a Company-wide

walk-out. "If their efforts had been successful, the only conceivable gain would have been publicizing their tragic plight." The sixteen hundred Monessen workers followed a more logical course. They tried to get the Company to employ as many of them as possible in its new Irwin (Pa.) Strip Mill. But the Company could not employ more than 20 per cent of them.

The steel employers' argument was that special provision for the displaced workers was unnecessary because every labour-saving device stimulates rather than creates employment by cheapening production and thereby creating more jobs. Yes, if you take the 'long view'. But *those will be jobs for other men elsewhere*. In the meantime what about the 85 thousand who are now without any job? The attitude of the Steelville magnates was summed up in their reply: "Why raise such a fuss about them? They are not a big factor when you consider them with several million unemployed. Anyway it's almost history and nothing can be done for them now."

Nor is the setting up of 'new jobs' unattended by serious handicaps. "A major strip mill product is tin plate. A new development, of late, for tin plate is to pack beer in tin cans. But beer cans in turn would mean displaced glass workers."

Sheet steel is another major strip mill product. Another outlet for sheet steel, still in an early stage, is prefabricated steel housing. "It is estimated that a prefabricated steel house can be produced and erected with one-fourth of the labour required to build a house by conventional methods." But any such development would cost the job not only of a great body of building trade workers, but also of brick and clay, lumber, cement and other workers engaged in the production of house-building materials. Each advance thus creates more problems than it solves.

Yet, all this is "small stuff", Mr. Ruttenberg tells us, compared to what is coming. Strip mills are not the last word in steel production. The present method requires eight operations from the open hearth furnace to the rolling mill. A new process of rolling steel in the molten form is nearing completion. It has already proved a success in the laboratory. "With it only three processes will be necessary and the steel need be transformed only once. Entire departments will, as a result, be abolished or reduced to mere skeletons. Roughly one out of every six steel workers will be eliminated by the process."

The head of the Steel Company that is doing the pioneer work in developing the new process told Mr. Ruttenberg:

"We have done it. I've seen it done. We have rolled strip steel from its molten form in two hundred foot coils, fifteen inches wide. I have had this steel examined in more than a dozen laboratories. It is far superior to our present steel, because it does not have the imperfections caused by "ingotism", the chilling and reheating of steel. I can't watch our experimental laboratory roll molten steel for more than a few minutes.

It almost makes a fellow go crazy thinking about the millions of dollars worth of equipment it will make obsolete, and the thousands of jobs it will eliminate. It's terrific."

II

Various remedies have been suggested to avert the impending crisis, labour-saving processes to be introduced only at a time when sales and output are increasing, further shortening of the number of hours of work without any decrease in the scale of wages, collective bargaining agreements, the minimum wages, and so on. But in spite of it all, the problem of "technological unemployment" steadily continues to grow more and more acute. The "dilemma of our times", as Mr. Ruttenberg put it, stares America in the face.

If that be so with regard to America where industrialization has been carried to its farthest limit, how much more so must it be in the case of India where chronic and forced unemployment of the masses has always been a major problem crying for a solution! But the American experience seems to have gone in vain so far as we are concerned. Tall talk of "electrification" of the villages is today in the air. Pompous projects are being discussed "with an eye to the future" and justified on academic grounds. In the meantime the nemesis has silently set to work.

Here is a picture sent by a friend who has made a special study of it, of what is happening to one of the most promising industrial places in the South (Mysore), where an experiment has been made of supplying electric power to hand-loom weavers. Doddballapur (Mysore) has a population of 10,000, nearly half of it being professional weavers. They were hitherto weaving silk and cotton saris of various designs on the fly-shuttle hand-loom. In 1930, there were 1,800 of these, more than 1,000 being engaged in weaving silk. These weavers had made a name for themselves in South India, and Doddballapur was a flourishing and progressive industrial centre. The power-loom began to be introduced about the year 1934. Since then they have more and more been in evidence. Their number today is 250. As a result 1,500 hand-loom weavers have stopped working. Previously a weaver used to earn Rs. 30 per month weaving cotton and Rs. 50 weaving silk. Now the surviving weavers can hardly earn Rs. 12 per month weaving silk. "There is no doubt," writes the friend, "that even the surviving hand-loom weavers will vanish in a couple of years being beaten in competition with power-loom. As a consequence, unemployment and poverty are staring the weavers in the face."

There are several reasons for this decay that has come in the wake of the power-loom.

Firstly, the power-loom is a quick manufacturer as compared to the hand-loom. A hand-loom weaver can weave six saris of 9 yards each per month, working 8 hours a day. On the other hand a power-loom can weave five times as much in the same time. Overproduction results, prices fall, cut-throat competition follows, in

which the hand-loom weaver offers his goods at a price which looks incredible to the hand-loom weaver.

To meet this competition the hand-loom weaver has to instal a power-loom which costs Rs. 1,000 per loom. This he can do only by getting himself entangled in indebtedness from which he can never afterwards recover and so is compelled to close down sooner or later his business. On the fly-shuttle he could change the pattern for every two saris so that he could suit his production to individual taste. On the power-loom he finds it difficult to change the pattern even for every ten saris.

"For every power-loom substituted for a hand-loom," observes the friend, "six people are thrown out of employment and one gets an opportunity to work under the guidance of a technician who in his turn can supervise 50 looms simultaneously. So, unemployment is increasing apace every year. Of the unemployed weavers, some have taken to miscellaneous jobs like street hawking, some to professional gambling and the rest to begging."

For those who may, under the spell of academic arguments, be tempted to flirt with the idea of 'mechanizing' cottage industries, let Doddballapur serve as a portent and a warning. Mechanization without a totalitarian control can only spell tragedy for the artisan class; and as for the chimerical antidote, it is a question whether it is not worse than the disease.

Bombay, 14-6-39

Pyarelal

Indians in Belgian Congo

The case of our countrymen in Belgian Congo does not admit of easy treatment. It consists in the prosecution, alleged to be political, though technically under the Gold Law of the Belgian Congo, of certain Indian settlers for being in possession of illicit gold. In the case as stated in the circulated pamphlet it is suggested that the accused were arrested without just cause. Witnesses for the Crown are said to have been perjured. Every obstacle is being placed in the way of the accused being properly defended. The expectation of our countrymen in Congo is that we should send eminent counsel from here to defend them. Representations have been made to the Government of India on their behalf. This is essentially a case, however hard in itself, in which effective public action is hardly possible. But it is undoubtedly a case in which the Government of India can do much. It can through the Foreign Office in England ascertain the exact position. The British Consul can be instructed to watch the case and see that the accused get a fair trial. Indeed British Consuls have been known to have been instructed to engage counsel to watch cases on behalf of their proteges. I hope that the Government of India are giving attention to this hard case of the Indians of Belgian Congo.

Bombay, 3-7-39

M. K. G.

H A R I J A N

July 8

1939

NON-VIOLENCE V. VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I must resume the argument about the implications of the Rajkot step, where I left it the week before.

In theory, if there is sufficient non-violence developed in any single person, he should be able to discover the means of combating violence, no matter how wide-spread or severe, within his jurisdiction. I have repeatedly admitted my imperfections. I am no example of perfect ahimsa. I am evolving. Such ahimsa as has been developed in me has been found enough to cope with situations that have hitherto arisen. But today I feel helpless in the face of the surrounding violence. There was a penetrating article in the *Statesman* on my Rajkot statement. The editor had therein contended that the English had never taken our movement to be true Satyagraha, but being practical people they had allowed the myth to continue though they had known it to be a violent revolt. It was none the less so because the rebels had no arms. I have quoted the substance from memory. When I read the article, I felt the force of the argument. Though I had intended the movement to be pure non-violent resistance, as I look back upon the happenings of those days, there was undoubtedly violence among the resisters. I must own that had I been perfectly tuned to the music of ahimsa, I would have sensed the slightest departure from it and my sensitiveness would have rebelled against any discord in it.

It seems to me that the united action of the Hindus and the Muslims blinded me to the violence that was lurking in the breasts of many. The English who are trained diplomats and administrators are accustomed to the line of least resistance, and when they found that it was more profitable to conciliate a big organization than to crush it by extensive frightfulness, they yielded to the extent that they thought was necessary. It is, however, my conviction that our resistance was predominantly non-violent in action and will be accepted as such by the future historian. As a seeker of truth and non-violence, however, I must not be satisfied with mere action if it is not from the heart. I must declare from the house-tops that the non-violence of those days fell far short of the non-violence as I have so often defined.

Non-violent action without the co-operation of the heart and the head cannot produce the intended result. The failure of our imperfect ahimsa is visible to the naked eye. Look at the feud that is going on between Hindus and Muslims. Each is arming for the fight with the other. The

violence that we had harboured in our breasts during the non-cooperation days is now recoiling upon ourselves. The violent energy that was generated among the masses, but was kept under check in the pursuit of a common objective, has now been let loose and is being used among and against ourselves.

The same phenomenon is discernible, though in a less crude manner, in the dissension among Congressmen themselves and the use of forcible methods that the Congress ministers are obliged to adopt in running the administrations under their charge.

This narrative clearly shows that the atmosphere is surcharged with violence. I hope it also shows that non-violent mass movement is an impossibility unless the atmosphere is radically changed. To blind one's eyes to the events happening around us is to court disaster. It has been suggested to me that I should declare mass civil disobedience and all internal strife will cease, Hindus and Muslims will compose their differences, Congressmen will forget mutual jealousies and fights for power. My reading of the situation is wholly different. If any mass movement is undertaken at the present moment in the name of non-violence, it will resolve itself into violence largely unorganized and organized in some cases. It will bring discredit on the Congress, spell disaster for the Congress struggle for independence and bring ruin to many a home. This may be a wholly untrue picture born of my weakness. If so, unless I shed that weakness, I cannot lead a movement which requires great strength and resolution.

But if I cannot find an effective purely non-violent method, outbreak of violence seems to be a certainty. The people demand self-expression. They are not satisfied with the constructive programme prescribed by me and accepted almost unanimously by the Congress. As I have said before, the imperfect response to the constructive programme is itself proof positive of the skin-deep nature of the non-violence of Congressmen.

But if there is an outbreak of violence, it would not be without cause. We are yet far from the independence of our dream. The irresponsibility of the Centre, which eats up 80 per cent of the revenue, grinds down the people and thwarts their aspirations, is daily proving more and more intolerable.

There is a growing consciousness of the terrible autocracy of the majority of the States. I admit my responsibility for the suspension of civil resistance in several States. This has resulted in demoralization both among the people and the Princes. The people have lost nerve and feel that all is lost. The demoralization among the Princes consists in their thinking that now they have nothing to fear from their people, nothing substantial to grant. Both are wrong. The result does not dismay me. In fact I had foretold the possibility of these results when I was discussing with the Jaipur workers the advisability of sus-

pending the movement, even though it was well circumscribed with rules and restrictions. The demoralization among the people shows that there was not non-violence in thought and word, and therefore when the intoxication and excitement of jail-going and the accompanying demonstrations ceased they thought that the struggle was over. The Princes came to the hasty conclusion that they could safely consolidate their autocracy by adopting summary measures against the resisters and placating the docile element by granting eye-wash reforms.

Both the people and the Princes might have reacted in the right manner — the people by recognizing the correctness of my advice and calmly generating strength and energy by quiet and determined constructive effort, and the Princes by seizing the opportunity, afforded by suspension, of doing justice for the sake of justice and granting reforms that would satisfy the reasonable but advanced section among their people. This could only happen, if they recognized the time-spirit. It is neither too late for the people nor the Princes.

In this connection I may not omit the Paramount Power. There are signs of the Paramount Power repenting of the recent declarations about the freedom to the Princes to grant such reforms to their people as they chose. There are audible whispers that the Princes may not take those declarations literally. It is an open secret that the Princes dare not do anything that they guess is likely to displease the Paramount Power. They may not even meet persons whom the Paramount Power may not like them to meet. When there is this tremendous influence exercised over the Princes, it is but natural to hold the Paramount Power responsible for the unadulterated autocracy that reigns supreme in many States.

So, if violence breaks out in this unfortunate land, the responsibility will have to be shared by the Paramount Power, the Princes, and above all by Congressmen. The first two have never claimed to be non-violent. Their power is frankly derived from and based on the use of violence. But the Congress has since 1920 adopted non-violence as its settled policy and has undoubtedly striven to act up to it. But as Congressmen never had non-violence in their hearts, they must reap the fruit of the defect, however unintentional it was. At the crucial moment the defect has come to the surface and the defective method does not seem to meet the situation. Non-violence is never a method of coercion, it is one of conversion. We have failed to convert the Princes, we have failed to convert the English administrators. It is no use saying that it is impossible to persuade persons willingly to part with their power. I have claimed that Satyagraha is a new experiment. It will be time to pronounce it a failure when Congressmen have given it a genuine trial. Even a policy, if it is honestly pursued, has to be pursued with all one's heart. We have not done so. Hence Congressmen have to convert themselves before

the Paramount Power and the Princes can be expected to act justly.

But if the Congressmen can or will go no further than they have done in the direction of non-violence, and if the Paramount Power and the Princes do not voluntarily and selfishly do the right thing, the country must be prepared for violence, unless the new technique yields a new mode of non-violent action which will become an effective substitute for violence as a way of securing redress of wrongs. The fact that violence must fail will not prevent its outbreak. Mere constitutional agitation will not do.

Bombay, 4-7-39

PARSIS AND PROHIBITION

The Religious Plea

We have seen in these columns the Grand Old Man's views on the question of prohibition. Never did it occur to the G. O. M. that any section of the Parsis thought that drink was in any circumstances a religious obligation on the Parsis. In this connection it would be interesting to turn to the debate on a resolution moved by a Parsi gentleman, Mr. K. E. Dada-chanji, on the appointment of a committee to consider and report upon the question of drink and its total prohibition, in the Bombay Legislative Council in 1921. There were, so far as I can see, four Parsi members (including the speaker) who spoke on the resolution. The question of temperance v. prohibition was discussed by them, and arguments against total prohibition were urged by them, but it is curious that there was not even a passing reference to the religious obligation. Further, on the adoption of this resolution a Committee was appointed by the Bombay Government in 1922 to consider the whole question of the excise policy. There were on the Committee four Parsi gentlemen — Messrs B. F. Madon, Jamshed N. R. Mehta, Jehangir Bomanji Petit and R. F. Gorvala. These have all signed the Committee's report which recommended that Government should declare that the "total extinction of liquor traffic" and of "the consumption of alcoholic drinks, including toddy" should be the goal to be achieved with as little delay as possible. Whilst Mr. J. B. Petit appended a dissenting minute to the effect that he did not agree to the ultimate prohibition of toddy, with that reservation he along with the rest agreed in the general recommendation of the Committee. How is it that these gentlemen, being Parsis, could make the recommendation in face of the alleged religious obligation? No one, I hope, will dare to suggest that all the members who spoke on the resolution and all the members of the Committee, and even the G. O. M. were innocent of the Zoroastrian religion. Evidently, therefore, the religious obligation seems to be a recent discovery.

Evolutionary or Legislative?

The debate was interesting from other points of view also. One of the many points discussed (and

mentioned in the original resolution which was later modified) was whether prohibition should be evolutionary or legislative. Mr. Dadachanji, the mover, opined that "if absolute prohibition is to be enforced, the question arises as to how the great revenue from excisable commodities to the extent of 4½ crores will be replaced from other sources," and that as prohibition had been a failure in other lands he could not vote for prohibiting drink by legislation. Mr. Jehangir Petit said he stood for "temperance and absolute prohibition in course of time." All he objected to was the immediate introduction, but he was not opposed to legislation enabling it to be brought about in course of time. Mr. Naoroji Dumasia who supported the resolution used words of which he would need to be reminded today. He said: "The honourable mover of the proposition wants to know how the revenue that will be wiped out can be substituted. I think at present we should not be concerned with that idea. When the opium revenue of crores of rupees was abolished in the interest of the Chinese consumer, no question of the future revenue was thought of. Matters will adjust themselves when the circumstances to which we look forward will happen." Further he observed: "The auction system is said to have been established with a view to reduce consumption, but statistics show that the consumption has increased, that the Government revenue has increased, and the whole Government policy is based not upon encouraging temperance but upon grabbing as much revenue as possible. It is said that the revenue goes towards sanitation and education. I submit, Sir, that it is tainted money and we do not want to profit from the ruin of our helpless people."

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (who was then not a knight) spoke on the resolution at length. It would be profitable to turn to his views. His difficulty was how to meet the loss of revenue. "We are so ready to sacrifice the filthy liquor, are we ready to sacrifice the filthy lucre?" he asked. He did not raise the question of his liberty to drink two glasses of sherry. In fact he agreed that if we could solve the revenue difficulty there was no doubt that legislation was the only way and not evolution or persuasion. Here are his words: "This evolutionary method at present is going on, with a certain amount of gentle persuasion, and my honourable friend, the mover of this resolution, said that he is inclined to believe that it is the evolutionary method and not the legislative method that will be successful. I beg to differ from him. I think it is only by legislation and legislation alone that the desired result will be attained. In a country like India where printed literature never gets to the masses on account of their illiteracy, nothing but legislation will succeed, and therefore this Council is the real and proper place where prohibition should be advocated, and I only desire that those who are at present taking in the evolutionary method by gentle persuasion, would come to

this Council and help us to find ways and means, whereby we can bring prohibition into existence. Mr. President, preaching temperance in a country like India will, I am afraid, not succeed, and to back it up with the gentle persuasion I have mentioned for all times is not possible, and therefore it is that legislation alone can come to our assistance."

Mr. Naoroji Dumasia, speaking about the same time on a resolution regarding compensating liquor dealers, made one thing absolutely clear, viz. that it was a mistake to allow the liquor traffic. "I do not think," he said, "that anyone in this Council thinks that these licensees are themselves evil-doers and that they are dealers who are bent upon ruining the poor consumers. They are owners of the liquor shops, just as thousands of others are owners of various other shops and business houses and as such are also business people. If anybody is to be blamed for the existence of these liquor shops, it is certainly Government themselves who have invited and lured them to these auction sales and asked them to make the highest bids." Whatever the conclusion that Mr. Dumasia wanted to draw from this argument, there is one conclusion that is inescapable, and it is this that Government who were responsible for encouraging the traffic can also repair their blunder and stop the traffic at once.

The Excise Committee's Recommendation

I have referred to the Excise Committee's recommendation. The report, of which the drafting was presumably the work of Mr. Gorvala (a Parsi), is a most ably written document, giving a detailed historical survey of the prohibition movement, and is a complete answer to the argument that prohibition is an attack on the liberty of the individual and that moderate drinking is harmless. "Everyone is born a total abstainer from wine and every other kind of strong drink," says the report, "until by imitation or persuasion he is tempted to make a trial of it," and that "there is very reliable scientific evidence to show that alcohol, even in small dose, tends to paralyse the higher brain centres." The report quoted the evidence of Lt.-Col. Khambatta "that the prisoners in jails, from all of whom alcohol has been cut off from the day of their imprisonment, instead of suffering in health, are really greatly benefited by their voluntary abstinence" (or compulsory abstinence?) "and complain less of discomfort than those deprived of tobacco." The Committee received and examined a mass of evidence, the bulk of which was strongly in favour of prohibition, and in coming to the conclusion that they must recommend to the Government to declare that complete prohibition of drink was their not distant goal, they relied on, among other evidence, that of the Bishop of Bombay who said that "if the situation is that the vast majority of responsible persons are against the consumption of alcoholic liquors and that large numbers of irresponsible persons abstain from them on account of custom or religion, and that:

only a relatively small number of people consume them...that is a situation which does not exist in Europe and which provides all the conditions of a system of total prohibition." The Committee had not the shadow of a doubt that the evidence in their possession proved that these conditions did exist in India. (They were of course speaking of the Bombay Presidency.)

M. D.

HARIJAN TOUR IN BENGAL

(By Prafulla Chandra Ghosh)

Shri A. V. Thakkar, General Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh, came to Bengal for 12 days (11th to 22nd May) to study the condition of Harijans generally and particularly the conditions of mehtars and sweepers employed by the municipalities. In Calcutta he saw, in company with Shri Bhandari of the Assam Harijan Sevak Sangh and also the workers of the Harijan Utthan Samiti, some of the bustees and quarters where municipal sweepers live. He visited the municipalities of Hooghly, Howrah, Barisal and Comilla and thoroughly studied the condition of these useful servants of the municipalities.

He also visited Tantipara (Birbhum) where cottage tanning work is being conducted on behalf of the Bengal Board and the village of Malikanda in the district of Dacca. I accompanied him in all the places except Calcutta.

In Hooghly, the present municipal chairman, Shri Nagendra Nath Mukherjee, took us round the quarters occupied by these people and also showed us the quarters built by the municipality. We saw the municipal aided school named after Shri Gourhari Shome, a deceased Congress M. L. A. and a prominent Congressman of Hooghly, meant for the Harijan children. There are both Hindi and Bengali teachers. The school is a good one. But we were not satisfied with the municipal quarters. Rooms were not big enough. We hope while constructing new quarters which are under contemplation this point will be borne in mind. Although the municipality passed a resolution authorising the chairman to grant maternity leave up to 1½ months, yet in practice only 15 days' leave is given. There is no co-operative credit society. They borrow money bearing interest even at the rate of 2 annas per rupee per month, i. e. 150 p. c. per annum. The chairman feels the necessity of such a society and we hope such a one will be started soon.

In Howrah, which we visited next, the condition is quite unsatisfactory. There are about two thousand such employees but there is no co-operative credit society nor did we notice any keen desire to have one.

The quarters where they live are generally ill-lighted and ill-ventilated. There are a few municipal quarters where rent is charged at the rate of Rs. 2 per month. In Hooghly, of course, the quarters are free. No leave is granted. There is insufficiency of water taps and there are very bad drains by the side of their quarters.

In Suri there is a good co-operative society working for the last 11 years. It is managed by the Sanitary Inspector Jatin Babu, and its share capital with profits has now amounted to about Rs. 3,000. For a small town to have such a good society speaks well for the organizers. Those who want to start societies for these municipal employees will profit by seeing the working of this society. They do not borrow from any other place than the society which charges interest at

the rate of 12½ per annum, i. e. ½ of what the Kabulis realise. Mehtars have their own quarters which are fairly good. One month's maternity leave is given but there is no provision for casual leave. A good school situated in the heart of the Harijan locality is a necessity.

In Barisal for the first time we were pleased to see Harijan quarters with beautiful flower beds in front. I wish such quarters were given by all municipalities to all the menial staff. Even Barisal has not yet been able to provide such quarters for all their Harijan employees. Shri Suresh Chandra Gupta has started a Harijan ashram adjacent to their quarters. It is a Harijan colony where workers and Harijan students live. The municipality has been helping him in all possible ways. No maternity leave or casual leave is, however, given to these employees. There is a good co-operative credit society, but the chairman tells us that still they sometimes borrow from other sources. The society charges interest at 9½ per annum. The society's share capital with profit has come up at present to about Rs. 10,000.

The Comilla municipality gives one month's maternity leave and 15 days' casual leave. In our opinion all the municipalities should sanction such leave. In Comilla we saw Naga mehtars. They are very clean, hard-working and well dressed. The municipality runs a school for the mehtar children which is located in their quarters. The municipality has given free quarters to all and is going to build new quarters for the Naga mehtars. The existing quarters are not wholly satisfactory. Let us hope the new quarters, which are going to be built, will be satisfactory. Although Comilla is noted for banks and the chairman himself is the secretary of a bank, it is a matter of regret that there is no co-operative credit society and the mehtars borrow money bearing interest at the rate of annas 2 per rupee per month from the Kabulis. He has, however, been in office only for a few months. Let us hope he will make use of his banking experience for the poor Harijans. As regards pay, Comilla gives the maximum average pay (Rs. 14 per month).

Drinking is a common vice among these people. Municipalities should carry on a systematic propaganda to eradicate this vice in order to ameliorate their condition.

Both at Tantipara and Malikanda it was apparent to us that the Rishis or Muchis are the most backward among the Harijans, economically and also in educational matters. Most of them do not know shoe-making or tanning. They are so poor that they cannot send their children to school even if free studentship is given. Great effort should be made to improve their condition. In Bengal they are considered to be the lowest in social status, so service to them is the greatest Harijan seva. The Bengal Board is conscious of this fact.

Books on Non-violence

Richard B. Gregg—The Power of Non-violence	...	2—0	0-4
Aldous Huxley—Ends and Means	...	5-14	0-6
" — Encycloædia of Pacifism	...	0—6	0-1
Dick Sheppard—We say 'No'	...	2—7	0-3
J. Middleton Murry—The Necessity of Pacifism	...	2—7	0-3
" — The Pledge of Peace	...	2-10	0-4
John S. Hoyland—The Cross Moves East (A Study in the Significance of Gandhi's Satyagraha)	...	3—7	0-3
J. B. Kripalani—The Gandhian Way...	...	2—0	0-3
The Intelligent Man's Way to Prevent War	...	1-12	0-5

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WAR SPURS INVENTION OF NEW MACHINE

The invention of a revolutionary type of spinning machine that will raise the daily output of the individual Chinese spinner from its present standard of one pound of yarn a day to an average of between twenty and thirty pounds, by Mr. Kanya Nieh, of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and a graduate of Cornell University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was announced in Chingkiang on May 26. The invention, stimulated and hastened by the demands of China's war-time economy, represents the fruit of six years of research and experimentation, during the last twentytwo months of which the inventor was constantly moving about the country as he followed the National Government in its transfer to the interior of the province.

Mr. Nieh began work on the machine in Shanghai in the early months of 1933 when he was in charge of the textile research section of the Academia Sinica. Impressed at that time by the difficulty of marshalling the vast amounts of capital necessary to erect the large Western type of textile factory in China, Mr. Nieh came to believe that the soundest basis of a Chinese textile industry lay in the utilization of the native labour and handicraft methods that prevail throughout the land. Mr. Nieh thereupon began to devote his evenings, after office hours, to these intriguing problems of designing some new type of spinning frame which would be comparable in simplicity and price to the native frames and which would, nevertheless, embody all the corrections and improvements which scientific ingenuity and analysis could provide.

Mr. Nieh first reduced the problem to the drafting boards and, in collaboration with his staff, worked out a hypothetical design for a new spinning frame. The transfer of the machine from the paper design to the status of a working model was a long process. Time and again a machine would be built, which would be theoretically correct but which would in practice display flaws. Mr. Nieh, undiscouraged, worked on.

When the war broke out, Mr. Nieh was in Washington, D. C., attending the World Textile Conference of 1937 as a representative of the Chinese Government. He was immediately recalled by the Government, and, realising the urgent need of the nation for new sources of textiles, set to work again with redoubled energy on his spinning frame. It was in Kweilin that, in early 1938, he worked out a cotton spinning frame that satisfied all demands. With that frame constructed, it was a much easier matter to devise a model wool spinning frame, and by the spring of 1939, he could announce from Chiangking to his associates that a wool spinning frame had also been successfully completed.

Mr. Nieh's new frames are based somewhat remotely on the old native spinning methods of

China. He studied and analysed according to modern principles all the motions that go into the process of spinning until he had reduced each one to its essential scientific function—then he constructed a machine which utilised and intensified all the useful motions in the old process of spinning, and which discarded the useless motions which serve only to waste the individual's energy and time. The machines that Mr. Nieh has built according to these principles of scientific analysis are strong, sturdy machines that are at the same time extremely cheap. They are built basically of wood, with copper used as the chief metal. Iron and steel are used only at a few key parts, while the cogs are made of hard wood. The new machine is so made that it works almost automatically with a minimum of exertion on the part of the operator. The energy to operate the machine is supplied by a foot treadle which the operator keeps in motion.

The great need for textiles in Free China today make this machine not only significant as a revolutionary milestone in the history of industry, but as a major event in the history of the war of resistance. Two factories, one in Kuming and one in Chiangking, have engaged to produce these machines on a mass basis—and by the end of this year, mass production will be in full swing, and equal to the demand of the market.

The actual introduction of the new machine to the people will fall to the lot of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives and several private concerns. The Chinese Industrial Cooperatives plan to establish in the coming year over 10,000 cooperatives, of which at least thirty per cent will be textile cooperatives. It is the belief of the cooperatives that of the normal consuming capacity of Free China of 10,000,000 bolts of cloth a year, at least 3,000,000 will be produced by its cooperatives within the next twelve months. In the production of these textiles, the new spinning frames will play an important part. It is planned to introduce the new machine to its users at the rate of two machines per family. Cotton yarn, now selling in the interior at 2'30 dollars per pound, will be reduced to a fraction of its former cost.

[The foregoing was received by Shri Arayanayakam from a friend in China. I wish I could give more details about this invention. For me its merit lies in China finding it necessary to introduce village, in the place of town, production. M. K. G.]

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POONA — SATURDAY, JULY 15, 1939

[ONE ANNA

JAIPUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Those who are interested in Jaipur affairs have been living in suspense for they had learnt that some talks were taking place between the Prime Minister of the State and Sheth Jamnalalji. I regret to have to inform them that nothing worth has come out of the talks. Therefore the struggle continues. Even civil disobedience continues in a way though it is suspended in regard to further formation of jathas for courting arrest. Those who courted arrests remain in the State prisons. They have not sought release. They will come out in due course on the termination of their sentences. Shethji's detention is indefinite. And he will not come out by undertaking to leave the State on release, and the authorities will not permit him to remain in Jaipur as a free man in spite of the fact that further courting of arrests has stopped. Thus they will not allow Shethji even to do constructive work among the people. They know that they have no fear of any secret propaganda on his part or his saying one thing and doing the contrary. His reputation for strictest honesty is too well established to admit of any doubt.

Some complication has arisen because Shethji is suffering from pains in the knees. The State Medical Officer advises Shethji to go to Europe or at least to the seaside for treatment. He is himself doing all he can, but he is of opinion that change of place is indicated. Shethji whilst he is under detention would not go out of Jaipur even for the sake of getting well. He thinks that self-respect requires unconditional release. He will not think of a change so long as he is under a ban for which he feels there is no justification. Since civil disobedience is suspended there is no warrant whatsoever for detaining Jamnalalji in custody. Why won't the authorities release him and arrest him when he commits an offence against the laws of the State? To say the least there is something uncanny about the treatment of Sheth Jamnalalji. It is the duty of the Jaipur authorities either to justify the indefinite detention or to release him unconditionally.

The Jaipurians have been asking me how long the embargo on their civil resistance will last. I can only answer, as long as the atmosphere demands suspension. Meanwhile let them carry out the constructive programme. I retain the

opinion that no one is fit for offering civil disobedience who has not satisfied the conditions I have laid down. And there is always a saving clause about all my advice. No one need follow it unless it appeals to his head and heart. No one who has honestly the inner call need be deterred from obeying it because of my advice. In other words, it applies only to those who are not conscious of any inner call and who have faith in my riper experience and soundness of my judgment.

Though the talks have broken down, the authorities are not absolved from the duty of finding a solution for the impasse. Absence of civil disobedience does not mean cessation of agitation in some form or other for securing the rudiments of freedom for which the fight was undertaken. Public opinion will give the authorities no rest. Let the Jaipurians, therefore, know that so long as they have the will they have the power. And it increases with every effort to keep it under check. Every power is not meant to be immediately used. Garnering it often makes it far more effective than if it is used the moment it is generated.

Abbotabad, 8-7-39

BHANDARIS AND PROHIBITION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As the train taking me to the Frontier Province was steaming out of the station, Rao Bahadur Bole handed me a copy of the petition of the Bhandaris of Bombay addressed to the Prime Minister. He pressed me to read it and send him my reply. I read the petition after resting my tired limbs and sent him my reply.

The petition is an interesting document and deserves public notice. According to it the Bhandaris got the concession to tap trees as early as 1672 as a mark of favour for military services rendered to the then British Power. Then they lost the concession. But they were able to continue their occupation, and to the present that is the occupation of about 8,000 people.

The petitioners say they are not against prohibition but they plead for gradualness extending to a few years.

Then comes the sting at the very tail-end. It runs: "If the Government fail to pay heed to all these entreaties and leave the Bhandaris to their fate as it falls upon them, we do not know what course these poorly educated and uneducated

people may follow in their sheer disappointment. We are afraid they may even go to the length of adopting not only Congress methods of seeking relief but adopting more drastic measures in their frenzy."

The threat, in my opinion, vitiates a good case and raises grave doubts about the *bona fides* of the signatories. Are the Government to yield to cold reason or to the cold steel?

If the Bhandaris have a good case, why do they not rely upon its commanding public sympathy? Let me inform the public that the ministers are trying their best, in spite of threats, to remove every kind of injustice. In these days of the growing violence of the mind, threats must be regarded as the ordinary lot of ministers elected under the extensive democratic franchise. They may not be deterred even at the cost of their offices or lives from doing what they hold to be their duty, nor can they afford to be angry and refuse to do justice because as in the case under consideration the petition for justice ends by issuing an ugly threat. I have, therefore, pleasure in informing the public that the ministers are applying themselves to the task of keeping every tapper employed at the very work to which he has been used. Only the tappers have got to help the ministers to apply the remedy. It consists in the tappers tapping *niro* during the *niro* season and turning it into *gud*. This requires honest care and attention. The pots have to be treated as has been pointed out in these columns. The *niro* need not be drunk. Pure *niro* cannot take the place of toddy which contains a certain percentage of alcohol and which therefore changes in quality. Pure *niro* is food even as sugar is. Toddy, even sweet, is not in the same sense and to the same extent as *niro*. Hence *niro* will be turned into *gud* which can compete with the ordinary *gud* which is often dirty, adulterated, full of grit. Palm *gud* is any day more tasty than sugarcane *gud*. It can be eaten raw whereas sugarcane *gud* being much sweeter does not admit of being eaten raw. And palm *gud*, when it is manufactured under State supervision, will always carry with it the guarantee of being pure. Many sweets can be manufactured out of palm *gud*. But in order to accomplish this great task whole-hearted co-operation of the Bhandaris is necessary. If they are in earnest, they will help the Government and help themselves. What to do during the off-season will be a question. I have not been able to study the condition under which toddy is drawn. But this is a matter of detail and adjustment.

On the way to Peshawar, 7-7-39

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THE INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF PROHIBITION

When over a month ago the liquor-dealers and the Parsi businessmen of Bombay interviewed Gandhiji, they pressed these among the economic objections against prohibition: (1) Unemployment of those engaged in the trade; (2) Rs. 60 lakhs worth of stocks which could not be disposed of before the 1st of August and which can be disposed of in no other place; (3) Rs. 20 lakhs worth of furniture in shops and saloons which when auctioned would not fetch more than 25 per cent; and so on. Whilst a certain amount of loss is inevitable in an experiment which affects the welfare of millions, and whilst the ministers are making their best endeavour to suggest ways and means to minimize this loss, there are certain economic and industrial aspects which these anti-prohibitionist friends have not considered. In a volume exclusively devoted to the treatment of the economic and industrial aspects of prohibition in America Mr. Herman Feldman has dealt with the question in a most detached and dispassionate spirit.

No economist, says the author, has made much of the economic disadvantages of prohibition; in fact at a round table discussion on prohibition at the annual meeting of the American Economic Association held in St. Louis, Missouri, in December 1926, the Chairman, finding that there was no one to express his views against prohibition on economic grounds, wrote to several well-known economists and numerous American teachers of statistics. Some of these wrote saying they were not opposed to prohibition, and some declined to defend the anti-prohibitionist view. The attacks were entirely confined to those with a financial stake in the liquor industry. Now, in comparison with America, these interests are infinitesimal in our country, for there are luckily no brewing and distilling interests. But even in America, says the author, "it is to be noted that most of the loss has already been liquidated, and in a comparatively short time the total involved will have been absorbed in the stream of industry and forgotten."

Then like the hop-grower and the barley-producer the toddy-palm planter in our country has lost something, but it is open to the planter to turn his trees to the production of *gud*. In America, before the repeal of the Prohibition Law, the land growing hops and barley had in the majority of cases been planted with other crops.

There are then the losses on taxation and enforcement of the law. In America the losses on the first item were negligible for the incidence only was changed. The losses on the second item were considerable, but owing to the vastly different conditions here they are bound to be negligible.

What the businessmen failed to remember was the permanent industrial advantages of prohibition. The author has shown, by giving ample evidence, that employers and executives were "overwhelmingly favourable to prohibition as far as it affects production and business." The great majority of employers reported that

(1) The disciplinary problem of dealing with inebriates had become much less serious;

(2) The age-old difficulty of keeping a full force at work after pay days was a thing of the past;

(3) As regards the relation of drunkenness to accidents, whilst there were no statistics available many asserted that they could see decided improvements resulting from the abolition of saloons;

(4) The workers were now of a higher type, steadier, stronger, clear-headed, more alert and more efficient;

(5) In spite of many sources of illicit drink the mass of wage-earners were much better off because of the abolition of the saloons.

Even those who were violently opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment had nothing to say against prohibition when asked about its industrial effects. "Not a single person had a kind word for the saloon." The head of an iron company in Dayton, no friend of prohibition, said: "My own conclusions are that the Eighteenth Amendment was a mistake, but the abolition of the saloon was a boon to society and certainly an aid to industry." The British Government's Delegation, appointed to study industrial conditions in Canada and the U. S. A., stated that the economic effect of prohibition "has been very great by diversion of large sums of money into savings and by increasing the regularity of attendance at work." There had been an astounding increase in national wealth, according to the figures issued in 1927 by the National Bureau of Economic Research. "The total national income of the American people, in figures calculated in terms of 1913 dollars as a standard (dollars based on the price levels of 1913), was 35,500,000,000 dollars in the war year 1918, and 52,900,000,000 dollars in 1926 or 49 per cent greater. The increase of 17,400,000,000 is more than twice as great as the increase in the period of 1909-1918, and if figured on a per capita basis in 1913 dollars, the increase in income was four times as great."

As regards the effects upon consumption, the writer says: "Testimony comes from everywhere that a good deal of the money that was spent in saloons on liquor, in treats, and in profligate ways induced by the environment, has been diverted to other commodities."

The writer's conclusions on this point are:

1. Part of the desire for the saloon's beverages has been diverted to milk, ginger ale, root beer, and other soft drinks; some benefit may have been reaped by the coffee trade; ice cream and candy stores have gotten a good deal of extra trade because of the closing of the saloons.

2. The absence of the compulsion to spend on drink, which the saloons as recreational institutions represented, made it possible for many a man to buy a car or a radio, or to take part in other forms of recreation.

3. The statistics of thrift show a great increase in the number of individual savings bank depositors and in the average amount per deposit, a striking expansion in industrial insurance paid in weekly and monthly premiums and an enormous expansion in the assets of building and loan associations.

4. The wage-earner has been led to take a greater interest in his home; his standard of living is much higher; the abolition of the saloon has sent ripples of purchasing power over a wide area or trade.

5. Striking increases in production have been in manufactured goods devoted to recreation and diversion or which have brought radical changes in manners of living.

As regards the redirection of expenditure, the writer says: "That the result of the abolition of the saloons was to augment the effective desire of the wage-earners for other things, was one of the most frequent comments made by the employers, insurance agents and others from whom we secured information, whether they were individually for prohibition or against it." A Duluth firm expressed the view that "prohibition is a boon to all. It has raised the standard of living of our employees, has made them steadier in every way, and has been the means of giving them and their families many luxuries which they never would have thought it possible to own before prohibition came into effect."

Then the abolition of the saloons has increased "dependability". "The very fact that more people are trusted today to buy on the instalment plan reinforces the statements on this score made by those who favour prohibition." The writer quotes the deliberate assertion of another writer, Samuel Blythe, that "prohibition is not a political question nor a moral question, nor a sociological question in its incidental aspects." He maintained that "the present productiveness of the United States is due to prohibition to a great extent. So are the vast increases in savings, the vast absorption of automobiles, for example, the enormous expansion of home building and home buying, and practically all the economic props that hold us in our paramount world position. A new and gigantic purchasing power. . . (which) comes from the great average American citizen, the blood and bones of this country, and it comes in part because booze is no longer an article of legal merchandise in this country, because the saloons are gone, because liquor, to the average American, is not worth the money and the effort required to secure it nor worth taking the risks that go with the drinking of it. Hence the individual, his family, and general trade get the benefit of the wages and profits that formerly went to the non-productive saloon-keeper. Prohibition has not stopped

drinking. Prohibition will never stop drinking entirely. What prohibition has done is to help give this country and its people an economic impetus and stability that make us the most prosperous, the most productive and the most powerful nation in the world."

That all this good work was ruined by bootlegging gangs and the corrupt forces illegally engaged in liquor production and in breaking down the law, does not affect the fact that while the law was in force and people respected it these good results naturally and inevitably followed the observance. One may hope that there is no serious fear of bootlegging and law-breaking forces arising in India.

M. D.

H A R I J A N

July 15

1939

TO THE PRINCES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Several persons interested in the States have asked me what in my opinion is the minimum that all States should guarantee in order to come in a line with the enlightened opinion in what is called British India. I cannot vouch for what the Congress would say if it had to give any such opinion. Perhaps it would be wrong for the Congress to have or to give such opinion. A democratic body can only pronounce opinion on events as they happen. Be that as it may, the opinion I am about to give is only my own and binds no one but me.

The minimum then that all States great and small can give is:

1. Full civil liberty, so long as it is not used to promote violence directly or indirectly. This includes freedom of the Press and freedom to receive newspapers which do not promote violence.

2. Freedom to the people of the States to form associations and educate public opinion in favour of establishing responsible government in their own States.

3. Freedom for Indians outside particular States to enter them without let or hindrance so long as their activities are not directed towards the destruction of the States in question.

4. The privy purse should be limited so as not to exceed one-tenth of the income where it ranges between Rs. 10 to 15 lakhs per year, and in no case should the purse exceed Rs. 3 lakhs per year, and should include all the private expenses of the Ruler (e. g. palace expenses, cars, stables, the Ruler's guests) except those which have reference to performance of public duty which should be clearly defined.

5. Judiciary to be independent and permanent and free of all interference. In order to ensure uniformity of practice and strict impartiality

there should be an appeal to the High Court of the Province within which the State in question is situated. This may not be possible without a change in the law governing the High Courts. It can, I imagine, be easily altered if the States agree.

I have purposely avoided reference to constitutional reform. This will depend upon the situation as it exists in every State. I should assume that where local public opinion demands it, the Ruler is bound to respond.

The most contentious part of my minimum is perhaps the right of appeal to the High Courts. And yet unless some such arrangement is made, pure justice cannot be guaranteed in the States whatever may be said to the contrary. This is one institution which the British have built up with patient care. No doubt the High Court procedure is expensive and far from expeditious. The poor of the land cannot reach it. The processes are cumbersome. Often the unscrupulous win. With all their faults, however, and except where high politics have come in, the decisions of High Courts have been just and fearless. I can think of no easy and ready-made check save that of the High Courts on the vagaries, and sometimes subservience to the executive, of the judiciary in the States. But I am not wedded to my solution. If something else equally effective can be devised, I should have no objection.

One thing seems to me to be clear. If the transfer of power from the Princes to the people is to take place without violence, and if the Princes are to live as such, they will have to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. Very few people have faith in my plan, viz. the plan of Princes voluntarily parting with power and becoming real trustees. The critics say it is utopian and against human nature. I must advocate it so long as I believe in its practical possibility. The world is inevitably moving to self-destruction or to a non-violent solution of all its ailments, moral, social, economical and political. The threatened world war will bring us nearer the desirable solution if a respectable part of it survives the impending catastrophe. Whoever recognizes that the only escape from the impending fate is a non-violent solution will, therefore, apply it to his own problems, whether they are domestic, communal or any other. Non-violence is a universal law acting under all circumstances. Disregard of it is the surest way to destruction. It is only a question of time.

The Princes would not solve the riddle by the proposed combination with Girasias, Muslims, Scheduled Classes, and their own subjects who are too cowed down to resist. It is a combination that is bound to break under its own weight. It is itself an inflammable mixture. And a combination against whom? The Congress which seeks to represent all these, not excluding the Princes themselves? The Congress will die a natural death when it ceases to be national in

every sense of the term. It has that unbroken tradition for the past fifty years. Whatever transformation it undergoes, it is the only constitution that will succeed British Imperialism whose days as imperialism are numbered. British politicians realize this. They would not resist, do not want to resist, its transformation or destruction. The imperialism is increasingly becoming a dead weight if only because it is based on highly organized violence. The Princes may ignore the Congress for a time. But they cannot for all time. Some are reported to have said that after all it was composed of banias who would show the white feather on a few knock-out blows on the head by the strong combination pictured above. I would like respectfully to point out that the Congress is not composed of banias who can be counted on one's finger-tips. The millions who took part in the civil disobedience fights were not banias. I do not thereby mean to imply that they were desirous of giving blow for a blow. Many could. But they had forsworn violence. Many Congress heads were broken by something severer than knock-out blows. All I wish to imply is that the Congress is not composed of mere cowards. Non-violence and cowardice go ill together. I can imagine a fully armed man to be at heart a coward. Possession of arms implies an element of fear, if not cowardice. But true non-violence is an impossibility without the possession of unadulterated fearlessness.

I beseech the Princes not to underrate the Congress as a force in the country. Its policy still remains non-violent. I admit it is fast tending towards violence. I and a few of my companions are putting forth every effort in favour of non-violence. I ask the Princes, for their own sakes and for the sake of the country that has given them birth, to throw in their weight in favour of non-violence. It seems to be touch-and-go with the Congress. It will either become growingly non-violent or will presently become a violent organization, not necessarily doing immediate deeds of violence but preparing itself for ultimate violence. It would not harbour cowards. If it does, it will cease to be the power it has become. Every Indian, high or low, (there is no high and no low for the Congress) has to make his choice.

Abbotabad, 8-7-39

Bengal Political Prisoners

I observe that political prisoners of Bengal in Dumdum and Alipore jails are determined upon hunger-strike for their unconditional release. I would urge them strongly not to take to hunger-strike. I am sure Saratbabu who is handling the case thinks likewise. I would ask the prisoners to be guided by Saratbabu.

Abbotabad, 8-7-1939

M. K. G.

My Early Life (By Gandhiji) Price Re. 1. Postage 2 As. Available at Harijan Office—Poona 4.

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

IV

The reader might have thought that my examination of the Kumarappa Committee's Report on the Industrial Survey of the Central Provinces was concluded. The fact is that constant travelling and preoccupations disabled me from pursuing the examination with the regularity I had intended. The long journey to the Frontier Province has provided the opportunity to continue and finish the examination.

The last instalment brought up the examination to the Chapter II. The third is no less important. The survey of 606 villages revealed to the Committee the painful fact that the average income of the villager per head was no more than Rs. 12. This need not startle the arm-chair scientist who relies for his figures on books and who has been taught to believe that it is anything between Rs. 65 to Rs. 80. Both are right from their own standpoints and data. The figure of 65 to 80 is an all-India average which includes the income of millionaires, middlemen and zamindars. The figure has a purpose of its own. But for the Kumarappa Committee the figure 65 would be wholly false. The figure 12 is accurate and truly scientific. That Committee was concerned with the average income of the villagers only. The Committee says:

"Our survey showed that most of the industries are tottering. There are hardly any which can be said to be even in a normal state. The taxable capacity of the people is rapidly going down and if the matter is not taken in hand immediately, the time is fast approaching when the Government will get nothing from the people.

"A walk round a village will convince anybody that the financial position of the inhabitants is steadily going down. No elaborate statistics are necessary to show that once they were flourishing and now they have not got the funds even to repair the mansions built by their forbears, many of which are in ruins. While looking into the economic condition of the villages, we found that the income of the people was unbelievably low. We are told that the villagers may be exaggerating their condition for fear that our inquiry may lead to further taxation, but our survey, being broad-based and covering 606 villages, shows us clearly the uniformity in the low level of the incomes received by the people. In even skilled industries such as weaving, people are not able to get more than 50 to 70 rupees per annum per family which works out to about 12 rupees per head."

The meagreness of the income shows itself in the diet of the people. Thus the report says:

"It is hardly necessary to say when the per capita income is 12 rupees per annum that the people's diet is not balanced. Their food is largely rice or some other grain, sometimes taken as gruel to fill themselves up with water, but

the tragedy of the situation is that even this little amount of rice that is available to them is polished rice making their diet even worse. They hardly get the chaff. This makes it incumbent on the Government to see that at least the rice that is given to the poor people has all its nutritive elements left in it. It is therefore that we are suggesting that the rice mills should be banned. Such mills not only remove the nutritive part of the food but also take away the purchasing power of the people. Whatever may be said for the rich who add to their diet nutritive elements from other sources, it is imperative that those who have very little should be helped to conserve what little they have...

"There is a considerable amount of waste water in nearly every village. This waste water can be utilised for the purpose of growing vegetables and fruits. In every village there is a cesspool round about the well which breeds mosquitoes and emits a foul smell. There is no reason why this should not be turned to good account by utilising it for the growing of vegetable gardens. With a little effort the villagers can make this nuisance into a blessing, but they require leadership and that leadership can only come from those who have the welfare of the villagers at heart, and Government has to render these services to the people, if not on any other higher principle, at least on the principle of rendering them some service for the taxes they receive."

There are other valuable hints on the subject of diet for which I must refer the reader to the original.

There is a brief reference to agriculture. Here is an excerpt from it :

"Our terms of reference do not extend to agriculture, but inasmuch as the industries in villages touch agriculture at various points and are dependent for their well-being on the prosperity of the farmers, it is incumbent on us to point out some of the difficulties that the farmer meets with. We have, in a way, already touched upon the question of payment of revenues. In addition to this, the land tenure appears to us to require careful examination. For various industries the raw materials have to be collected either from jungles or from *malguzari* lands. These collections are subject to varying duties. The *malguzar* shares his revenue with the Government, but there are exactions for fruits, collection of leaves and grass and taking of clay etc., for which also he makes demands either in kind or in money. These exactions work harshly on the villagers and handicap their productivity. After careful scrutiny of the existing practices, it may be necessary to take legislative action to safeguard the welfare of the people. A great deal of harm has been done and is being done because of the unscientific dues taken without careful planning. During our survey we found that very little attention is being paid to renew the fertility of

the soil. No adequate arrangements for agricultural analysis are provided in the districts. Manuring is neglected. A good deal of the available farmyard manure is either burnt as cowdung or wasted without being collected. If Sisal hemp is prepared, the residual pulp obtained is a fertilizer rich in nitrogen, phosphoric acid, potash and lime. This manure is considered better than cattle dung. The bones are largely exported. The people of the province do not seem to be alive to the manurial values of bone-meal. It is no use preaching constantly, in season and out of season, to the ignorant farmers and saying that such propaganda has not produced much results. It is time that the Agricultural Department took this function of re-fertilising the soil on its own shoulders and supplied to the farmers manure from various depots in the villages at the proper season getting back their return at the time of their harvest. Manufacture of artificial fertilizers should form a key industry. Seeds also may be given out. In this way, to a large extent, the speculative side of agriculture may be spread out, because, in some parts, the Agricultural Department will gain and in other parts it will lose."

On the methods of production the Committee says:

"Constantly we find in the reports of the Department of Industries that certain of the cottage industries cannot be worked on an economic basis so as to compete with mill-products. Such statements are made from a faulty consideration of the problem. The question of competition with the mills does not arise because, at the present time, large scale organized industries are rendered various services and are granted concessions by the Government which enable them to produce cheaply, while village and cottage units hardly get even the recognition of their existence, not to mention services and concessions. They are made to fall back on their own resources as regards development of the industry as well as opening up of the market. Unless these handicaps are removed and these industries are given their fair share of Government attention in regard to technical research, facilities for obtaining raw materials, and the many obstacles in the way of their efficient working are removed, it will not be right to draw comparisons. Even apart from such considerations, industries which tend to concentrate wealth have anti-social consequences, to avoid which the State is empowered to regulate and control economic life. Cottage and village industries, as long as their natural tendency is to distribute wealth, have a definite unchallengeable place in the economy of a nation and more especially in that of our country. A careful examination will reveal that any cheapness in production in large scale industries or any economies that may be effected, are not necessarily inherent in the method of production. It is largely due to expenditure which should be debited to this method of production being spread over the whole country." (To be continued)

Notes

Indians in South Africa

I have carefully read Sir Raza Ali's condemnation of my advice to Indians in South Africa not to embark upon a non-European front. My advice may be bad on merits but does not become bad because I have been absent from South Africa for a quarter of a century. I have no doubt about the soundness of my advice. However much one may sympathize with the Bantus, Indians cannot make common cause with them. I doubt if the Bantus themselves will as a class countenance any such move. They can only damage and complicate their cause by mixing it up with the Indian, as Indians would damage theirs by such mixture. But neither the A. I. C. C. resolution nor my advice need deter the Indians from forming a non-European front if they are sure thereby of winning their freedom. Indeed, had they thought it beneficial or possible, they would have formed it long ago.

Abbotabad, 8-7-1939

M. K. G.

'Beautiful and Historic Event'

Shri C. Rajagopalachari has issued the following statement to the Press :

The hearts of millions of Hindus must have throbbed with joy on reading the news of the peaceful realisation of Harijan temple entry in the great Meenakshi temple at Madura. What has to be noted by all in this beautiful and historic event may with advantage be emphasised by me on this occasion. The trustees, priests, and all concerned have co-operated with Shri A. Vaidyanatha Iyer towards this consummation. The practical unanimity of public opinion behind this departure from custom rendered any disturbance or irritation impossible. The quiet and pious manner of the whole proceeding and freedom from any bravado or spirit of coercion sanctified the achievement and made it fit in beautifully with the genius of Hindu religion, tradition and practice. Patience and restraint will assist, whereas impatience and haste may retard and even render impossible the application of the same method of non-violence in other temples. The attainment of our goal is now certain and we shall lose nothing by a strict adherence to these principles of action, whereas the least suggestion of coercion will mar the progress of the movement.

It is perhaps unnecessary but still I had better say that no action should be taken anywhere else without the same amount of thought, preparation and consultation and the guidance of respected leaders as rendered the Madura event possible.

Let me repeat what I have said on many an occasion. The reform that we desire to achieve does not depend on the number of temples opened to Harijans. If the gates of Shri Padmanabha shrine at Trivandrum and of Shri Meenakshi temple at Madura have been thrown open, the exclusion may be taken as automatically abolished. Indeed, in this manner many a

change has come in Hinduism and orthodoxy has accepted them.

IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

A meeting of the trustees of the Bai Lilabai Girl's School Trust passed some months ago the following resolution :

"The Lilabai Trust Fund was carrying on some activities in regard to education firstly by running a Marathi school in Girgaum when there was no school run by the Municipality in that centre and when it was most needed in that place. After the school was opened in that centre by the Municipality, the school run out of the trust fund was closed and the fund was utilized for awarding scholarships to deserving students to enable them to carry on their studies. With a view to put the working of the fund on a more active footing the present trustees wanted to hand over the same to Mahatma Gandhi with a view to enable him to devote the same towards the educational uplift of the Harijans which is an urgent need of the day. The trustees approached Mahatmaji because it is universally acknowledged that none could serve the cause of Harijans better than Mahatmaji who has been responsible for all that is being done for them in this country. It was, however, discovered that there were certain legal difficulties for doing so. To meet the terms of the trust deed, Mahatma Gandhi was approached to appoint his trustees and he recommended the names of two persons who should be invited to act as trustees and also wanted the present trustees to work with them. The present trustees, therefore, now resolve that Shri Shankerlal Banker and Shri Mahadev Desai, whose names have been recommended as above, be invited and requested to work as trustees of the Lilabai Trust Fund."

Accordingly the new trustees met on the 5th of July, and resolved to prepare a draft of a new trust deed and to get the securities of the trust transferred to the new trustees. They also resolved "that an amount of Rs. 1,000 (nearly equal to a year's interest on the trust securities) be handed over to Shri Mahadevbhai Desai for granting scholarships to Harijan girls or for donation to the Harijan Ashram school at Sabarmati according to the wishes of Mahatmaji, the scholarships or donations to be in the name of Bai Lilabai Morarji Gokuldas." As the amount could not be drawn from the bank in the absence from India of the Chairman Shri Ratansi D. Morarji, Shri Shantikumar was good enough to promise to pay the amount out of his personal account which would be reimbursed on the Chairman's return.

The trustees of the Bai Lilabai Girls' School trust deserve the congratulations of the Hindu community in general, and the Harijans in particular, for resolving to use the interest of the trust fund for the education of Harijan girls. It was possible for some of the trustees of the trust which was made by a so-called high-class Hindu to contend that the trust was for only 'high-class' Hindu girls. But that would have been a wrong, as also a narrow, interpretation of the objects of the trust. Instead the trustees put the most liberal and correct interpretation on the objects of the trust and resolved to use it for the most deserving among the Hindu community.

There are many trusts in the country created for the benefit of Hindus, but ignorance and

prejudice have come in the way of their being used for the benefit of Harijans. The Temple Entry Proclamation in Travancore broke this wall of ignorance and prejudice in Travancore. May the worthy example under notice help in breaking the wall everywhere in India regarding temples and all other trust property meant for the use of the Hindu community.

As soon as I am in possession of the amount I propose to utilize it in consultation with Shri Amritlal Thakkar, General Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh, and Shri Narahari Parikh, Manager, Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati.

M. D.

NOTES ON NIRO

[Shri I. S. Amin, Chief Chemist and Technical Superintendent of the Alembic Chemical Works of Baroda, has made important observations during the past two years and arrived at certain conclusions in the experiments on the collection and preservation of niro. He has now furnished me with the results which are too technical for the reader. He has appended useful notes to the results which are given below. M. K. G.]

Apparent distinction between niro and sweet toddy

Niro is water, white, transparent, not in the least opaque, sweet to the palate like cane sugar solution, very faint flavour towards putrified eggs, i. e. hydrogen sulphide gas, which resembles more or less green cocoanut water.

Sweet toddy is not transparent, is more or less opaque, and sweet to the palate not on account of its cane sugar contents, but on account of alcohol varying from 3 to 5 %. Alcohol has also got a sweet taste, which may falsely be taken as that of sugar in absence of sour taste. It has got peculiar aroma like that of sweet whey on account of alcoholic fermentation. Niro remains transparent as long as there is no alcoholic fermentation, because the alcohol precipitates the proteins from solution, and makes it opaque. The aroma and taste of niro are quite different from those of sweet toddy.

What precautions should be taken to obtain Niro

(1) It is possible to collect it only during cool nights, i. e. in winter only, when the night temperature is not above 20°C. With the temperature of niro at 25°C in the morning, its alcoholic content is about 0.5%, which can be looked upon as not to contain alcohol; otherwise nights below 20°C will be very few.

(2) The oozing spot and the surface round about should be washed with clean water and the collecting vessel should be covered with a brown paper instead of the leaves of the very plant, as a precautionary measure to protect the niro from the flying yeast, which are generally found in abundance on the toddy plant itself.

(3) If earthen collecting vessels are used, they should be heated over charcoal fire to kill all the yeast and other bacteria embedded in the

crevices and pin holes of the vessels. Preferably glazed earthenware or glass jars should be used, which are easy to sterilize with boiling water.

With the above precautions addition of lime will not be necessary. Moreover excess of lime will change the taste, colour and aroma of niro. Toddy drinkers drink toddy for its aroma, taste and alcohol, and if they are to be made to drink only niro, they must have at least the aroma and taste of niro in its original form without being spoilt by lime. Lime is useful when *gud* is to be prepared.

How niro can be preserved for 24 hours

Niro should be sold as fresh possible in the morning only, because as the day passes fermentation starts progressively producing alcohol. For serving in the afternoon, evening and night, it should be pasturised in glass bottles to 60° to 65°C for 1/2 to 1 hour without adding anything, or should be refrigerated at 0° to 5°C in a glass bottle immediately upon collection and maintained at that temperature until served. If the bottle is allowed to be taken home for consumption, there will not be much chance of fermenting it to alcohol, because niro has practically very few yeast cells, which would not produce healthy alcoholic fermenting, but side by side other fermentations producing sulphurated hydrogen and breakdown products of proteins will be started in preponderance, and such fermented toddy, instead of being enticing, will be repulsive.

Experiments for preserving niro from fermentation with the help of chloroform, sodium bisulphate (i. e. with sulphur dioxide), salicylic acid, lime and acetic acid have not given promising results.

The question of collecting and serving niro in place of fermented sweet toddy is difficult to solve, and will take time until the toddy tappers and selling licence holders are trained with the above methods of collection and preservation of toddy. The fermentation in toddy will certainly occur to a smaller or greater extent if collected in present-day earthen pots, which are used over and over again because they already contain sufficient yeast within their walls and fermentation starts as niro gets on being collected. This is evident from experiments No. 1, 2 and 3.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1939

[ONE ANNA

Notes

Bandemataram

Some students in Hyderabad complain that my note on *Bandemataram* has created confusion in their minds. They read an extract from it in some local papers from which the words 'at a mixed gathering' were omitted so as to leave the impression that it was not to be sung even in gatherings of their own, though such an interpretation was absurd. I was being quoted in support of the contention that the students should not be allowed to sing *Bandemataram* in their own rooms or the prayer hall set apart for their section who had not only no objection but who regarded it as part of their prayer to sing it. My note is quite plain. If at any mixed gathering any person objected to the singing of *Bandemataram* even with the Congress expurgations, the singing should be dropped. But it was never intended to apply to gatherings in which there was no objection raised. Such an objection would amount to interference unlawful and intolerant. If objections could be carried to such lengths, even the performance of religious worship would become impossible. And I know that for many patriots the singing of *Bandemataram* amounts to a religious duty.

Abbottabad, 14-7-39

A Repudiation

Janab Yusuf Meherally, President Cutch Praja-kiya Parishad, writes :

"In a recent issue of the *Harijan*, under the caption 'Leaders Must Lead', you have made reference to Cutch which raises one or two points that need to be cleared up. The note has it that a Cutch worker informed you that 'some leaders in Cutch are telling the people there that but for your stopping civil disobedience they would today be enjoying responsible government or something near it.'

We were not a little surprised to read this, for to the best of my knowledge none of our responsible workers in Cutch has said this. Since the suspension of the satyagraha by us under your advice on April 1, I alone must have addressed over 200 meetings all over Cutch. My other colleagues in Cutch have similarly done a great deal of touring. But nowhere have our leading workers given expression to such sentiments. In fact, at a public meeting in the capital town of Bhuj, which is our headquarters, I asked the large gathering present if any among them had heard these or similar words. The

unanimous reply was in the negative. I asked again if there were any person in the audience who had recollection of hearing anything that even resembled this. Not one such person was there. I do not wish to labour the point any further. But we could not help feeling hurt that you should have lent the weight of your name to a statement which on further enquiry you would have found to be incorrect."

I gladly publish this repudiation. But I must say that there was no occasion for the President to feel hurt. Had I mentioned names, I would certainly have referred to him before writing the note. But when a responsible worker asked me if I had stopped civil disobedience in Cutch and wanted a public declaration from me, I could not wait for confirmation before giving my answer. Nor does the present repudiation take the matter any further than where it was left by my note except that Janab Meherally and those whom he asked did not make the statement alluded to. The proper procedure is to challenge my informant to produce the names of those who he knew had made the statement imputed to them or unreservedly to withdraw his allegation. I may inform the reader that I have adopted the procedure myself and asked my informant to produce the names or to withdraw his allegation. Meanwhile my note has served a very useful purpose in the other States if not in Cutch. The leaders have a greater sense of responsibility and realize that my opinion should have no weight with them except to the extent that it appeals to their heads and hearts. They are solely responsible for any action they take. And naturally. They alone know the situation at first hand within their own spheres of action.

The Way to Do It

Narandas Gandhi is khadi-mad. He is a good teacher after my style and an able accountant, but has been for years a staunch believer in the gospel of khadi. He devotes about four hours daily to spinning. His output gives him khadi enough for his household. Five years ago he conceived the idea of popularizing khadi and raising funds for public services by dedicating as many days as my years at the time of my birthday. He began with my 66th year. I attach the greatest importance to my service of the poor through khadi. I do not regard it as a mad man's mad idea. It cannot be so mad when it is remembered that it has put into the pockets of Hindu and Muslim

spinners and weavers nearly five crores of rupees. Though, therefore, Narandas Gandhi's enterprise is connected with my name, I do not hesitate to advertise it year after year. His ambition rises as years roll by. And it has been always hitherto more than fulfilled. He began by asking co-workers to contribute in all 66,000 yards of yarn and collecting 66 coins from those who would care to give them. Collection of yarn was made from all over India. Collection of coin was naturally confined to Rajkot for it was a matter of door-to-door begging. This time Narandas Gandhi hopes to receive, instead of seventy thousand, 70 lakhs of yards of yarn. It should not be difficult of fulfilment if seven hundred volunteers spin 1,000 yards of yarn daily from 2nd August for seventy days. The programme commences on 2nd August and finishes on 10th October. A fast spinner would do 1,000 yards in three hours. But an average spinner would easily do it in 4 hours. If Narandas secures the co-operation of seven thousand volunteers, the output need not be more than 100 yards per day. That means giving less than thirty minutes daily. And of course merit lies in an increasing number of volunteers responding every year. The virtue of khadi lies in bringing the distribution of the work of spinning as near the individual use of khadi as possible. The spinning provides the best and the easiest method of voluntary and useful co-operation. Let me hope Narandas Gandhi will secure the association of many volunteers in his enterprise. They should send their names and addresses to him as early as possible. The money contributions and the proceeds from the sale of yarn or khadi as the case may be, though they will be nominally presented to me, will be returned by me to be equally divided in three parts for Harijan and khadi work in Kathiawad and the Rajkot Rashtriya Shala.

Abbottabad, 12-7-39

That Obstinate Disease

Thus writes Shri Tatachar who is an ardent lover of Harijans:

"Some time ago there was a riot at Nallathur Cheri. Castemen attacked the Adidravida bhajanai and inflicted injuries on several members of the party. In this riot castemen received a few injuries. Adidravidas complained of the riot to the police. The police took no notice of their complaint. Castemen filed private complaints in court against 5 Adidravidas. These 5 Adidravidas were convicted and fined Rs. 25 each and one month's rigorous imprisonment in default. Appeals were filed and heard on 26-5-39. Judgment was reserved and was pronounced today in favour of the appellant accused. In accordance with the directions of the appellate court, the appellants asked the trying court on 27-5-39 to postpone the recovery of the fines, until judgments were pronounced in the appeals. The lower court refused to grant them time and sent them to jail.... This grave act of injustice must satisfy you that the problem of the removal of untouchability is not going to solve itself."

He has sent me also copious notes which I have read with painful interest. The letter from which I have quoted bare facts is filled with biting strictures of the police and the first court which is reported to have refused to stay execution although appeal was admitted and the appellate court is said to have recommended stay of execution. I have asked Shri Tatachar for further particulars. Allegations that the police refused to register the complaints of the Harijans while private complaints against them were readily entertained and that the trying magistrate refused to suspend execution of sentences, are serious enough to warrant a departmental inquiry. There is no doubt that if the virus of untouchability is to be eradicated, ceaseless vigilance by the central authority is necessary.

Abbottabad, 14-7-39

Bengal Political Prisoners

Some women are inundating me with wires and letters about the hunger-striking prisoners in Bengal. One telegram peremptorily asks me to discharge my responsibility by myself joining the hunger-strike. Another lays the whole burden on my shoulders of leading the agitation on the ground that the prisoners had suspended their hunger-strike on my assurance. I have returned suitable replies where necessary, but the matter is too important to be disposed of by personal replies. I fear my fair correspondents are damaging the cause they represent by expecting me to do what I cannot do. They are damaging it also by encouraging hunger-strikers. I have no doubt that the hunger-strike is wrong. No person should free himself from prison by refusing to take food. The women who are corresponding with me, and others who are agitating for their release, should persuade the hunger-strikers to give up their fast. The exercise of pressure of public opinion is a legitimate method, and if it is wisely applied, it will become quite effective. No Government nowadays can afford to be indifferent to popular opinion. Therefore, I implore those who are organizing public opinion to persuade the hunger-strikers to give up the hunger-strike, and not to mislead the public by expecting me to do the impossible.

At the same time I would urge the Bengal Government to put an end to this particular agitation by releasing the prisoners although, as I have admitted, the prisoners have put themselves in the wrong by resorting to hunger-strike. The release is long overdue. Rightly or wrongly, and I think rightly, the public had expected their release on the transfer of power to a responsible legislature. That expectation should have been fulfilled long ago. The Government will lose nothing and will certainly gain much by yielding to popular pressure in this matter of release of political prisoners.

Abbottabad, 15-7-39

Give Up Hunger-strike

I observe from the Press that the hunger-striking prisoners have sent me a letter and also made a public appeal. There is no doubt that they have public opinion solidly behind them. I would beseech them to be satisfied with this backing and to give up the hunger-strike. They are brave. I suggest to them that their hunger-strike is misplaced and is no part of their bravery. Let them bravely suffer till public opinion makes the Government release them. They may rely upon my doing all I can to secure their release in an honourable manner.

Abbottabad, 19-7-39

M. K. G.

A DANGEROUS GAME

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have read Subhas Babu's statement on the Bombay prohibition with pain and sorrow. He had discussed the question with me when I was in Bombay. I had told him to confer with the Bombay ministers. I do not know whether he did so. But I was unprepared for his public statement. He has used the arguments of the opponents of prohibition. He was President of the Congress last year, and having been duly elected for the second year he chose to resign owing to differences with his colleagues. He is still head of the Bengal Congress executive. He is identified with the prohibition policy of the Congress. His responsibility has not ceased because he is no longer in the Working Committee. Had he been a member, he could not have spoken as he has done. His statement because of his position is calculated to discredit the Bombay ministry in a manner the avowed opponents of prohibition could never hope to do. I can only hope that in this matter Subhas Babu does not reflect the opinion of any other responsible Congressman, and that the general public will continue to support the Bombay ministerial policy with as much enthusiasm as hitherto.

The ministers' duty is plain. They have to pursue their programme undeterred by any opposition, if they have faith in it. Prohibition is the greatest moral reform in the Congress programme. Previous Governments too had given their lip assent to it, but having been irresponsible they had neither the courage nor the will to carry it out. They were not willing to forego revenue which they could get without effort. They did not stay to examine its tainted source. The Congress Governments have the backing of public opinion. The Working Committee after very careful deliberation issued its mandate on prohibition. The ministers have all over taken it up to the best of their ability. The manner of execution was naturally left to the respective ministries. The Bombay ministers have been courageously pursuing their programme with every prospect of success. Theirs is a difficult position. They were bound to tackle Bombay some day or other. They would be faced with the same opposition as today from the interests directly affected by the prohibition policy. It is not open to any Congressman to embarrass the ministers as Subhas Babu has done.

The communal question does not arise at all. Subhas Babu has rendered a great disservice to the Congress by raising the communal cry and the cry of minorities. Independence of India is impossible if causes great or small are to be discredited and ruined on the altar of the minority cry. Subhas Babu has played a most dangerous game by mixing up the communal question with such a purely moral reform as prohibition. It is as much the concern of a Muslim or a Parsi or a Christian as of a Hindu to look after his less fortunate countryman who happens to be a labourer and

falls a victim to drink. The Bombay property-owners will pay one crore rupees as additional tax not because they are Parsis or Muslims but because they are property-owners. It is altogether misleading to suggest that the taxpayer himself a non-drinker will pay the tax for saving the drunkard. He will pay the tax for the education of his children whereas hitherto the drinker has been made by him to pay for that education. The additional tax will be a tardy but very small reparation for the wrong done by monied men to the poor. And the poor have no class. They irrespective of their caste and creed make by themselves a downtrodden class. Their enforced creed is wretched poverty.

Parsis are philanthropists of the world. Why should they be behindhand in this the greatest philanthropy? And if theirs is the greatest contribution, it is but in accordance with their best tradition. And they will be thrice blessed. Many of them will be weaned from a trade which corrupts the morals of their countrymen less fortunately placed than they. They will themselves be weaned from the drink habit. However mild it may be for them, I know, from having lived in intimate contact with them, that the drink does leave an indelible mark on them. Thirdly, monied men amongst them will have paid for the long delayed reform. The cry of minorities is a calumny. It is a Parsi Minister to whose lot has fallen the privilege of introducing prohibition. Dr. Gilder's is a job which brings him no money and it brings him drudgery and loss of a princely medical practice. Another equally disinterested physician is the Sheriff of Bombay. A third learned Parsi is Vice-Chancellor of the University, and a fourth businessman is the Mayor of Bombay. I do not know that there has been such a happy conjunction before in the history of Bombay. If the Congressmen and the Congress ministry of Bombay were communally-minded and were indifferent to the minorities, this unique event would not have taken place.

And I suggest that without the willing co-operation of the Muslim population of Bombay the movement in Bombay could not have been introduced. I am quite sure that the best Muslim mind in all India is with the Congress in this Bombay project.

The piecemeal solution flung by Subhas Babu would not work. For one thing it would lack the psychological background. I therefore invite Subhas Babu to retrace his steps and join me in making an appeal to the great Parsi community and those others who may oppose the reform to help it to become the success which it deserves to be. It is his duty as Rajen Babu's immediate predecessor to help the Bombay ministry which is bravely pursuing the policy laid down for it by the Congress.

Abbottabad, 13-7-39

R. Rolland : Mahatma Gandhi	1-6-0	0-6-0
C. F. Andrews : M. Gandhi's Ideas	2-7-0	0-5-0
Available at Harijan Office — Poona 4.		

HARIJAN

July 22

1939

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY OR PROVINCIAL JEALOUSY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jamshedji Mehta writes:

"After the introduction of provincial autonomy one is pained to observe the growth of provincial exclusiveness and jealousies in matters big or trivial. I often wonder if provincial autonomy has not come upon us as a curse rather than a blessing. Instead of the nationalistic spirit having increased, provincial exclusiveness seems to have flourished. Before autonomy 'my country' used to mean India. Now it means 'my province'. Will you not warn the country against the danger before it becomes too deep-rooted to be dealt with?"

The letter is naturally in Gujarati. I have given a very free rendering of the thought and the grief running through the original. Shri Jamshedji's complaint has justification for it. Provincialism of a healthy type there is, and always will be. There is no meaning in having separate provinces, if there were no differences, though healthy, between them. But our provincialism must never be narrow or exclusive. It should be conducive to the interest of the whole country of which the provinces are but parts. They may be likened to tributaries of a mighty river. The tributaries promote its mightiness. Their strength and purity will be reflected in the majestic stream. It must be thus with the provinces. Everything that the provinces do must be for the glory of the whole. If the great contribution of Rabindranath glorifies Bengal, it glorifies also India. Does not his influence pervade the whole of India? Dadabhai lived not merely for the Parsis, not merely for Bombay, but for the whole of India. There is no room for exclusiveness or jealousy between province and province, unless India is to be dismembered into warring countries each living for itself and if possible at the expense of the rest. The Congress will have lived in vain if such a calamity descends upon the country. Every attempt at dividing India into watertight compartments must be resisted. India's destiny is to become a strong independent nation making her unique contribution to the world's progress. Our patriotism is at no stage exclusive. We do not desire prosperity at the expense of the other nations of the earth. A time must come when we will be able to say, "We are no less citizens of the world than we are citizens of India." But the time will never come unless we know the art of being citizens of an Independent India. We cannot learn the art if we develop poisonous provincialisms. The right national life has to

begin with the individual. I wish to be strong and free so that not only I but my neighbour also may benefit by my strength and freedom. We as individuals or provinces must bring our best fruit to the altar of the motherland.

Abbottabad, 14-7-39

A GOOD SAMARITAN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As will appear from the following letter received by me from Shri A. S. Wadia of Poona, he has been truly a good Samaritan to the poor people who eke out a bare living by heaving up to the Mahableshwar Hill loads of wood from the plains below for the use of the summer visitors. Here is the extract from Shri Wadia's letter:

"I went to Mahableshwar to get that isolation and quiet I wanted to write my new book on Southern Rhodesia. But while there my mind and energies were unexpectedly diverted to looking into a grievance of the village people who came up to Mahableshwar from the valleys below with heavy loads of hay and firewood and sold them for a mere pittance in our bazaar. The mountain tracks by which they came up as a rule passed by the forest seats where I sat and wrote my *Romance of Rhodesia*. Whenever I happened to talk to them, they invariably complained of the awful condition of the tracks by which they came up, as the pointed stones cut their toes and blistered their feet. They beseeched me to see for myself the condition of tracks lower down and do something to improve them. To carry out their wish I personally went down the valleys and examined the tracks and found them stony, steep and dangerously narrow at places. On inquiry I found that the tracks came to be made by constant use and were never touched by the hand of man ever since Mahableshwar was discovered by General Lodnick a hundred years ago.

Realizing that the grievance of the village people was just and needed immediate attention, I put away the writing of my *Rhodesia* and engaged a gang of coolies and systematically took to the smoothing and broadening of the tracks, breaking up obstructive stones and lopping off branches which came in the way of their long loads of firewood. Off and on the work was continued for eight weeks, during the course of which I must have employed altogether about a thousand coolies. Counting small and big, a dozen tracks must have been made, re-made and in some cases re-aligned. Four of these tracks start from the far-off Konkan villages over the Konkan ridges into the Deccan hills and up Mahableshwar. In two cases the knife-edged summits of two Konkan hills, by name Dabel Tonk and Bavlee Tonk, I found so very narrow and dangerous that women and children with loads on their heads had actually to squat down and crawl on their hands and feet when a strong gust of wind blew over the summits and threatened to hurl them down the precipice if they dared to walk stand-

ing up. These two hill-tops, of over half a mile each, I had completely broken up, though they were made in parts of hard basalt rock and three to four feet paths constructed with small stone parapets made at places for safety.

Now I come to the main purpose of my writing you these notes. It is to ask you if Government is not bound to keep in good condition these tracks that I have made for the use of the villagers just as much as they are bound to maintain in good condition the roads for vehicular traffic. On inquiry I found that about 50 to 60 villages in the Konkan will make use of these newly made tracks to go to Mahableshwar during the season. I also ascertained that these villages contribute about Rs. 50 to Rs. 200, and in one case Rs. 300, as land tax each year. I do not know what Government does for the villagers in return for the few thousand rupees it extracts from their hard earnings each year as land tax. You must remember that to these 60 villages in the Konkan and the Deccan Mahableshwar is the one and only source by which they could earn a few rupees each year to meet their Governmental dues. For most of them have no other source of income except what they can get out of their piece of land provided the monsoon is propitious, and this piece of land that each has, barely provides him with sufficient grain for himself and his family. Consequently, for whatever money they need they must go to Mahableshwar with loads of hay and firewood. Not only men must go, but their wives and mothers and children of 10 and 12 must go with them to fill the family coffer. You would not believe me but I have personally talked to dozens of men, women and children who had left their distant Konkan villages on a Sunday afternoon to reach Mahableshwar on Tuesday morning for the weekly bazaar. And all their two days of exertion and privation ended in their earning 4, or at the most 5, annas each.

While conversing with the villagers I gathered a few more facts which might interest you:

1. They all complained that the soil of their cultivated fields was deteriorating year after year so that their crops came to about half of what they used to have ten years ago.

2. The Congress Government, they said, had again imposed on them a tax of 4 annas on each head of cattle after exempting them from the tax for the last two years.

3. The waste lands round the villages should be given them for cultivation and small ares of forest reserve should be opened for grazing their cattle.

I wish you, Mahatmaji, would do something to help the 'Adijans', as I call these poor villagers of the valleys round Mahableshwar, in whose welfare and well-being I am personally interested."

I forwarded the letter to the Bombay ministers, and I am happy to be able to inform the reader that the matter has been taken up by them. The Bombay Government will keep in good repair the footpaths so considerably smoothed down and made safer than they were before by

Shri Wadia. They will also attend to the other matters referred to by my correspondent. I wrote to him asking for further particulars of his enterprise. It appears that he laboured with the labourers himself and constituted himself their road engineer. He paid from his own pocket over Rs. 200 which were supplemented by two friends to the extent of Rs. 125. I am quite sure that Shri Wadia has lost nothing by suspending the writing of his book which it is highly probable will now bear the impress of his very practical philanthropy. It is fashionable to give something to charities out of one's superfluous cash. But not many give their labour as well as money. Those who do ensure the best use possible of their donations. It is to be hoped that the other hill-goers will copy Shri Wadia's good example by studying and ameliorating the condition of the poor who uncomplainingly labour for them often on starvation wages.

Abbottabad, 13-7-39

MEENAKSHI TEMPLE OPEN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have before me Rameshwari Devi's address to the Tamil Nad Provincial Harijan Temple Entry Conference held at Madura on 13th June last. I had a letter from her describing how successful her tour seemed to have been from the numbers who attended her meetings and the enthusiasm they showed. She had also expressed the hope that the famous Meenakshi temple was likely soon to be opened to Harijans. Little did I then know that the temple was to be opened so soon. But the wonderful event happened on the 8th instant.

It is a great event in the campaign against untouchability and the movement for the opening of temples to Harijans. The Proclamation opening the State temples of Travancore was no doubt a very big step. But it was the prerogative of the Maharaja. He had in his Dewan a wise adviser. The Maharaja, the Maharani and the Dewan brought about the transformation. But the opening of the celebrated temple of Madura is a greater event in that it is the popular will that has brought about the happy consummation. It reflects a decided conversion of the temple-goers of the Meenakshi temple. Shri Vaidyanath Aiyar and his co-workers deserve all the praise for the ceaseless effort that they have put forth in educating public opinion.

Let us hope that this opening will be followed up by the opening of the other great temples of the South. There should be no hurry, no hustling of the public. The opinion of the temple-goers is of the greatest value. Theirs should be the deciding voice. The workers will consolidate every gain so as to prevent any setback. Every opening of a temple to Harijans should mark greater purification inside and outside the temple opened. The sanctity of such temples should on no account be marred. No political capital should be made out of what is, and is intended to be, a purely religious act.

Harijans too should be taught to understand the religious significance of the opening of temples for them.

There were fifteen useful resolutions taken at the conference. Of these the following three attract special attention :

1. This Conference notes with deep regret the recent action of the Mysore Government in having withdrawn their order permitting Harijans into the Sravana Belagola temple even up to the limits where Non-Hindus are allowed.

2. This Conference resolves that the Provincial Boards of the Harijan Sevak Sangh should take up the organization of a Provincial Sevak Service with the following objects :

(a) There should be a whole-time worker in charge of every institution run by the Harijan Sevak Sangh, as schools, hostels, etc.

(b) The sevaks should undertake to serve for at least five years.

(c) They should be paid an allowance ranging from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 according to the needs of the individual and the circumstances of the locality.

(d) The sevak shall be attached to any one of the centres allotted to him by the Provincial Board.

(e) The qualifications of the sevak and the pledge to be given by him shall be the same as that of the Central Board sevaks, with this additional qualification that he should have passed at least the III form and must have been for at least three years in Harijan work, and should possess full faith and confidence in the ideals set forth by Mahatmaji and the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

(f) The Provincial Board, though solely responsible for the salary of the sevaks, the institution to which he is attached will also undertake to pay at least half his allowance.

(g) The Provincial Board in consultation with the district or local committees shall select the sevaks under the scheme who will abide by the conditions laid down by the Provincial Board from time to time.

(h) The sevaks attached to each Provincial Board shall meet at least once a year.

3. Resolved that a short workers' training camp extending about a month be organized by the respective Provincial Boards in any of the following centres, viz. the Ramakrishna Vidyalyaya of Coimbatore, the Vinayashram in Guntur, and the Kengeri Gurukul in Mysore. Shri Avinasingam, Ramachandran, Bapineedu and Gopalaswamy be requested to draft a scheme for their training and circulate the same to all the Provincial Boards."

The first is surprising and demands an answer from the Mysore authorities. I hope that there is some misunderstanding somewhere. A concession once given is not withdrawn lightly.

The second resolution is very important. The conference has thereby taken a big step. The third is also a substantial resolution. Let us hope that whatever has been undertaken by the conference will be duly carried out. Our resolutions often begin and end with being printed and advertised in the Press. They have value only if they are reduced to practice.

Abbottabad, 12-7-39

HAND SPINNING IN HOMER

I

I have shown elsewhere (*Young India*, 1921) what a large place was filled by hand spinning and weaving in the Vedic Aryan household. These basic handicrafts were practised with equal diligence among the ancient Greeks, as can be seen from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

When Iris the heavenly messenger went to Helen with the news that Paris and Menelaus were going to meet in single combat,

She in her chamber found

Her whom she sought: a *mighty web she wove*
Of double woof and brilliant hues; whereon
Was interwoven many a toilsome strife
Of Trojan warriors and of brass-clad Greeks,
For her encountered at the hand of Mars.

(Lord Derby's version III, 149 ff)

Spinning and weaving were in the heroic age of Greece the art of princesses no less than the art of peasant girls. If the mistress plied the loom, so did the maid. Nothing pained Hector of the glancing helm so much as the thought that if the Trojans were defeated Andromache his wife might be

led away

A weeping captive by some brass-clad Greek;
Haply in Argos, at a mistress's beck,
Condemned to *ply the loom* or water draw
From Hypereia's or Messei's fount,
Heart-wrung, by a stern necessity constrained.
As a relief from such an oppressive nightmare,

great Hector stretched his arms

To take his child, but back the infant shrunk,
Crying, and sought his nurse's sheltering breast,
Scared by the brazen helm and horse-hair plume,
That nodded, fearful, on the warrior's crest.
Laughed the fond parents both, and from his brow
Hector the casque removed, and set it down,
All glittering on the ground; then kissed the child,
And danced him in his arms.

He then prayed that

this my son

May be, as I, the foremost man in Troy,
For valour famed, his country's guardian king;
That men may say, 'This youth surpasses far
His father.'... (Ibid VI, 553 ff)

(Cf. पुत्रादिच्छेत्पराभवम् ।)

So saying he placed the child in his mother's arms and said,

'Dearest, wring not thus my heart!

For till my day of destiny is come,

No man may take my life; and when it comes,

*Nor brave nor coward can escape that day.

But go thou home, and ply thy household cares,

* Cf. Two days there are whereon to flee from
death thou hast no need,

The day when thou art not to die, the day
when death's decreed;

For on the day assigned by God thy striving
nought avails,

And if the day bears not thy doom, from
fear of death be freed. — Pindar

The loom and distaff, and appoint thy maids
 Their several tasks; and leave to men of Troy
 And chief of all to me, the toils of war.'

(To be continued)

V. G. D.

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

V

Chapter four deals with the Department of Industries. The report has some trenchant remarks on it. Here is a summary:

"We are asked to review the work of the Department of Industries. When the department was started its scope was very limited. It was largely an inspectorate concerned mainly with factories and other organized industries. From time to time it has been expanding so as to cover village and cottage industries also. Unfortunately, as its scope widened, the creative part of the department was neglected and the administrative part seems to have overshadowed the whole organization, with the result that little or no help has been given to the villages as such. As it is organised today, the department is not equipped to direct industries, it is nothing but a glorified inspectorate. Spasmodic attempts have been made to organise it so that it might be of greater service to the province. Unfortunately, in the reorganisation that has taken place, sufficient emphasis has not been laid on the needs of the people which the department should have met. In most of the villages there is nobody to give the villagers new ideas, or to experiment with their tools and implements, or to suggest ways and means of altering their designs to suit changes in demand. These are all functions that the Department of Industries should perform. If this department is to fulfil the purpose of its existence, it needs to be remodelled; mere reorganisation will not be of any avail. It seems to us that the department must be humming with the activity of the villages, and that it should have live units which are working away at their own industries... Men who work in these units must face the difficulties of disposing of their output, must be in touch with the market prices, must confront every problem that meets a villager. Unless this is done, it is a waste of public money to run a department totally isolated from the real currents of life The Director of Industries himself should be either an experienced technical man or a person with a wide range of knowledge of the scientific part of business and not necessarily a member of an administrative civil service No expert worth the name can be away from his field. A textile expert who is not found at his loom day in and day out cannot be entrusted with the welfare of the textile industry any more than a medical man who is not practising but possesses only a medical degree can be entrusted with the curing of even ordinary

ailments. Practice in the profession is the essence of an expert..... Similarly, if this department is to give help in such industries as oil-pressing, paper-making, spinning and weaving, etc., these industries ought to be carried on by the department itself in small units organized and equipped so as to be within the financial resources of the villagers..... We feel that there should be greater contact and co-ordination between the department and villages. The organisation of a department of this kind should be such that every villager will turn to it naturally for help and advice. When the villagers visit the department, they ought to be able to return to their occupations richer for the time spent in the department. In most of the villages the village people hardly know even of the existence of this department. This state of affairs must be remedied if the economic condition of this province is to be improved. This department should be the pivot round which the productivity of the masses should revolve. It should provide direct help in every way scientific, financial and technical.....

"The suggestion that has been made here is on the lines on which the All India Village Industries Association and the All India Spinners' Association are already working successfully. At the headquarters of the All India Village Industries Association at Maganwadi, Wardha, various types of village industries are being carried on. Students are trained in the industries and for village work. A certain amount of scientific research is made. The goods produced are marketed in a shop organized by the Association. There is attached to it the Magan Sangrahalaya which is a museum of the type that is described hereinafter. The Spinners' Association has emphasized all these points and, in addition, has organized the village producers and built up a network of shops all over the country to find outlets for the products of the organizations in the villages. Their method of work, in short, is to provide cotton to be ginned, carded and made into slivers which are spun into yarns of graded qualities; the hanks of these are taken over on payment and given to weavers for being woven into cloth, and the pieces of cloth are marketed in their shops. If this department is to perform its function, it must follow some such practical lines which have already proved of immense help to the villagers.... We find that the Director of Industries has had tacked on to his office several other offices such as the office of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the office of the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, and such other offices which are purely administrative departments. The Directorate of Industries, if it has to be carried out satisfactorily, will in itself involve much more work than one person can shoulder, and, therefore, we recommend that no other office should be tacked on to the office of the Director of Industries. We are further of opinion that there should be a permanent Director of Industries.....

"This department has from time to time spent sums for training selected scholars in different industries. Some of them have been sent abroad for courses extending over two to three years, but on their return they have found employment either in private companies or as lecturers in colleges. It is questionable if scholarships of this nature should at all be spent from public funds. If men are trained out of funds available to this department, they ought to remain in the department for all time, unless the department finds it impossible to absorb them. Training men for the staff of private companies can hardly be the function of this department. Again, training individuals for lecturerships, though it may have a place in a University programme, is out of place in the Department of Industries....

"Attached to this department, when it is properly organized, should be a museum which should depict in miniature the industries emphasising the process of production rather than the finished article. This museum should enable the visitors to get all the information needed to start an industry, short of practical experience. There should be such museums in every district backed by the kind of industrial units that we have described

"It is often said that there are no funds available for the schemes that are suggested. We are making our recommendations with the full knowledge that much more funds than are being doled out today will be necessary. Even at present there are ample funds, but these are being diverted into channels which are unprofitable to the villagers. The annual revenue of this province is about Rs. 4.75 crores; of this the expenses of collection and a top-heavy administration take Rs. 3.65 crores leaving barely over a crore. What constructive work can be possible under such a financial system? The outlook of the Government has to change before any industrial scheme can be launched. Surely, the Government must do something in return for this money obtained from the villagers. The first charge on this fund must be the expenses connected with the productivity of the villager and every other claim must take a secondary place.....

"In these villages there are practically no roads worth the name. There are to be met with occasionally a few hospitals at distances of several miles which, in effect, are of no use to the villages other than the one in which it is situated, and as a rule there is no veterinary aid available excepting at the tahsil towns. In many of the villages, postal service is hardly known; in some parts it may take over a fortnight for any communication to reach. Under these conditions, surely, no Government can make a claim on the people for services that are not rendered. The argument that the money is taken for the protection that is provided is also without foundation. These villagers have nothing that

others would covet. They live in poverty and there are no police forces in the neighbourhood, and as regards the military expenses, it benefits only those who have something to lose. When people are starving and their only possession is their capacity to work, there is hardly any weight in the argument of military defence. If the wealthier classes in towns require these services, surely it is a wrong principle of public finance to tax the penniless in the villages for it. Therefore we do not feel that the Government can neglect this department on the score of lack of funds. There is enough and to spare if only the problem is approached in the right spirit."

It is worthy of note that the Director of Industries, who is a member of the Committee, has endorsed these remarks about his department. He deserves congratulation for his detached and impartial outlook.

The following instructive analysis of the distribution of expenditure deserves more than a passing attention :

Education	...	0-3-5½
General Administration	...	0-3-0
Collection of Revenue	...	0-3-0
Police and Jails	...	0-3-0
Justice	...	0-1-3
Medical and Public Health	...	0-1-0
Agriculture, Veterinary, Civil Works	...	0-1-1
Co-operative Credit	...	0-0-1
Industries	...	0-0-1½

Re. 1-0-0

Where industries i. e. village economy takes only 1½ pies there is surely something rotten in the State of Denmark. And as the Committee has truly observed this money is spent largely on mere administrative work. If this department was run as it should be, the villages will be prosperous, and to that extent they would add to the prosperity of the State. It is wrong for the State to absorb 3 annas out of 16 for general administration and police and jails respectively.

(To be concluded)

Speeches & Writings

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[ONE ANNA

WELL DONE BOMBAY !

(By M. K. Gandhi)

From all the accounts I have received it seems that Bombay surpassed itself on the 1st of August, the day of the inauguration of prohibition. An eye-witness of the demonstrations tells me that the procession that took the mortal remains of the immortal Lokmanya to the Chowpaty sands, huge as it was, was far outdone by the crowds that gathered together on the Azad Maidan. He tells me that all Bombay was present there. The labourers, who were the chief persons to benefit by the measure and who were at the same time the most affected by prohibition, attended in their thousands with their wives. They rejoiced in the deliverance from the devil from whose grip they could not disengage themselves without external assistance. Had they gone to express their gratefulness to the ministers for their courage in persisting in their benevolent measure in the teeth of the opposition of vested interests?

It was not a mere labour demonstration. All classes took part in it. At that huge meeting there was not a jarring note. Men and women had turned up in their thousands to take part in thanksgiving to God for the successful inauguration of prohibition.

The great Parsi community deserves congratulations for the restraint it observed in spite of its bitter opposition to the measure. Evidently wiser counsels prevailed and no hostile demonstration appears to have been staged by them. My hope that Parsi philanthropy will get the better of the opposition, appears to have been justified. Is it too much to expect whole-hearted support from the Parsis in making the measure a complete success? Let them remember, the glory of the effort in Bombay will be reflected not only throughout the province but it will be reflected all over India. I make bold to say that although they feel that they have been unjustly dealt with, the future generation of Parsis will bless Dr. Gilder as their true representative and benefactor. Surely Parsis should be proud, as India is proud, that they have produced in Dr. Gilder a man who has stood firm as a rock in the midst of fiercest opposition including threats of boycott and worse.

Indeed the whole of the ministry deserves hearty congratulations on the steadfastness with which they have pursued this great moral reform.

The demonstration of 1st August shows that they had and have practically the whole of Bombay behind them. No constructive measure promoted by the Congress has had such enthusiastic support as this great moral reform.

It is a matter of regret that a Muslim procession of protest, not against the measure but against the property tax, was organized the same day and resulted in a clash with the police. But it only enhanced the value of the public meeting, for the procession had no effect whatsoever on the great and irresistible demonstration. Bombay had one mind at the Azad Maidan.

Let us hope the brilliant beginning has momentum enough in it to lead to a brilliant end. Much constructive effort will be required in order to consolidate the advantage gained by the closing of liquor shops. It removes the temptation from the drinker but not the craving for drink. His mind has to be directed into the right channel. He must have healthy refreshment at a place where he can rest his tired mind and limbs. Workers among the labourers should deem it their duty to study their lives and help them to conquer the craving for drink. The Government alone won't be able to cope with this consolidation work. They could close the liquor shops with a measure of popular goodwill. But they will need the active co-operation of a band of volunteer workers to supplement the official effort to help the drinker to lose his craving for drink.

Segaon, 4-8-39

Bengal Prisoners

I congratulate Shri Subhasbabu on having succeeded in persuading the hunger-strikers to suspend their fast even for two months and on having undertaken to move the B. P. C. C. to take the necessary action for the release of the prisoners. I have also a wire from the prisoners in Alipore jail informing me of the suspension and asking me to resume my effort. I need hardly assure them that what little I can do will be done to secure their release. I can say that the suspension gives me some hope that my effort will produce some effect. I hope too that the Bengal Government will use the occasion for a generous gesture and end the agony.

Segaon, 6-8-39

M. K. G.

A. I. V. I. A. REPORT

I

Training and Educative Propaganda

When I saw a fat publication of the Government of India devoting a fair amount of space to *ghanis* (the indigenous oil-presses), and a press communique only the other day mentioning the possibilities of hand-made paper in India (with special reference to Khadi Pratisthan paper), I said to myself that the A. I. V. I. A. work had at last begun to be felt. Before the Congress accepted the ministries the A. I. V. I. A. was tolerated as a harmless fad. Since the Congress acceptance of offices it has begun to be respectable, and the fourth annual report of the Association says that it was possible during the year to put forward schemes for the working out in practice of the ideals for which the Association stands. If the Congress ministries were all fired with a passion for reviving the village industries, the work would grow by leaps and bounds, but we have yet to wait for the day. I did, however, find in a Frontier jail and a Punjab jail use being made of the publications of the Association on paper-making and oil-pressing.

The Association trained during the year 96 students in paper-making, 52 in oil-pressing, 24 in agriculture, 18 in palm-gud-making, 10 in paddy-husking and flour-grinding. All these were people sent by various Governments for training. We do not, however, have any information that all those who have been thus trained have actually started work in their respective provinces. Some of these Governments have, however, opened units of production and demonstration. Thus in the C. P. and Berar 38 centres have been opened to work under the guidance of the Association, and in Bombay, Orissa and Madras special efforts are being made for the expansion of village industries like oil-pressing, palm-gud-making, paper-making, bee-keeping and so on.

The Association buildings have grown with the expansion of its work, and it has a big Udyog Bhavan—house of workshops for the various departments—which was formally opened by Gandhiji in December last. The opening of the Magan Sangrahalaya—a museum providing full information regarding the working of various cottage industries, and working under the joint control of the Village Industries Association and the Spinners' Association—was a notable event of the year. This it is expected will have a far-reaching effect in making the exhibitions—the principal annual exhibition and the provincial ones—centres of education by means of demonstration stalls.

The Association has brought out the following publications: *Why The Village Movement?* (Hindi and Gujarati translations of the original English), *Village Industries and Reconstruction* (Gujarati translation of the original English), *Diet* (English and Hindi), *Paper-making* (English), *Oil-Extraction, and Gud-making* (in English, Hindi

and Gujarati), *Rural Economic Survey Questionnaire* (in English and Hindi),* and also publishes monthly a *Gram Udyog Patrika* in English and Hindi.

There were during the year 260 ordinary members, 36 agents, 16 certified shops, and donations and subscriptions amounted to Rs. 28,423-2-0.

Details of Work

Sanitation—The work is still exasperatingly slow, depending as it does on the will of the people to co-operate with workers. Cleaning of the streets and disposing of the night-soil was done in an organized way in about 100 villages, and in 27 villages wells and tanks were cleaned and deepened.

Diet—There are 16 shops of village products (oil, unpolished rice, etc.) in Bombay, Bulsar, Erandol, Guntur, Muzaffarpur, Patna, Poona, Rajapalayam, Secunderabad, and Tumsar. These are few and far between and serve but to show that people have not yet whole-heartedly taken up the question of wholesome food. An attempt made in a Bengal village to show the villagers that plenty of vegetables can be grown was successful. 12 varieties were produced, 50 to 60 maunds per bigha being obtained. Cashew-nut, now found to be rich in Vitamin C, deserves to be popularized everywhere.

Paddy-husking and flour-grinding—The work has especially flourished in the South, several new centres having been opened—Vizianagaram, Chittur, Cochin, Madura, Reddipatti, Tanuku, Kondavaram and Cuttack. The Guntur District Association sold Rs. 41,214-4-9 worth of rice.

Ghanis—86 ghanis working in the C. P. and Bengal. The ghani devised by the Association was a centre of great interest, and as it was difficult to send it to distant places, models of it to scale were made and 40 were sent to various places. But efforts to make ghanis after this model have not been all successful and the difficulty can be only met if carpenters from various places can come for training or people trained by the Association are invited to have them made. At the Association headquarters 28,870 seers of oil from various seeds was pressed.

Gud-making—More interest is being evinced in all provinces, many people being trained in the process of gud-making from palm and palmyra juice. The excise rules are still very defective in many provinces, and in order that all interested in gud-making may be tempted to make use of the palms the rules will have to be uniform in all provinces. The Madras Sweet Toddy Rules are, says the report, the best in India.

Bee-keeping—Eight bee-keeping centres are working in Orissa under the supervision of the Association Agent. New centres have been started in Muzaffarpur and Dehradun. In the

* These publications can be had at Harijan office, Poona 4, and the A. I. V. I. A. Office, Maganwadi, Wardha.

Association centre at Kondavaram there are 70 colonies of bees in neighbouring villages and a Bee-keepers' Co-operative Society has been organized. 24 students were trained at Wardha and 36 took it up as a side industry.

Paper-making—New centres were started by students trained at the headquarters—in Tuticorin, Rajapalayam, and Kodambakam (Tamilnad), in Gopalpuram (Kerala), in Rajahmundry (Andhra), in Bandanval (Mysore), Hosritti and Bagalkot (Karnatak). In Bombay the paper centres at Erandol, Junnar and Ahmedabad have been assisted by Government grants and by marketing the paper produced.

We deal with the experiments and researches in this branch in a separate paragraph.

Soap-making—The Sabarmati centre specializes in making cent per cent Swadeshi soap, the so-called Swadeshi soap makers using caustic soda which is an imported product. The Sabarmati Karyalaya eliminates imported caustic soda and produces soap from *mahua* oil and *sajjimat* (thin layer of white mud found in river beds). The annual production in 1937 was 33,590 lbs. and in 1938 82,813 lbs.; the sale in 1937 was 26,244 lbs. and in 1938 72,991 lbs.

There are paragraphs in the report on tanning and leather work, horn work, button-making, tassar, mat-making, and other cottage industries which are making gradual progress everywhere.

AN EXPLANATION

To The Editor, *The Harijan*, Poona.

Dear Sir,

My attention has been drawn to the criticism of Mahatma Gandhi on the last para of the memorial presented by the Bhandari Committee to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister of Bombay, which appeared in the issue of the *Harijan* dated 15th July 1939.

In this connection I have only to say that the signatories to that memorial acted *bonafide* and they never intended to offer any threat to the Bombay Ministry. The last para of the said memorial was a frank expression of the Bhandari Committee of its apprehensions about the probabilities that might ensue from the enforcement of the prohibition policy under the circumstances then prevailing.

I shall be thankful to you if you will kindly give publicity to this letter at your earliest convenience.

Bombay, 31st July 1939. Yours faithfully,

S. K. BOLE

[I gladly publish the foregoing letter and accept the explanation. Without it the concluding paragraph of the petition could only be interpreted as a threat. Better than the explanation, however, will be the help the Bhandaris could render in the prosecution of the prohibition programme. Let them be true soldiers of the Congress Government and the nation as they were of the East India Company who were foreigners come to exploit the country. If they will heartily assist

the Government in their arduous task, they will find that they will also assist themselves in a manner they never otherwise could have done.

Segaon, 7-8-39

M. K. G.]

Mills v. Charkha

The A. I. V. I. A. has been issuing for some time a monthly bulletin called *Gram Udyog Patrika* at Maganwadi, Wardha, for the annual subscription of 12 as. The July number contains an interesting article on national planning. I must refer the curious to the *Patrika*. I wish here only to draw attention to the following striking figures:

"Taking an industry like the textile that is open to both the methods we shall be able to compare the figures satisfactorily. An average cotton spinning and weaving mill uses about Rs. 13 lakhs of capital and employs about 1,400 men. This works out to about Rs. 900 per person employed. The production per rupee invested works out to 2.5 lbs. of yarn and 1.5 lbs. of cloth. (The figures are for the year 1932-33). A cottage unit of one loom, ten charkhas, and with Rs. 60 as working capital works out to an investment of about Rs. 9 per person employed and the production per rupee invested is about ten times as much as in a mill. Computed from this we would need Rs. 300 crores of capital employing 33 lakhs of people if we supplied all our requirements by mill production, while we would require about Rs. 72 crores of investment employing 800 lakhs of people if our supply were to come from cottage units. The two methods have their undoubted advantages which no one will deny. The question before us is to choose that method which will fit into the conditions that prevail in our country. We are poor but we have an ocean of labour wealth. Therefore an intelligent plan will find the cottage method fit into the scheme for our country. An engineer who is planning the buildings in a country abounding in good clay and wood will plan on building with bricks and timber, but one who is planning for a country abounding in cement and iron will recommend reinforced concrete. It will be foolish if the recommendations were the other way round. There is no single patented road to progress. Planning has to co-ordinate the available factors of production to produce the best possible results, not only material, but social and cultural. Any planning in our country that ignores the absorption of labour wealth will be misplaced. Our analysis has shown that centralized method of production, whatever may be its capacity to produce, is incapable of finding employment for as large a number of persons as we have to provide for. Therefore it stands condemned in this country."

The figures need no comment. If they cannot be challenged, they make an overwhelming case for the charkha and, by parity of reasoning, perhaps for village production as against factory production. But I invite experts to examine the figures and challenge them if they can seriously do so.

Another Temple Opened to Harijans

The Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Ilanji, informs me that the Courtallam temple was thrown open to Harijans by the manager on 26th ultimo. He is to be congratulated on his having done his duty. The President of the local Sangh was responsible for inducing the manager to open the temple. I hope that the worshippers at the mandir had no objection to the opening.

Segaon, 7-8-39

M. K. G.

H A R I J A N

Aug. 12

1939

AM I ALL-POWERFUL ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Two Congressmen came to me during the week. One of them said :

"We in the C. P. think that you can do everything you want. You can remove the ministry at will and you can make them do what you like."

The other said :

"You are the Working Committee. Every Congressman therefore blames you for the present corruption. You showed us that moral authority was the supreme authority. You taught us to think that the existing system was satanic. You taught us that when the Congress reigned there would be no devilry, there would be purity in every walk of life. But we find today quite the reverse. The Congress reigns in many provinces and yet corruption is rampant. Congressmen quarrel among themselves. There is marked deterioration. Devilry is not gone. You do not rely upon numbers. You have often said that even a few true and good Congressmen can, by their moral worth, represent the whole nation and real democracy can be evolved. But instead of quality the cry everywhere is for quantity. The amendments recently made are of no use. They won't remove the growing corruption nor reduce the unmanageable size of the Congress. If you say that you cannot have your way with the Working Committee, let us know it. As it is we believe you to be all-powerful and are therefore filled with wonder that you allow things to go from bad to worse. Look at your khadi clause. It is responsible for extensive hypocrisy in the Congress. Very few believe in khadi and therefore use it only for show. Khadi therefore stands for falsehood and worse. You who brought the country to a moral height are now bringing it down. Presently the Congress will become the laughing-stock of the country, if things go on as they are doing. If you cannot mend the Congress, why don't you leave it alone?"

This second critic is a well-known Congressman and organizer. He spoke feelingly. I promised to reproduce in these columns the substance of the answer I gave him.

"I am not all-powerful whether with the C. P. ministers or with the Working Committee. I know very little of the doings of the ministers. I never interfere with their work. I have never regarded that as my function. Occasionally I have to correspond with them on matters such as the village industries, basic education or the like precisely as any citizen would do. I have invariably refused to interfere with their work. I would not have the time for it even if I had the wish. It would mean usurpation of the function of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Working Committee.

So far as the Working Committee is concerned I do attend its meetings whenever I am required to do so. I do influence its decisions in the matters that may be referred to me and never in any others. Many sittings of the Committee I do not attend at all. Of many of its resolutions I have no knowledge except after they are passed and that through the Press. This was the arrangement when I first severed my legal connection with the Congress. What hold I have on the Committee is purely moral. My opinion prevails only to the extent that I carry conviction. Let me give out the secret that often my advice makes no appeal to the members. For instance, if I had my way, the Congress would be reduced to the smallest compass possible. It would consist of a few chosen servants removable at the will of the nation but getting the willing co-operation of the millions in the programme they may put before the nation. But this is too drastic and too undemocratic for Congressmen.

I admit that the khadi clause has led to much falsehood and hypocrisy. If I had my way, it would have gone long ago. I sought to have the clause removed even when I seceded from the Congress. I have repeated the attempt more than once but with no success. The argument has been that the Congressmen in general will not listen to the removal of the clause.

Similarly I have endeavoured to have the words 'peaceful and legitimate' removed from the constitution but again without success. I can multiply instances in which I have failed to carry the Working Committee with me. I do not mention these failures by way of complaint against the Working Committee. The members had weighty reasons for not listening to me. I have not felt called upon to sever the moral tie with the old colleagues. I do not arrogate to myself any superiority over them. It has been a privilege to work with them. They are as good and faithful servants of the nation as I claim to be myself. I cling to them because I have the hope that one day they will be converted to my point of view or that I shall be converted to theirs.

Nor do I subscribe to the charge that the old regime was purer than the present. Whilst I admit that much corruption has crept into the Congress organization, that there are many self-seekers in it, it is my conviction that the Congress administration is comparatively purer than the old one. It is also my conviction that the Congress administration is responsible for several measures for the amelioration of the condition of the masses. I regard prohibition as the greatest of them all. But there is no doubt that a vast deal still remains to be done. I hug the hope that someday the Augean stables of the Congress will be swept clean and that the fears of the second critic of the Congress will be dispelled. It is not to be denied that he has grounds for his fears. Being an irrepressible optimist, things

do not dismay me to the extent that they dismay him. They are serious enough to rouse every Congressman to a sense of his duty. The Congress will surely be undone if it does not stand exclusively on the solid rock of its moral worth.

Segaon, 6-8-39

A SATYAGRAHI V. A SATYAGRAHI

Shri V. V. Sathe is a seasoned faster and a Congressman. He fasted in jail for the right of cooking his own food (as he is a Brahman and the Jail Manual allows the privilege to Brahman convicts!) and remained without clothes in jail because he would not be allowed to wear khadi. He is a downright honest man but often it would seem his logic gets the better of his common sense, and so in March last he took the step of fasting at the Assembly Hall, and later in the house of the Home Minister Shri Munshi, in order to awaken the attention of the Congress ministries to the wrongs they had done and the principles they had forsaken. He had originally proposed to fast "in Gandhiji's presence at Segaon", but as he was constantly on the move it was impossible. Finding the present time propitious Shri Sathe came to Segaon on the morning of the 5th determined to go on a fourteen days' fast.

He feels that the Bombay ministry grievously erred in certain things, — e.g. orders about processions, security demanded from presses, and firing. He had come determined to fast in Gandhiji's presence because, as he said in his open letter to Gandhiji, Gandhiji is "the God of the Congress" and he "has the resignations of the Congress ministries in his pocket." He was, however, good enough to listen to Gandhiji's argument. Gandhiji gave him nearly an hour and a half to convince him of the error of his step. "If you are a Satyagrahi," said Gandhiji, "I too am a Satyagrahi, and as I have been told by many friends that you are a reasonable man and a man of restraint, I shall show you that you are wrong."

"Well then," said Gandhiji, explaining to him the error of his position, "you ought to have exhausted all the constitutional means. You must remember that the Bombay Congress ministry is under four Congress Committees — Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnatak and Bombay. You should have lodged your complaint before them. Failing satisfaction you should have gone to the Working Committee, failing there to the A. I. C. C., and then to the open session of the Congress. And if you accept my authority as an expert in Satyagraha, then you should have come to me, but not with a decision to fast."

"I do not accept you as the final authority," said Shri Sathe, "but I would certainly take your advice. But let me ask you one question. Whether all these Congress Committees give an opinion in my favour or not, what if the ministers say they have violated the Congress principles?"

"Do they say so?"

"Yes. But they will not resign, they say, unless they are asked to resign. But they have broken the promises given in election manifestos."

"There is," said Gandhiji, "no rigidity about the manifestos. You may say many things but you may not be able to carry them all out."

"My own Sadashiv Peth," said Shri Sathe, "which is one of the constituencies, did resolve that the ministry had not fulfilled the promises."

"Well then let that committee approach the A. I. C. C. But why this fast? You must exhaust all the natural steps."

"The natural steps take years. It is a cumbersome machinery."

"Not years, but it may take a year. That should not matter."

"I do propose to go to the open Congress for the Congress is an authority above you."

"I am no authority," said Gandhiji. I have a certain amount of moral influence."

"But you do not exercise it."

"How do you know? You must place all the facts before me and convince me that I have not done all in my power."

Shri Sathe now proceeded to give the details of his grievances on the three scores mentioned above — the details of the orders about the processions and how people dodge them, and so on.

"But you do not expect me to express my judgment on these matters?"

"I do."

"How can I? Your reading out the texts of orders to me and placing all the facts in your possession before me does not take me further. I must hear the ministers also."

"But that you can easily do. You are the High Command."

"How am I the High Command?"

"You have said that the ministers' resignations are in your pocket."

"When did I say so? Produce my statements."

Shri Sathe laughed in reply.

"No, seriously," said Gandhiji, "if I made any such preposterous statement, it would be bravado. You do not find my name mentioned anywhere in the constitution. I can exercise my moral authority certainly, but that only when I see that there is something which ought to be done (morally) by the Working Committee or the ministry."

"Then you will study the case while I go on with my fast."

"How can you, when you have yet to convince me of the justifiability of your fast?"

"I am fasting only to arrest your attention."

"You will if you do not fast. The moment you begin your fast you distract my attention, you paralyse my capacity for unbiased judgment. I could not enjoy my meals if I knew that someone was fasting without cause. And then you must know that this is a colony of fasters. There is Bhansali the greatest faster I have known, Vinoba has fasted, and so has Kakasab."

You better see them, talk to them, and see if they approve of your going on fast."

But Shri Sathe now turned to the second of his counts — the demand of security from the papers. The British Government may have done it, but for the Congress Government to do so was the height of injustice. Why should the editors not be prosecuted? No security should be demanded without prosecution.

"I do not take your view," said Gandhiji. If we have a national Government, and we have papers that simply thrive on prosecutions, what are we to do? But that only means that there are fundamental differences between us. We have got to examine everything. If you want me to use my moral authority, I must have certain conviction that the ministers have gravely erred in all the three matters you have mentioned. And if the conviction goes home, I would certainly like to speak to the ministers and the Working Committee. But to do all this I must examine your allegations at leisure. And you may be sure that though I have very little time I would study the papers you send me, just for your sake."

"But in the meanwhile I may fast."

"No. You can place the whole case before the Working Committee if you like."

"What right have I?"

"Everyone has a right. The Working Committee is there to listen to every Congressman and non-Congressman with a grievance. But now that you have asked me to study the case perhaps you may not want to put it before the Working Committee. After I have given my decision, you may reason with me, plead with me, and then if you find me obstinate, you can fast against me."

But Shri Sathe still wanted a little more argument. "You are a student of the Gita?" Gandhiji asked him.

"I am," said Shri Sathe.

"Well then, I tell you your fast would be the third kind of *tapas* described in the seventeenth chapter — *tāmasa tapas* born of ignorance and perverseness."

That clenched the argument. "Come along then," I said to Shri Sathe. "Are you now convinced that you should eat?" He said he was not convinced, but agreed to come with me with a smile. "So I may fast a month hence, if I am not satisfied?" he said. "Yes," said Gandhiji, "but if I want more time, you will give me."

"Certainly."

Shri Sathe is a man of simplest habits and very few wants. He was a headmaster of a national school for some time, and Gandhiji tried to persuade him to stay on here, study the various activities and give his time to whatever activity appealed to him. His few wants could be easily met here. But he was not to be so easily fished. He preferred to go back to Poona.

Segaon, 7-8-39

M. D.

THE OXFORD GROUP AND MORAL REARMAMENT

The Oxford Group Movement

During recent years plenty of literature has been sent to us pertaining to the Oxford Group Movement and its work, and we have met not a few members of the Group. I had the advantage of being invited to a number of what they call their "house-parties" in England, and had the privilege of meeting a good few members in Abbottabad.

We have found them refreshingly frank, and the friend who met Gandhiji in Abbottabad made a few confessions that did credit to him. On some of the basic principles we found ourselves in complete agreement. Thus the emphasis on improving oneself rather than expecting others to improve, and on expecting the guidance of God in every act of our lives, is one to which every believer in truth and non-violence would subscribe. The friend who met Gandhiji described as the object of the movement the "eradication of fear by bringing people under the guidance of God".

"That," said Gandhiji, "is the only correct position, and no other is possible. If you have followed my writings, you know that I have declared that no one is competent to offer Satyagraha unless he has a living faith in God. I had formerly not the courage to say so bluntly to my co-workers. I knew it was difficult to get a heart response to this thing. For there are many who say they have a living faith and yet are not God-fearing, and others who scoff at the idea of believing in God and yet are at heart God-fearing. But I said it did not matter how difficult it was, I must put it forward as I know it."

"You came only recently to the conclusion that you must insist on the condition?"

"Yes. I felt I must make it an indispensable condition. I knew it, I practised it, but had not declared it for acceptance by all. I knew some resented this and even imputed to me motives of excluding them from the chosen circle. But I said I must take even the risk of being misunderstood, but must declare the truth at all cost. How to reduce the whole thing to practice I do not know."

"That," said the friend, "is simply terrific. To hear you say that it is difficult is tremendous, for it is an encouragement to me. There is a kind of hero-worship that attributes to you superhuman powers. It is something to hear that you have difficulties and are human, and thus to feel kinship with you."

"Then there is another thing that has come home to me. You must not think of taking but always of giving something."

"That is right in a sense," said Gandhiji, "but you can't give without taking, and to go on saying that you will always give would be humbug."

Their Creed

Honesty, purity, unselfishness and love are their fourfold principles, and the friend said that whilst the first two would come under the heading 'truth', the other two would come under the heading 'non-violence or bravery'. Tolstoy, we may remember, built up five commandments out of the teachings of Jesus and called them the commandments of peace, and we of the present day and members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh have summed up our daily rule of conduct in eleven vows which in the ultimate analysis could be summed up in truth and non-violence. Life is what matters, and without giving oneself any label one may find a world of inspiration from one single text of any of the great teachers: "He that loveth his life shall lose it, he that will lose his life shall save it"; "Conquer untruth by truth and hatred by love"; "Leave all duties and unto Me seek refuge"; or "Surrender to Him than whom there is none greater."

These friends of the Oxford Group believe in seeking guidance from God, and I have in their house-parties seen numerous people coming up before the meeting and declaring that he or she was converted. I said to myself there was every chance here of self-deception, as conversion from untruth to truth, from darkness to light and from death to immortality could not come in the twinkling of an eye but was the fruit of a long process of striving towards perfection. I also said to the friends whom I have met that true guidance of God could come only to the pure in heart who alone "shall see God" and not all may go on saying they were God-guided. I am glad to say that none of the friends with whom I have discussed these matters countered my position.

Life the Touch-stone

And as I have said life is what matters. Gandhiji was discussing the position with a civilian. Under God's guidance he has to know people on a new basis, in fact his status changes altogether, and he has to meet everyone as brother to brother. "How is a Civilian who is trained not to establish any human contact with the ruled to fare under this rule?" asked Gandhiji. "Perhaps you will not admit that they are so trained?"

"No," said he.

"Well you will by and by. I do not make a charge of it. It was worldly wisdom that dictated the course to those who organized the Service. How could they allow them to live on terms of familiarity with those over whom they had to rule, especially when the rulers were only a handful? And yet if you accept the creed of the Oxford Group, you have to establish human contact with me. And if you do it with me, you must do it with others. You will have to contact the whole of India through me, and I with all Englishmen through you. That at any rate is what the Oxford Group must stand for,

otherwise it would be like many other similar movements."

"You are right, and that is why I kept out of freemasonry. We have to meet under God, and we shall not make demands from another which are inconsistent with the guidance of God."

"Anyway," said Gandhiji, "I have expressed my difficulty."

Moral Rearmament

The difficulty would seem to be greater when we think of the programme of moral rearmament with which the Oxford Movement has identified itself. Dr. Frank Buchman, the founder of the movement, initiated this Moral Rearmament movement, and President Roosevelt advocated, before four thousand persons assembled in Constitution Hall in America, moral rearmament as a means of maintaining world peace. "A programme of moral rearmament for the world cannot fail to lessen the dangers of armed conflict. Such moral rearmament must receive support on a world-wide basis," said he. And we are told twentythree members of the House of Lords supported the appeal declaring that "men and nations must be spiritually equipped with faith and love."

Now what is one to make of this movement? Gandhiji was invited to put his signature to a "response" to President Roosevelt's message. Two of the paragraphs in it read thus:

"MRA means first of all a change of heart. It means admission of our responsibility for the past, a frank acceptance by nations as by individuals of the standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love and daily listening and daily obedience to God's direction.

At this fateful hour we pledge ourselves to give the last full measure of our devotion — the service of heart, mind, will — to the Moral and Spiritual Re-Armament of our nation — to building the world of tomorrow, the world of new men, new nations, where every resource of human genius is liberated under God's leadership to enrich the heritage of all mankind."

With all deference to those in India who had signed this "response" Gandhiji said he could not in all conscience sign this. He could not endorse a falsehood. How can India accept responsibility for the past? "All this," said Gandhiji "has no application to me. The whole paragraph applies to exploiting nations, whereas India is an exploited nation. The second paragraph too applies to nations of the West and not to us. The whole appeal is so unreal. I can think of moral rearmament, but that would be in a different setting. I can think of communal unity through moral rearmament. As a member of an exploited nation I can have a different moral rearmament programme, and I may invite China to it, but how can I invite the West or Japan? And just as it would be unreal for me to invite the West, it would to that extent be unreal for the West to invite India. Let them shed their exploitation policy and their immoral gains first."

Gandhiji has been invited to a Moral Rearmament camp in Kashmir and the invitation is signed by an I. C. S., a Brigadier, and a Judge. I wonder if they have thought of the aspect presented here by Gandhiji. How can anyone work for peace who has not dissociated himself from the Empire and all it means? As Mr. Charles Roden Buxton has said: "The British Empire, in its present exclusive form, with its imperial preference system—and with all the envies, suspicions, and criticisms which it causes throughout the world—is one of the greatest obstacles to world peace."

Segaon, 7-8-39

M. D.

Notes

Sheth Jamnalalji

Sheth Jamnalalji is an extraordinary prisoner. He believes that as a prisoner he has not to care about his body beyond what the doctors provided for him do. And so I have only now come to know the true state of his health. Shri Shankarlal Banker, who happened to go to Jaipur to see Jamnalalji, got concerned about his health and told me how bad it was.

For the moment I refrain from publishing the correspondence which has come into my hands. According to the Jaipur Civil Surgeon his is a case for special treatment. If it is, the onus is on the State to release him unconditionally, leaving it to Jamnalalji whether he will take special treatment within the State or without. It is futile to suggest to Jamnalalji that he should undertake to leave Jaipur if he is discharged. He will rather die in prison than be free under the very condition for the breach of which he has courted imprisonment. As I have already pointed out there is no fear of Jamnalalji promoting civil disobedience in the State. For it stands indefinitely suspended. The authorities know that Jamnalalji is essentially a non-violent man. They also know him to be a man of his word. To me his detention is a mystery and, in the present state of his health, a crime.

The public generally do not know that though the place where he is detained is good and accessible, it is a haunt of ferocious animals. Under what appear to me to be barbarous shikar laws of Jaipur State these animals are protected under pain of heavy fines being inflicted on the persons killing them. Tigers and their brood, it is said, eat men and animals with impunity. My purpose here, however, is not to deal with these shikar laws, inhuman as they appear to me to be. My purpose is to protest against Jamnalalji being kept in a tiger-infested place. I understand that even his keepers are not very happy over their job. There is no fear of Jamnalalji running away. If he must be kept in prison, why should he not be kept in an unobjectionable place where medical and other assistance is easily available?

There is also another point which calls for notice. Though repeated requests have been made, he has not yet been permitted to keep a companion. He has been given no nurse. Instances are on record when he was badly in need of night attendance. That he himself has made no complaint is no reason for the authorities' negligence in not providing necessary attendance. Their attention has been drawn to the matter more than once by Shethji's secretary.

[The above was written on the 6th inst., but after we had gone to press the happy news has been received that Jamnalalji has been released. Ed.]

In Imitation of Kathiawad

Shri Sitaram Sastri, having read about the spinning programme of seventy days set up by Shri Narandas Gandhi of Rajkot Rashtriya Shala, has decided to imitate him and he has begun his programme of having from co-workers twentyfive lacs yards of yarn by the 2nd of October next. I wish him every success. Its secret lies in having previously the names of spinners and the quantity they would spin and having weekly reports of the work done. Naturally the spinners, being volunteers, will be expected to spin as strong, even and fine yarn as they can with minimum waste. The idea behind all such effort should be that they will prove experts in their own localities and be an example to their neighbours.

A Correction

Shri Sitaram Sastri points out an error that crept into my note on the Kathiawad spinning programme. In it I mentioned that 700 spinners spinning 1,000 yards per day would be required to spin 70 lacs of yards in 70 days, and 7,000 spinners if they span 100 yards per day. 700 should read 100, and 7,000 should read 1,000. Whilst I gladly correct the error, I may say that no harm will be done if 700 or 7,000 spinners take part in the sacrificial spinning. The more the better.

Segaon, 6-8-39

M. K. G.

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[ONE ANNA

MACHINE OIL AND GHANI OIL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The village ghani, the village chakki, the village loom and charkha, and the village sugarcane crusher were once inseparable parts of the village. The A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A. are trying to revive some of them. We know fairly well how the loom and the charkha can be revived. Khadi has become a science to be mastered in all its aspects. Maganlal Gandhi laid the foundation of that science. The village chakki and the village sugarcane crusher have yet to discover their science men. But the ghani has. Shri Jhaverbhai Patel of Maganwadi is studying the ghani in all its aspects with the zeal and precision of a scientist. He has made improvements which he claims have lessened the labour of both men and animals who work at the ghani and have at the same time increased the output of oil. He has studied the oil market and the movement of seeds. The result is that he is today able to sell his oil at almost the bazar rates and therefore commands a ready market. His oil is superior to the machine product which is, as a rule, adulterated and never fresh. But Shri Jhaverbhai is not satisfied merely because he competes successfully with the local market in Wardha. He has found out why the machine oil is at all cheaper than the ghani oil. He gives three reasons, two of which are unavoidable. They are capital and the ability of the machine to extract the last drop of oil and that too in a shorter time than the ghani. These advantages are neutralized by the commission the owner of the oil mill has to pay to the middleman. But Shri Jhaverbhai cannot cope with the third reason, adulteration, unless he also takes to it. This naturally he will not do. He therefore suggests that adulteration should be dealt with by law. This can be done by enforcing the Anti-Adulteration Act if there is one or by enacting it and by licensing oil mills.

Shri Jhaverbhai has also examined the cause of the decline of the village ghani. The most potent cause is the inability of the oilman to command a regular supply of seeds. The villages are practically denuded of seeds after the season. The oilman has no money to store the seeds, much less to buy them in the cities. Therefore he has disappeared or is fast disappearing. Lakhs of ghanis are today lying idle

causing a tremendous waste of the country's resources. Surely it is the function of the State to resuscitate the existing ghanis by conserving seeds in the places of their origin and making them available to the village oilman at reasonable rates. The Government loses nothing by giving this aid. It can be given, so Shri Jhaverbhai contends, through co-operative societies or panchayats. If this is done, Shri Jhaverbhai is of opinion, based on research, that ghani oil can compete with the machine product and the villager can be spared the infliction of the adulterated oil he gets today. It should be borne in mind that the only fat the villager gets, when he gets any, is what the oils can give him. To ghee he is generally a stranger.

Segaon, 26-8-39

KHADI IN TAMIL NAD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The extracts from the half-yearly report of khadi work in Tamil Nad ending 30th June, published elsewhere in this issue, should be read with interest. The report was followed up by a personal letter from Shri Aiyamuthu, the indefatigable secretary of the Tamil Nad Branch of the A.I.S.A. Relevant extracts from the letter being very instructive are given below:

"Three years have passed since the first attempt was made for determining a minimum living wage for the spinners. The second step has also been taken since the 1st of this month. There has been a definite increase in the earnings of spinners, though it is not exactly the same as we aim at. A lot of spade-work has been done towards improving the spinning and carding efficiency of the spinner. Use of machine-ginned lint has been given up and kapas has been made the basis of all spinning. Improved implements have been distributed. The age-old village charkha has been rejuvenated by the addition of a transformer. The time has now come to pause and consider all the changes that have resulted from this step.

You have always visualized khadi only as part of the home economics of the villager. Our ancients gave us the small wheel and the spindle as their heritage for all posterity. In this their idea was that each home should spin enough for its own immediate requirements. They viewed production only from the viewpoint of the natural consumer, that is, the producer and his family or at the most the village. Maybe the village weaver took a few cloths to the shandy. But the commercial aspect of utilizing the

spinning wheel for catering to the needs of distant consumers never occurred to them.

Till 1935, when the first step towards increasing the wages of spinners was taken, the Association had been looking more to the interest of the consumer than to that of the spinner. The Association always aimed at bringing down the price of khadi, thereby enabling more and more people to purchase it. It acted as a check against individuals entering the field and trying to exploit the consumer. Very few persons were willing to take to khadi business and the few who entered the field fell back as soon as they found that khadi did not pay them up to their expectations.

The spinner till 1935 was able to earn on an average only four annas per lb. as spinning wages. Spinners who spun yarn above the average quality were paid a little more, the maximum being six annas per lb. In those days, when a spinner was fined a mere pice she felt the loss so keenly that sometimes she burst into tears. In the same way, the addition of a copper or two to her expectations brought forth a ray of smile on her face. A copper more or less made all the difference in her outlook. It appeared so big.

In 1936, without her asking for it, the spinning wage has been increased far beyond her wildest expectations. While in 1935 the average spinning wage per lb. of yarn was only 4 as., in 1938 it is Re. 0-12-3, i. e. her wage has been increased by 200 per cent. This should naturally have resulted in inducing her to spin better, to spin more twisted and even yarn. But this has not been the case. The only reaction to our efforts at improving the standard of living of the spinner has been that in a vague way she feels that she is being paid more, vastly more, than is due to her labour. So much so that when she is penalized for spinning yarn of an inferior quality she does not feel it at all. We pay the full wages only for yarn that meets all our rigid tests. The spinner feels it is not a loss to her to be paid ten annas per lb. She is not sorry if she is paid only eight annas. She does not care even if it is only six annas since it is a 50 per cent increase on her own estimate of her labour and there is always a man there who is willing to purchase it at that price. He does not use the rigid tests of the Association. He is always glad to purchase it at that value. It is the uncertified dealer who pays 50 per cent of the wages paid by us and markets the cloth produced of that yarn at 75 to 80 per cent of our standard rates. Since 1936 we have interested ourselves more in the spinner than in the consumer. We have aimed at getting the maximum out of the consumer and paying it to the spinner. And the uncertified dealer (his number is increasing day by day) is given a free hand to exploit both the spinner and the consumer. The result is that in spite of an increase in wages and that without her asking for it, we are not able to show a corresponding improvement in the quality.

The increase in spinning wages has resulted also in more women registering themselves as spinners. Till 1935 spinning wages were not attractive enough to make the spinner sit at the wheel as a full-time worker. But

with the increase of wages she has found spinning a profitable whole-time work. The value of our production has risen from Rs. 6 lakhs in 1936 to Rs. 16 lakhs in 1938. With the capital resources we have it is not possible to purchase all the yarn that is produced. Nor have the sales increased in a corresponding degree. We are forced to reject yarn from many who naturally sell their yarn to the uncertified dealer on his own terms, thus enabling him to undersell us.

Since 1936 we have always held the view* that the producer should be the prime consumer, and that what is produced in excess of the producers' needs should alone be marketed. With this end in view the spinners have been asked to deposit with us a portion of their output for their own use and the balance alone is being purchased. This deposit has increased from 13 per cent of the total production in 1936 to 31 per cent in 1938. This percentage can be raised to any limit but for the trouble with the uncertified dealer. Perhaps his activities are at its worst in this case. He is not above purchasing the cloth thus distributed by us at a low price and selling the same elsewhere at a profit. In this instance he is doing more harm than even the vendor of mill cloth.

The remedy for all this lies perhaps in localizing khadi. Khadi must not be made a commercial product, produced in villages to be sold in distant towns. As at present the spinner thinks she is spinning not so much for her own requirements and that of her family as for selling the yarn for an unknown destination. As such she does not understand, nor does she want to, what quality of yarn she has to spin. We are not able to control the count of the yarn to suit our requirements. If we are to produce khadi only for sale, we are bound to study the requirements of the consumer. We have to study what is required and how much to produce and in what quality. In the case of an organized industry like the mill, it is possible to so regulate the production that only what is wanted is produced. The entire spinning is done in a limited space and the spindles are inanimate things working to a definite motion and spinning what is wanted. In the case of khadi it is not so. The spinner and her spindle are different entities. She lives and thinks independently of us. But if she is induced to spin only for her own immediate wants, she will understand what she needs, what quality of yarn to spin and how much of it to spin. And if there is any surplus, it can be collected by a central organization which will find a market for it. It may be that the village panchayat can be authorized to hold in deposit the surplus yarn produced in the village and to sell it at a price which will ensure the spinner a standard wage for the hours of work she has put in producing the same.

A workers' conference was held at Tirupur on 27th June when Shri Shankerlal Banker addressed the workers. The question of a further increase in spinning wages was raised. Of the 93 workers who had assembled only two were for an enhancement. The rest were opposed to it, not because they were averse to giving the spinner something more but

because such enhancement does not bring the desired result. The increased wage does not improve the quality of production. Not only that. The uncertified dealer is given greater scope to exploit both the spinner and the consumer. We feel helpless, not being able to control nefarious activities of the uncertified dealer. We were not able to clarify our position well to Shri Shankerlalji. We are not sure that we have fared any better now. We would only request you to view the problem from our point of view and realize our difficulties.

Perhaps the only remedy for this is for the Government to step in and give the spinner the protection that is her due. She must be saved in spite of herself. It may be that the price of hand-spun yarn should be determined by an act of legislation and it be made an offence against the State to purchase yarn at a lower rate. It may also be made an offence for anybody to purchase yarn from a spinner, when the spinner herself is in need of the same for her clothings. The village panchayat or on its behalf the A. I. S. A. may be authorized to hold in deposit the surplus yarn in the village for sale at the scheduled rates. With the Congress ministries at the helm of affairs in the different provinces it is not impossible to bring in this piece of protective legislation. We only pray that you give the matter your consideration and advise the different ministries to bring in suitable legislation."

The secretary is an impatient enthusiast. Both enthusiasm and impatience are good up to a point in any great venture. Khadi is the greatest I have been able to conceive inasmuch as it conserves the simultaneous good of millions of human beings without regard to status or religion. It can therefore take in as many impatient enthusiasts as will come to it, provided that they are honest, pure, incorruptible and unselfish. And impatient enthusiasts will have to remember that in the end only coolness, patience and tireless research will win.

Let me now examine Shri Aiyamuthu's difficulties.

1. Uncertified dealers are a curse; they are enemies of their own sisters which the spinners are; they are enemies of progress and ultimately of themselves. But the royal road to neutralize their mischievous activities is to buy all the yarn that the spinners produce. This is a matter of pure arithmetic. Shri Aiyamuthu is the sole controller of higher prices. He can pay even eight annas per day to the choicest spinners. They are useful for his laboratory work. He will regulate their number. He will buy up all the other yarn at the price lower than under the increased scale, if the spinners are willing to sell their yarn. He will thus automatically eliminate the uncertified dealer, so far as yarn is concerned. I know that this is a dangerous experiment, if the experimenter is not always, in all that he is doing, thinking solely of the spinners and the ideal wage he is anxious to pay to each one of them. If he fulfils this condition, having got hold of every spinner and eliminated the uncerti-

fied dealer, he will educate the former in the art of getting a better wage for her work. In the end she will know with whom she should deal and she will be a willing pupil. Then the secret sale of khadi meant for the spinners' use will automatically stop.

2. I wholly endorse the proposition that khadi should be decentralized to the extent that each village produces its own cotton and manufactures its own cloth. If there is a surplus, it should be sold where it is wanted, e. g. in the cities or places where cotton is not grown and where it will be cheaper to take khadi from the nearest khadi centre. This ideal will only be reached when each branch selects one village and attempts to carry out the experiment which will require the best expert. I settled in Segaoon in order to carry out this among other ideals, but I must confess that I seem to be as far from it as when I came here three years ago. I need not go into the causes of the slowness of my progress. But the fact is enough to warn as well as hearten the workers. They need not expect miracles to take place immediately they go to villages; and they should take heart from the fact that if I could show little or nothing after three years of stay in a village, they need not despair nor be ashamed if after *due* effort they cannot *show* results.

3. It will induce lethargy among workers if they expect Congress Governments to work wonders. Unscrupulous men will run a coach and four through any legislation. Congress Governments have their limitations. At the same time some help is possible through legislation. I have already pointed out the direction in which legislation can help. Dealing in khadi by uncertified vendors should be penalized. Khadi can have protection through subsidy as was done in the case of the Tatas, and the subsidy can be raised by taxing the sales of mill manufactures. The fines collected from uncertified dealers may also, subject to deduction for expenses, be paid to the A. I. S. A.

4. The question of sales is undoubtedly a problem. I have discussed this question in a previous article. But there is no doubt that Congressmen should make all their purchases of cloth from khadi bhandars. By properly handling the whole question Governments, Congress and non-Congress, can help khadi and thus themselves in the shape of giving employment to the unemployed with the minimum of expenditure.

Segaon, 28-8-39

Some Books by Gandhiji

	Price	Postage
Satyagraha in South Africa	4 8	0 8
My Early Life	1 0	0 2
Speeches and Writings	4 0	0 9
Cent Per Cent Swadeshi	1 8	0 5
Hind Swaraj	0 4	0 2
From Yeravda Mandir	0 2	0 1
Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence		
Parts I & II (each)	1 0	0 3
Available at Harijan office-Poona 4		

H A R I J A N

Sept. 2

1939

PLEA FOR VOLUNTARY FEDERATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Imposed federation is likely to divide India more than it is today. It would be a great step if the British Government were to declare that they would not impose their federal structure on India. The Viceroy seems to be acting in that fashion if he is not saying so. If my surmise is correct, I suggest that a clear declaration will add grace to his action and will probably pave the way for real federation and therefore real unity. That federation can naturally never be of the Government of India Act brand. Whatever it is, it must be a product of the free choice of all India.

But before that political and legalized federation of free choice comes, there should be voluntary federation of parts, to begin with, if not of the whole. This reflection arises from famine conditions today in parts of lesser Gujarat and the whole of Kathiawad. I have received angry protests from correspondents drawing my attention to what they have termed the heartless policy of the Bombay Government in prohibiting the movement of fodder and grain. I could not believe my correspondents. I knew that the Sardar was moving heaven and earth to cope with the distress both in Gujarat and Kathiawad. But in order to make assurance doubly sure, I wired to the Prime Minister. Immediately on the same day came the following answer: "Removal of fodder from six districts not permitted without the permission of Collector as the necessities of our Province must be first considered. Excess will be permitted to be removed." The wire was followed by a letter enclosing a copy of the Bill about to be introduced in the Bombay Assembly. It simply controls the movement and prices of grain and fodder during times of famine or scarcity. This is no policy of prohibition but it is one of control over and regulation of the movement of fodder and grain so as to prevent hoarding in speculators' hands or disposal to the extent of starving the places where it is grown and stored. The Premier's letter contemplates collection of grain and fodder from available sources outside the Province and its distribution in famine areas including Kathiawad. The Bombay measure I consider not only to be necessary but conducive to the interest as well of the whole of the States part of the Province as of the British part. I call it an act of voluntary federation. The reader must not quarrel with the stretch of the meaning of the word.

This little act introduces the reader to what can become a big act of voluntary federation. I reproduced the other day a letter from a correspondent suggesting a federation of the Kathiawad States in many matters of common interest. The correspondent's ultimate aim was political federation. What I contemplate has nothing to do with politics. My present and ultimate aim here is purely humanitarian.

If the Kathiawad States would voluntarily federate, say, for water, forests and roads, purely for saving life, there would be no danger of a water famine such as threatens that cluster of States. There are States rich enough who can provide water for the whole of Kathiawad. I know it cannot be done in a day. But the dog in the manger policy followed in Kathiawad has made impossible any scheme of big waterworks. Kathiawad has fairly good rivers and hills. There is no limit to the possibility of artesian wells. If only all the States will combine and the rich ones will use their riches for the common good, they will be saved the awful prospect of people and cattle having to die of thirst. I have faith that it is possible for Kathiawad to ensure a proper supply of water even in dry years. But no common waterworks will answer the purpose for all time unless there is a long-view scheme of afforestation. There are practically no forests in Kathiawad. The princes and the people have to combine to plant trees on an extensive scale. This cannot be done unless the States and the people regard the whole of Kathiawad as their joint and common land and have wisdom enough to desire to live on their land without the perpetual dread of having to die of thirst when the god of rain stops supplies.

Segaon, 25-8-39

A PRISONER AND PRISONERS

I had occasion, during the past few weeks, to interview prisoner friends in three jails, talks with whom have left an abiding impression, each for different reasons.

Sardar Prithwising I saw in Rawalpindi Jail. Having surrendered him to the authorities after his own voluntary surrender to Gandhiji, Gandhiji has felt a special obligation to work for his release. But he has his own method of doing so, and I went to Sardar Prithwising with a message to be patient. I was soon to see the Bengal prisoners on hunger-strike with the same message, and I had no idea of what Sardar Prithwising thought about the hunger-strike. In fact I was not without some fear and doubts. But the moment I mentioned the subject Sardar Prithwising disabused me of my doubts and fear. He seemed to be so happy in his surroundings that the thought of release did not seem to cross him. The diary of all his waking hours was full. He had spun about 80 lbs. of wool already and had now started spinning cotton. He was also doing carpet-weaving. He was teaching drill and

gymnastics to other prisoners and gave the rest of his time to reading and writing. "I hope he is giving you no trouble," I said in jest to the officials who were present at the interview. "On the contrary," said one of them, "I have during my thirty years' service had to deal with numerous political prisoners, distinguished and ordinary, but I have not come across one who can approach Sardar Prithwising."

It was no surprise, then, to me to have this answer from Sardar Prithwising to my question about his release and the Bengal hunger-strike: "Please tell Bapu not to worry about my release. On the day I decided to surrender myself to Bapu I knew that I was to be in for a number of years, and so I have never been troubled with the thought of my release. But since the Rajkot decision to renounce the Award a new strength and a new conviction have come to me. I read and re-read Bapuji's statement and I have written to a number of friends giving my interpretation of the decision. The conviction has come to me that no one should work for my release, I must earn it myself. My views have undergone a radical change, I have become a believer in non-violence in thought, word and deed. If I am really non-violent, I say to myself, the Government will themselves release me without anyone asking for my release. All I have to do is to convince Government of my *bona fides*. And that is bound to be a process of time. Please therefore tell Bapu not to worry about me. And let me, if I may, convey to my brethren in Bengal jails a message through you that they are not fair to themselves in continuing the hunger-strike. It is no use trying to force Government's hands. This kind of hunger-strike is wrong, and I feel like writing a long letter to Bapu which, if Government permit, he may publish for the benefit of the Bengal prisoners."

I am summarizing the talk in my own words, but I am doing it as faithfully as possible. And then with the authorities' permission he showed me two pages from his diary — that of the 19th and of the 20th of May. The 19th he had called the day of his death and the 20th the day of his rebirth. Exactly a year ago on the 19th of May, he said, he had decided to renounce his past, "to be dead" to his past, and that was why he had called it his death. The day on which he surrendered himself to Gandhiji and found himself in jail, he called the day of his rebirth. He said he was born to a new life of truth and non-violence and suffering.

"He certainly does not care for his release," I said to myself, as I walked out of the prison gates, "and he is certainly happier here than he would be outside, with all the questions and problems that perplex us. But it is all the more necessary that we should work for his release, for no release would be better deserved."

Within a few days I met the Bengal friends. I knew them as I had seen them a little more than a year ago with Gandhiji. Whilst there-

fore I approached them with a certain amount of confidence, I knew that I had a most difficult mission to carry out. If they had not begun their hunger-strike when I saw them, I should not have found it difficult to dissuade them from the step. But for good or ill they had taken the step, and I had nothing substantial to wean them, beyond the promise that Gandhiji would work for their release with unabated vigour. And then it was no joke to convince these friends on the 23rd day of their hunger-strike (although they were being artificially fed) that they were wrong in the step they had taken. But supported by President Rajendrababu I tried my best. I failed, as perhaps I deserved to, but I flattered myself that, when they gave up the hunger-strike within two or three days of my departure from Calcutta, the decision was the cumulative effect partly of our arguments. It is not possible, nor is it necessary, to summarize the several hours' talks with these friends. But now that the hunger-strike is over (let us hope never to be resumed), I may answer one or two arguments they advanced in support of their step.

"You are mistaken in thinking that we are on hunger-strike for the sake of our release," they said to us. "We find that life inside is insupportable, this life of idleness. We cannot bear to rot in jail whilst the whole country is daily advancing towards freedom. It is not our release that we are fighting for, we want to take our full share in the struggle for freedom." We said to them that their very imprisonment was participation in the struggle, that it was lucky that it was possible for them to contribute thus their share, and that it was highly likely that when they were out they might find it impossible to do much for the solution of the many baffling problems with which the country was faced. And then how could they argue that they were not fighting for their release when they had actually said that the hunger-strike would be given up on release? "But then," they said, "what did Gandhiji himself do? He fasted in order to get facilities, while in jail, for doing Harijan work. He was released and then devoted himself to Harijan work for one full year." Did he go on hunger-strike in order to secure release? Was release from jail even in the remotest corner of his mind when he took the decision to remain without food? As the argument has been advanced in other quarters too I should like to answer it at some length.

Let me in brief narrate the facts which led to the fast. The first decision to go on an indefinite fast was taken in order to have the British Premier's Award, which threatened a vivisection of the Hindu community, altered. The Award was altered, not because the British Premier altered it irrespective of any other thing, but because the representatives of the Hindu community signed a solemn pact on which the British Premier was bound to act, and because

the Hindu community took a solemn pledge to work for the removal of untouchability without the least possible delay. How was Gandhiji, even whilst in jail, as a Hindu, to fulfil his part of the pledge? He had to whip up the community, quicken its conscience and carry on what propaganda he could from within the prison. The same time that he asked for these limited facilities he also gave a pledge to Government that he would scrupulously refrain from doing any political propaganda by talks or writing. The Government knew that this pledge would be solemnly kept, and they acceded to Gandhiji's request — not without a certain amount of struggle, which included the threat of a fast. These facilities were given him in a full measure, so much so that he was allowed to edit and issue the weekly *Harijan* from prison. This went on for several months until Gandhiji decided to go on a three weeks' fast of self-purification. He was released as the Government were afraid that he would not survive the ordeal. When he was imprisoned again he sought the same facilities as had been enjoyed by him for months, and under the same condition, viz. of not carrying on political propaganda. These were refused, and there was then no alternative before him but to go on a fast. The fast was not for release, but for the limited facilities that had been given him during his last imprisonment and that were never abused. Is there any analogy between that fast and the Bengal prisoners' hunger-strike? He was released in spite of his desire to remain in prison.

In another jail they argued that it was open to them to go on hunger-strike under certain conditions. Gandhiji himself had said that when a question of their self-respect was involved, and if any humiliating conditions hurting their self-respect were imposed on them, they had a right to refuse food. I asked them how they thought such conditions had been imposed on them. They said: "Is it not a fact that they doubt our *bona fides*? We have declared it to Gandhiji that we do not believe any longer in methods of violence or terrorism, but evidently they have no faith in the truth of our statement. The Committee members have questioned and cross-questioned us. They have thus not only insulted us but Gandhiji. And have they not humiliated Gandhiji in other ways? We feel his humiliation more than we feel ours." Now that was a strange argument. I had no difficulty in convincing them that so far as Gandhiji's humiliation was concerned they should allow him to be the judge, and so far as the question of their *bona fides* was concerned there was no humiliation involved if the Government did not take them at their word. And why should they think that the Government's refusal to release them was based on their disbelief in their *bona fides*?

Seagon, 28-8-39

M. D.

To Subscribers — Please don't fail to quote your No. when writing or sending money to us. MANAGER

TAMIL NAD KHADI REPORT

(For the half-year ending June 30, 1939)

Production and Sale

In our annual report for the year 1938 we made a fervent appeal for immediate relief of heavy stock accumulated with us, rather than for any more capital, thus rendering it possible for us to give the utmost relief to the famine-stricken villages of Tamil Nad. Famine conditions have remained unabated and our position has not become any better since. We had on our hands in the beginning of the year, requiring immediate and urgent disposal, a stock of cloth and yarn worth 7 lakhs of rupees, with only a cash balance of Rs. 68,000 to carry on the work which is becoming more and more strenuous with the passing of time. All possible efforts have been made to make both ends meet by effective control of production at the one end and more arduous efforts for sales at the other. Production has been curtailed from Rs. 122,000 in January to Rs. 86,000 at the end of June. Things appeared to brighten a little during the National Week, when khadi worth Rs. 51,209 was sold as against Rs. 25,178 in the previous year. But this had only a temporary effect. The total production of khadi during the half year was for Rs. 584,551 as against Rs. 755,638 in the previous year, thus showing a curtailment of nearly Rs. 2 lakhs. Khadi has been sold and exported to the value of Rs. 617,000 as against Rs. 549,000 in the previous year. The increase of Rs. 68,000 has not been due to an increased demand for khadi in the urban area. On the other hand there has been a decrease of Rs. 7,000 in urban sales. But khadi has been distributed in the villages mainly among spinners for nearly Rs. 70,000 more than in the previous year.

Wages Distributed

During the half year 3,872,332 hanks of yarn were purchased for a total value of Rs. 258,650, the weight of the yarn purchased being 238,026 lbs. The spinners have further deposited with us 1,798,535 hanks of yarn valued at Rs. 119,903 for their own clothing. The total value of yarn produced is therefore Rs. 378,553, and deducting the cost of cotton consumed, the wages earned by the spinners come to Rs. 264,778. This gives an average of Re. 0-12-5 as spinning wages per lb. of yarn. On an average Rs. 1,471 have been distributed every day as spinning wages to the spinners in Tamil Nad.

Famine and the Government

Spinning activities are carried on in the following seven districts of Tamil Nad: Tinneveli, Ramnad, Madura, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore, Salem and South Arcot. The Coimbatore district is now facing an acute famine. The Government have realized the condition and started relief works in those parts. Nine relief camps have been started in the Palladam, Dharapuram and Udumalpet Taluks, where work is given to 70,000 persons. All those people are employed in breaking and collecting road materials. Men are paid Re. 0-1-9 per day and the women Re. 0-1-6. More than three lakhs of rupees would have been thus distributed as wages. We are bound to congratulate the Madras Government that has undertaken this public relief measure at the proper time, but the plight of those receiving relief is very hard. It is a pathetic sight to see the old and unaccustomed, dust-covered and engaged at stone-breaking in the hot sun. We wonder how the Government decided metal-breaking as the only relief work for these people. The A. I. S. A. has a network of 31 branches in this area, situated at about 5 miles from each

other. In these centres 157 of our workers, men and women, live among the villagers and serve them incessantly. In the last 12 months alone yarn worth Rs. 662,110 has been purchased from the famine area. If we had had enough money on hand, we could have produced ten times as much as we have already done. Thousands and thousands could have been employed to do happily in their own huts the work most suited to their taste and habits, and without prejudice to their personal dignity. We had no funds. A loan of Rs. 4 or 5 lakhs might have been given to us from the famine relief funds. Or the Government could have undertaken the supply of kapas to the spinners in the famine-affected area. Or they might even have given relief to the stock of khadi that remains a burden with us. There is time enough still to do it. Famine is still ravaging the district. There has been no rains to mitigate the havoc.

Improvements in Technique

The work of improving the technique of spinning, thereby increasing the earning capacity of the spinner, has been continued with renewed vigour. 140 more spinners have been trained in more efficient carding and slivering and 4,480 spinners have been trained in efficient spinning. The following is a list of improved implements distributed to spinners in the half year:

Gins	547
Wheels	592
Speed-wheels	4,481
Spindles	4,493
Hand bows	141
Guts	1,966
Hankers	2,040
Slivering sets	371

The monthly spinning competitions have been continued and the results are very encouraging. 47 competitions were held in our various centres in which 680 spinners participated.

Lint and Kapas

During the half year the increased use of kapas has been emphasized to a greater extent than ever. 350,263 lbs. of lint have been used in the half year, of which 237,272 lbs. are hand-ginned. 547 new gins have been introduced thus bringing into use, up to date, 10,791 gins. The kapas used is mainly grown in the Coimbatore, Ramnad and Tinnevely districts, where kapas was purchased by the A. I. S. A. for about Rs. 35,000.

Spinning for Self-sufficiency

As mentioned elsewhere, during the half year, of the total production of 5,670,867 hanks of yarn, 1,798,535 hanks have been reserved for return to spinners in the shape of cloth for their own use. That is to say, 31 per cent of the total produced has been reserved for consumption by the producers themselves and 69 per cent has been put on the market for sale, whereas in the corresponding period in the previous year, spinners deposited only 13 per cent of their production for their personal use and we had to find a market for the remaining 87 per cent. During the half year, 17,098 saris valued at Rs. 79,653 and other khadi worth Rs. 21,258 have been distributed to the spinners and their families. The total khadi thus distributed is 201,588 square yards as against 65,667 square yards distributed in the corresponding previous period. Besides this, 52 families in Tamil Nad had their yarn woven into cloth through us. 1,140 square yards of cloth valued at Rs. 560 was thus woven.

Production and Weaving Wages

During the half-year khadi was produced to the value of Rs. 5,84,551 including Rs. 99,717 of

khadi produced for consumption by the spinners. The total square yards produced are 1,208,731, the weight of the same being 295,097 lbs. Khadi was imported from other provinces to the tune of Rs. 31,237.

The Association and its affiliated organizations have distributed Rs. 140,811 as weaving wages, thus showing an average daily disbursement of Rs. 782 among the weavers of Tamil Nad.

Improvements in Quality

The demand for a finer texture in khadi has been felt only in shirtings and suitings; but for articles of ordinary wear like dhotis and towels the fancy has been more for fabrics woven of a lesser count of yarn. Feeling this demand, we have limited the production of fine yarn. New designs in shirtings and coatings have been put in the market. Our plait and firefly designs both in shirtings and coatings are having an ever-increasing demand throughout India. Our latest designs in stencil and spray prints have been highly commended.

Uncertified Merchants

As usual the uncertified dealers are doing their obstructive tactics and malicious propaganda against us. They hold their own quasi-conferences and do not hesitate to tell half-truths and untruths regarding their work. At every step in improving the quality of yarn and texture of cloth they have been an unavoidable hindrance. Now we are enhancing the spinning wages. Only yarn of standard quality will be paid standard wages and yarn of inferior quality will be rejected. The unscrupulous brokers in the villages will purchase this yarn at very low rates and will try to pass this on by all heinous methods as of standard quality through their own women. Our limited resources will not permit us to purchase yarn from all spinners irrespective of their status. That is, we will purchase yarn from the poorest of spinners in preference to others. But the discrimination of the deserving and undeserving spinners is not an easy job. The unscrupulous brokers of the uncertified dealers will try to create bickerings amongst illiterate villagers against our workers. Our financial difficulties and the ignorance of the illiterate villagers will be fully taken advantage of to the fullest extent after the enhancement of wages.

It is high time that the obstacles to the most important constructive work of the Congress should be removed at any cost. The Congress Governments are working in 8 out of 11 provinces, and it is their duty to protect khadi by legislation from these uncertified dealers. Gandhiji has already pronounced that these depots should be closed at once. We request the A. I. S. A. Council and Gandhiji to lose no time in bringing pressure upon the Congress Provincial Governments to do the needful and give protection to khadi.

C. A. AIYAMUTHU

Secretary, A. I. S. A. Tamil Nad

Books on Village Industries

Gandhiji — Cent Per Cent Swadeshi or The Economics of Village Industries Rs. 1-8-0. Postage 5 As.

J. C. Kumarappa — Why The Village Movement? (3rd Edition. With a foreword by Gandhiji. Printed on handmade paper) Rs. 1-8-0. Postage 3 As.

A. I. V. I. A. Annual Report. Price 2 As. Postage 1 Anna.

C. P. Industrial Survey Committee's Report (Printed on handmade paper) 12 As. including postage.

Available at Harijan Office — Poona 4

Notes

The Impending Crisis

A sister from London wired on the 24th inst.: "Please act, World awaiting lead." Another wire from another sister in London received today says: "Urge you consider immediate expression of your unshakable faith in reason not force to rulers and all peoples." I have been hesitating to say anything on the impending world crisis which affects the welfare not of a few nations but of the whole of mankind. I have felt that my word can have no effect on those on whom depends the decision whether there is to be war or peace. I know that many in the West believe that my word does carry weight. I wish I shared their belief. Not having such belief I have been praying in secret that God may spare us the calamity of war. But I have no hesitation in redeclaring my faith in reason, which is another word for non-violence, rather than the arbitrament of war for the settlement of disputes or redress of wrongs. I cannot emphasize my belief more forcibly than by saying that I personally would not purchase my own country's freedom by violence even if such a thing were a possibility. My faith in the wise saying that what is gained by the sword will also be lost by the sword is imperishable. How I wish Herr Hitler would respond to the appeal of the President of the United States and allow his claim to be investigated by arbitrators in whose choice he will have as effective a voice as the disputants.

Will They Learn?

Hirdaynath Baijal was a medical student in Agra. Whenever I pass through big stations after a lapse of time there are as a rule wild demonstrations. For causes I have not been able to divine there were wilder demonstrations during my recent journey to the Frontier Province and wilder still on return from there. Such a demonstration took place at Agra on the 27th ultimo. My ears cannot cope with the noises however affectionate they may be. Plugging with cotton wool does not answer. I have to plug them with my fingers as hard as I can in order to deaden the noise. The demonstrators are themselves so lost in their frenzy that they do not listen to the piteous appeals I and my companions make to them. It is not their fault. They do not know what is being said to them. And they cannot understand why persons in whose honour demonstrations are made should resent them. They make no distinction between night and day. This Agra demonstration took place at night. I think it was after 9 P. M. Among these demonstrators was Hirdaynath. He boarded the train in order to reach me and get my autograph. Before he could come near my compartment he slipped and fell. The train

moved and ran over him, and he had to lose his legs.

A correspondent suggests that the railway authorities could have or should have managed the crowd, that the train should have been stopped in time, and that first aid was not provided as it should have been. Be that as it may, the fact of the injury to Hirdaynath remains. Kind correspondents kept themselves in touch with me after the accident. Hirdaynath's father too wrote to me. I was thus able to write a word of cheer to the young man and give such consolation as I could to his father and his friends. Unfortunately in spite of the best treatment he breathed his last on the 22nd inst. My heart goes out to the deceased's father and his friends. The reason why I pen these lines is to warn the public against these demonstrations in which no order is kept. If demonstrations there must be, and I suppose there will be, they must be regulated either by the demonstrators themselves or the police. This is the second accident within the past few months. One took place on my return from Brindaban. There also the injured party was a student. Fortunately he has lived, though without a leg. Hirdaynath seems to have been a student of exceptional qualities and a great favourite with the students. I suggest to the students that the very best way in which they can treasure the memory of their dear comrade is by organizing a discipline brigade whose mission would be to introduce order in demonstrations, meetings and other crowds. With ever-increasing mass awakening we need to know the laws governing the conduct and movement of crowds so as to enable vast masses to gather together without fuss, noise or disturbance.

Segaon, 28-8-39

M. K. G.

Handmade Paper

Samples of several varieties of handmade paper (made at Junnar, Erandol, Jaipur, Ahmedabad, Aurangabad, Kalpi, Scdepur and Nepal), envelopes, cards and blotting paper, can be obtained by sending postal stamps worth two annas to *Harijan* office, Poona 4.

Books on Khadi

B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya — On Khaddar 8 As. 1 A.
A. I. S. A. Report for 1938 2 As. 1 A.

Available at *Harijan* Office — Poona 4.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1939

[ONE ANNA

Notes

Bombay Corporation and Harijans

The following important resolutions were carried by the Bombay Municipal Corporation on 17th and 18th August respectively:

"That the attention of the Commissioner be invited to the absence of bathing and washing facilities for the Municipal Labour Staff, particularly the Health Department sweepers and Drainage Department cleaners, after they finish their work on the streets, and he be requested to report as to whether it would not be desirable to construct a number of special bathrooms and washing places near their centre of work so that they can wash and clean themselves after finishing their day's duties and return home tidy and refreshed."

"That the attention of the Commissioner be invited to the fact that the dress used by the municipal sweepers and similar other menial staff gets extremely dirty as a result of their condition of work, and that the continuous use of such dress by this class of employees even during off-duty hours presents a very shabby appearance and is harmful to their health, and he be requested to report whether it would not be desirable to provide these employees with working suits which they may put on just before starting their work and take out at the end of their duty."

The resolutions should have been carried long ago. Both the points covered by the resolutions are important as well for the employees as the citizens. Sanitation of a big city like Bombay is dependent largely upon the efficiency of those who are employed to attend to it. And yet all over India they are the least looked after. It needed a Congress majority in the Corporation to pass these necessary resolutions. Let us hope that the Commissioner will report favourably without delay. There can be no objection to the reforms in principle. The objection so far as I can see can only be on the score of finance. But in matters such as the sanitary welfare of the city financial objection can have little weight. Assuming that the report is favourable and not delayed, there will still be another stage to be gone through before the reforms become accomplished facts, for the necessary sanction of the Corporation will be required. I hope the mover and the seconder of the resolutions will, therefore, not rest till they see washing places and working dresses provided for the sweepers, cleaners and the other members of the labour staff. Segaoon, 27-8-39

Rural v. Urban

An educationist writes:

"If you do not take care, you will find that basic education in urban areas will take a different form from the rural areas. For instance English will be introduced to the injury of the mother-tongue and a kind of superiority complex developed."

I must confess that my scheme was conceived in terms of the villages, and when I was developing it I did say that some variation will be necessary in applying the scheme to the cities. This had reference to the industries to be used as media of instruction. I never thought that English could ever find place in the primary stage. And the scheme has so far concerned itself only with the primary stage. No doubt the primary stage is made equivalent to the matriculation, less English. To inflict English on children is to stunt their natural growth and perhaps to kill originality in them. Learning of a language is primarily a training in developing memory. Learning of English from the beginning is an unnecessary tax on a child. He can only learn it at the expense of the mother-tongue. I hold it to be as necessary for the urban child as for the rural to have the foundation of his development laid on the solid rock of the mother-tongue. It is only in unfortunate India that such an obvious proposition needs to be proved.

Segaoon, 31-8-39

Text Books

The craze for ever-changing text books is hardly a healthy sign from the educational standpoint. If text books are treated as a vehicle for education, the living word of the teacher has very little value. A teacher who teaches from text books does not impart originality to his pupils. He himself becomes a slave of text books and has no opportunity or occasion to be original. It therefore seems that the less text books there are the better it is for the teacher and his pupils. Text books seem to have become an article of commerce. Authors and publishers who make writing and publishing a means of making money are interested in a frequent change of text books. In many cases teachers and examiners are themselves authors of text books. It is naturally to their interest to have their books sold. The selection board is again naturally composed of such people. And so the vicious circle becomes complete. And it becomes very difficult for parents to find money for new

books every year. It is a pathetic sight to see boys and girls going to school loaded with books which they are ill able to carry. The whole system requires to be thoroughly examined. The commercial spirit needs to be entirely eliminated and the question approached solely in the interest of the scholars. It will then probably be found that 75 per cent of the text books will have to be consigned to the scrap-heap. If I had my way, I would have books largely as aids to teachers rather than for the scholars. Such text books as are found to be absolutely necessary for the scholars should circulate among them for a number of years so that the cost can be easily borne by middle class families. The first step in this direction is perhaps for the State to own and organize the printing and publishing of text books. This will act as an automatic check on their unnecessary multiplication.

Divided Loyalty?

Shri Appa Patwardhan writes:

"The Bombay Government spend a large sum in helping weavers. They have appointed a marketing officer and salesmen. They give loans. Yet the weavers cannot compete with mills and in my opinion the expenses incurred do not bear fruit. Moreover the weavers use foreign yarn as well. Side by side with this fruitless help the Government render some help to khadi also. I do not know how far this divided loyalty is justified."

I have always held the opinion that help to the weavers who use foreign or Indian mill yarn is a waste of money and effort. Experience has not changed the view. Nor does it change because in certain provinces the Congress rules. I hold this view because the disappearance of the weaver of mill yarn is a question of time only. In the nature of things it cannot be otherwise. The weavers' only hope lies in a universal revival of hand-spinning. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving are interdependent, never hand-weaving and mill-spinning. I have therefore suggested that if hand-spinning cannot immediately supply the weavers' requirements, they should be induced to introduce hand-spinning, carding, etc., in their own families if they will not become spinners themselves. Now that in several provinces the Congress rules, the saving of the weaver becomes easier. Thus the Government can encourage spinning on a wide scale, guarantee the loss in khadi sales as the State guarantees the foreign railway companies. It is the primary duty of the State to guarantee employment of its choice to everyone in need of it. This includes the weavers also. If during the transition stage it is found impossible to guarantee weaving for every weaver, the State has to find him some other employment, profitable alike to the State and the individual. It should be borne in mind that the possibilities of hand-spinning have not yet been explored by any Government. I am of opinion that such investigation will yield startlingly

encouraging results. My argument undoubtedly assumes the elimination of all mills from consideration. No industry, indigenous or foreign, can be allowed to increase unemployment and thus harm the true interest of the community as a whole.

Ways of Famine Relief

Though the most terrible distress that was feared has been averted by the falling of rains, however belated, some distress is bound to continue for a few months, and it will be unwise for relief agencies to go to sleep. What is more, time is now more propitious for devising measures for making permanent provisions for preventing distress caused by scarcity of water. I have already made some cardinal suggestions in this direction. The Secretary of the Saurashtra Seva Samiti sends me a businesslike report of the elaborate steps taken by that body for enlisting helpers and providing relief. I need not detain the reader over them. He also suggests preventive methods. As these are still seasonable I give below the substance, the original being in Gujarati:

"1. The States should refrain from auctioning their stock of grass but they should store it as a precaution against dry years. The store should be replaced when fresh store becomes available. There is nowadays danger of the stacks being destroyed by incendiaries. The States should have no difficulty in protecting them. They may even allow private collectors to deposit their stores in such private areas.

2. The existing banks should be renovated and flood water should be banked.

3. In the places where cattle are moved during famine times, measures should be taken to ensure proper water supply for the cattle.

4. There should be control over the cultivation of money crops to the detriment of food crops. Thus people nowadays sow groundnuts in the place of most valuable fodder and food crops, i. e. jawari and bajri.

5. Existing forests should be preserved, indiscriminate cutting of trees should be made punishable, and people should be encouraged to plant trees according to plan.

6. The management of pinjrapoles should be put on a sound basis and they should become efficient famine insurance agencies for cattle. They should become castration depots.

7. The State should encourage khadi as a famine insurance measure."

All these suggestions seem to be sound and deserve the collective consideration of the States and the people of Kathiawad. In this humanitarian project all can and should combine in spite of political differences and struggles.

Sacrificial Spinning in Andhra

Shri Shankerlal Banker sends me a letter he has received from the Andhra Branch of the A. I. S. A. I take the following from it:

"On seeing Mahatmaji's note in the *Harijan* dated 22-7-39 we conceived the idea of performing sacrificial spinning (sutra yajna) on the lines follow-

ed by Sjt. Narandas Gandhi of Rajkot Rashtriya Shala. Accordingly we sent an appeal on 29-7-39 to the local *Krishna Patrika* and the *Andhra Patrika* for publication, calling for applications from khadi lovers who would participate in the sutra yajna performed under the auspices of the Andhra Branch in connection with the ensuing Gandhi Jayanti. All participants are requested to offer 14,000 (70 × 200) yards of self-spun yarn or 70 coppers (Rs. 1-1-6) in terms of his present age. We find a ready response to our call. Till now we have received 500 applications. Many applicants offer 14,000 yards of yarn or Rs. 1-1-6 in cash. But some poor spinners offer only 7,000 yards of yarn and we accept their offer in consideration of their poverty, though they fall short of the minimum fixed in our appeal. Now we are going to issue a special appeal to the spinners in the Andhra Desh to contribute 7,000 yards (nearly one warp) as a birthday gift to Mahatmaji on his 71st birthday. In our appeal all A. I. S. A. workers were requested to give yarn contributions only. In our central stores and central office sacrificial spinning has been going on for the last 15 days since 2-8-39. Some have been spinning on the takli and some others on the improved charkha. The workers are asked to improve and note the quality and quantity of their yarn. We have requested the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to help us in enlisting volunteers for sutra yajna and see that all members of Congress committees participate in it. In compliance with our request they issued a circular to all Congress members to enrol themselves as volunteers for sutra yajna and help the khadi movement to the best of their ability. We hope to enlist at least 1,000 volunteers before Gandhi Jayanti."

I have letters from other quarters also showing that Shri Narandas Gandhi's example has caught on. I hope that the organizers are carrying out strictest economy in organizing sacrificial spinning. They may not, for instance, move the yarn spun from place to place resulting in the cost of postage being incurred. Yarn should be collected by appointed agents so that there can be hand to hand delivery. If an authentic account is kept and published, it should be accepted as completion of the yajna. Those who intend to account to Narandas Gandhi for their spinning need only send him certificates of their spinning. I suggest too that as far as possible yarn should be locally woven. It is against the spirit of the khadi movement to concentrate weaving in fixed places. As spinning has to be universal in every home, weaving should be universal in every village.

On the train to Simla, 3-9-39 M. K. G.

The Way of God or the Way of the Devil?

Readers of *Harijan* will like to share with me the following dialogue between Gandhiji and an Italian Professor which took place in Segaon in 1937. I found it in my notebook as I was turning over old papers. It gives a fuller, meaning to his press message on the world situation.

Italian Professor: "If we had in the world a people who practised ahimsa, could they keep themselves free from being slaves of others?"

Gandhiji: "If one person can, surely a nation can. No man or a group of men can hold any other man or group of other men slaves against their will. The slave-driver will say, 'Do this!' and they will refuse. It is possible to imagine

that some day all nations will become sufficiently intelligent to act, even in the mass, as individuals do today."

Gandhiji then drew a vivid picture of the violent road for India, how she might murder and fight, and suffer reprisals, till out of 30 crores only one crore would be left.

"But," said Gandhiji, "I decided that that was not the road for me. I rehearsed all these things in my mind, but I said to myself, 'This is the way of the Devil, not the way of God.' The thought of those twentynine crores of lives sacrificed would ever haunt me. The fact of the one crore of giants, trained in violence, who would have the whole of India to spread themselves in, would give me no satisfaction. I said to myself, 'I must take the way of non-violence, and take with me even the lepers and the lunatics.'

"For, after all, are we not all more less lepers and more or less mad? If we were all sane, we should be like gods. It is because we have a screw loose that we cannot succeed in being one with God."

Segaon, 29-8-39

Mira

IN PRAISE OF PROHIBITION

My dear Mahatma Gandhi:

May I express to you the most sincere congratulations of the officers of the World League Against Alcoholism upon the great achievements toward prohibition in India, in which you have played so significantly prominent a part.

The World League Against Alcoholism is anxious to be of all assistance possible to you and the friends of prohibition in India during this crucial time which you will face for the next few years, when the opponents of prohibition will do everything they can to discredit the policy in the hope of turning the tide toward some repeal provision. We shall be glad to send certain periodical and other literature dealing with the various phases of the question growing out of the American experiment, and we desire as well to be of any assistance possible in furnishing other information to leaders who would be interested and could make helpful use of such material. Will you kindly advise us as to how we may co-operate with you in the most constructive and helpful way?

I am having sent to you a number of pieces of literature, and I am having sent from my office in Washington other samples of posters and tracts. We are also having your name placed on the mailing list to receive the American Issue, and also the Voice of the Board of Temperance of the Methodist Church.

With gratitude and thanksgiving for the remarkable service to the cause of righteousness which you have rendered through the years, and are still continuing to render, and with the hope that your life and energy may be spared for many years to come, I am, Cordially yours,

ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON

Westerville, U. S. A. General Secretary

H A R I J A N

Sept. 9

1939

THAT UNBECOMING DEMONSTRATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The first I heard of the black flag demonstration against Subhas Babu on his visit to Patna was through a courteous letter received from the Secretary of the Bengali Association of Bankipore. I then saw a notice of it in the Press. To make myself sure of what had happened I wired to Shri P. R. Das for an authentic and up-to-date account. He replied from Dhanbad saying he was away from the scene and knew nothing. The newspapers reported that there was stone-throwing and hurling of shoes resulting in injuries to Swami Sahajanand and others.

Allowing for exaggerations, if any, there seems to be little doubt that there was a hostile demonstration of an unseemly nature which brought no credit to the Congress.

I have read Rajendra Babu's eloquent statement on the unhappy incident. It is so true and so heart-stirring that it admits of no addition or embellishment. I endorse every word of that noble pronouncement. It is reproduced below this article.

The demonstrators showed an unworthy intolerance. Subhas Babu has a perfect right to agitate against the action of the Working Committee and canvass public opinion against it. The disciplinary action frees him from any liability for restraint save what every Congressman, pledged to the credal article of the constitution, is bound to put on himself. That action should save him from any further demonstration of public displeasure. And those who disapprove of the action of the Working Committee are certainly entitled to join any demonstration in favour of Subhas Babu. Unless this simple rule is observed we shall never evolve democracy. In my opinion the black flag demonstrators have rendered a disservice to the cause of freedom. It is to be hoped that the Patna demonstration will prove to be the last of such acts by Congressmen. The question may be asked, "How are those who endorse the action of the Working Committee and disapprove of Subhas Babu's propaganda to show their disapproval?" Certainly not through black flags and disturbing of meetings in honour of Subhas Babu. They can express their disapproval by holding counter meetings, not at the same time as the others but either before or after them. These meetings, both for and against, should be regarded as a means of educating public opinion. Such education requires calm surroundings. Black flags, noisy slogans, and hurling of stones and shoes

have no place in educative and instructive propaganda.

Apropos of the ugly demonstration I must refer to a complaint I have received that some Congress committees have threatened action against those Congressmen who may take part in receptions to Subhas Babu. I hope that the complaint has no foundation in fact. Such action will betray intolerance and may even be a sign of vindictiveness. Congressmen who dislike the Working Committee's action are bound to take part in receptions to Subhas Babu. It is impossible to gag them by threats of disciplinary measures. Such action loses its value if it is resorted to on the slightest pretext. If it is true, as it is true, that no organization can do without such powers, it is equally true that no organization that makes free use of such powers has any right to exist. It cannot. It has then obviously lost the public backing.

Segaon, 2-9-39

RAJENDRA BABU'S STATEMENT

Political ideas and convictions cannot be maintained by suppressing the other side in any democratic organization like the Congress. Any stone, shoe or other missile thrown by anyone was not thrown at Subhas Babu or Swami Sahajanand but at me, and whether it struck the target or not it certainly hit me. Were they retaliating for some insult or wrong done to me? If they felt like that, they did me a grievous injury. The word retaliation should not be found in the dictionary of satyagraha, and they pay lip homage thereto who forget its fundamental cardinal principle when the time comes to face it. Was there provocation that could justify violence or rowdiness on the part of those who shouted Mahatma Gandhi ki jai? Violence in any form is the surest means of frustrating and defeating all that Mahatmajee has lived and worked for. Nor is our non-violence to be reserved only for the British Government and its agents. It is intended as much for our political opponents. Let us realize once for all that mud cannot be washed off with mud. It can be washed off only with clear water. So violence or rowdiness in Patna can be no remedy for violence or rowdiness in the past or future in another place. It will only add thereto and make the atmosphere more murky. We owe an apology and should offer it without stint. At any rate I do openly and publicly.

Those who wanted Subhas Babu to visit Patna were perfectly entitled to do so. Those who wanted to organize a reception were equally entitled to do so. Those who did not like to give him a reception were equally entitled to express their opinion but should have thought a hundred times before they decided to stage anti-demonstrations. Such anti-demonstrations serve no useful purpose. Were they afraid of his presence or that his speech would demolish their or others' beliefs and convictions? If that is so, then their convictions must be very poor

convictions indeed. There is nothing to be lost and everything to be gained by listening to the other side. It helps to clarify ideas and strengthen our convictions if they are sound.

Ranchi, 30-8-39

THE SIMLA VISIT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

At Delhi, as I was entraining for Kalka, a big crowd sang in perfect good humour, to the worn-out refrain of "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai", "We do not want any understanding." I had then my weekly silence. Therefore I merely smiled. And those who were standing on the footboard returned the smile with their smile, whilst they were admonishing me not to have any understanding with the Viceroy. I had also a letter from a Congress committee giving me similar warning. Neither of these counsellors knew me. I did not need the warning to know my limitations. Apart from the Delhi demonstration and a Congress committee's warning, it is my duty to tell the public what happened at the interview with H. E. the Viceroy.

I knew that I had no instructions whatsoever from the Working Committee in the matter. I had answered a telegraphic invitation and taken the first train I could catch. And what is more, with my irrepressible and out and out non-violence, I knew that I could not represent the national mind and I should cut a sorry figure if I tried to do so. I told His Excellency as much. Therefore there could be no question of any understanding or negotiation with me. Nor, I saw, had he sent for me to negotiate. I have returned from the Viceregal Lodge empty-handed and without any understanding, open or secret. If there is to be any, it would be between the Congress and the Government.

Having, therefore, made my position *vis a vis* the Congress quite clear, I told His Excellency that my own sympathies were with England and France from the purely humanitarian standpoint. I told him that I could not contemplate without being stirred to the very depth the destruction of London which had hitherto been regarded as impregnable. And as I was picturing before him the Houses of Parliament and the Westminster Abbey and their possible destruction, I broke down. I have become disconsolate. In the secret of my heart I am in perpetual quarrel with God that He should allow such things to go on. My non-violence seems almost impotent. But the answer comes at the end of the daily quarrel that neither God nor non-violence is impotent. Impotence is in men. I must try on without losing faith even though I may break in the attempt.

And so, as though in anticipation of the agony that was awaiting me, I sent on the 23rd July from Abbottabad the following letter to Herr Hitler:

"Friends have been urging me to write to you for the sake of humanity. But I have resisted their

request because of the feeling that any letter from me would be an impertinence. Something tells me that I must not calculate and that I must make my appeal for whatever it may be worth.

It is quite clear that you are today the one person in the world who can prevent a war which may reduce humanity to the savage state. Must you pay that price for an object, however worthy it may appear to you to be? Will you listen to the appeal of one who has deliberately shunned the method of war not without considerable success?

Anyway I anticipate your forgiveness, if I have erred in writing to you."

How I wish that even now he would listen to reason and the appeal from almost the whole of thinking mankind, not excluding the German people themselves. I must refuse to believe that the Germans contemplate with equanimity the evacuation of big cities like London for fear of destruction to be wrought by man's inhuman ingenuity. They cannot contemplate with equanimity such destruction of themselves and their own monuments. I am not therefore just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled?

Yet it almost seems as if Herr Hitler knows no God but brute force and, as Mr. Chamberlain says, he will listen to nothing else. It is in the midst of this catastrophe without parallel that Congressmen and all other responsible Indians individually and collectively have to decide what part India is to play in this terrible drama.

Simla, 5-9-39

DISAPPEARING OF UNTOUCHABILITY

ALL-INDIA MONTHLY REPORT

I

The Harijan Sevak Sangh distributes to Harijan workers a monthly summary of the anti-untouchability work done in various provinces. Though it is a summary it is fairly exhaustive. I cull from it items of general interest.

Help by Provincial Governments

Assam—The Government have placed a recurring grant of Rs. 2,040 at the disposal of Shri Bhandari, Secretary, tribal special welfare work, for organizing work among the ex-tea-garden labourers.

Bihar—The Government have accepted the General Secretary's scheme for Harijan and Aboriginal uplift work and decided to spend Rs. 2 lakhs for each of the two objects.

U. P.—U. P. Government spend Rs. 63,500 on the industrial training of Harijans.

C. P. and Berar—The Government have made the grant of Rs. 600 to each of the 19 district committees of the Sangh for educational work, permanent and recurring.

Madras—The Government have taken over the management of several boys' and girls' schools and hostels run by Swami A. S. Sahajanand

M. L. A., a Harijan leader, and thus relieved him of the financial burden of these institutions.

Redress of Sweepers' Grievances

The summary mentions cases of sweepers' strikes in various parts of the country. The wonder is that there are not many more such strikes. A living wage, employment on a permanent basis, fixed hours of work, provident fund, privilege leave and habitable quarters are the demands of these folk everywhere. But there is nothing like a general awakening of the public conscience in this matter. Work in this direction in some provinces may be mentioned.

The Simla Municipality acceded to the sweepers' demands, e. g. appointment on a permanent basis; pay in the grade of Rs. 15 to Rs. 18 with increment eight annas (yearly?); provident fund; seven hours of work; privilege leave of one month in the year; free quarters or Rs. 2 as house-rent.

The Shikarpur Harijan Sevak Sangh is constructing a Harijan colony for the sweepers, for which Government have granted free land. The Sangh has collected Rs. 14,000 out of the estimated cost of Rs. 25,000.

In Rajputana and Central India, the Dewan of Dhar announced the following concessions to the sweepers: (1) An all-round increase of Re. 1 in the monthly remuneration; (2) Permanency of service; (3) 15 days' privilege leave; (4) Casual leave for 10 days; (5) Maternity leave for one month; (6) Pension and gratuity on the scale allowed to all menial staff; (7) Arrangement for the education of children and medical relief.

This example deserves to be copied everywhere.

Education

An Industrial School for Harijans with a provision for 60 boys has been started at Patna under the auspices of the Theosophical Society.

The U. P. Government's grant for industrial training of Harijans has been already noted in these columns. So has the literacy campaign in Indore.

A Harijan girls' hostel was started by the West Khandesh Dist. Harijan Sevak Sangh at Dhulia.

Shri Shankar Kelshikar, a Harijan student, stood first in Sanskrit in the last Matriculation examination of the Bombay University.

The Vizianagaram Estate has granted a building with some land to the Sangh for a Harijan hostel.

The following paragraph from the Quinquennial Report of Education for 1932-37 of the Government of Bihar is of much interest:

"The total number of pupils of the untouchables and Depressed Classes rose from 28,237 in 1932-33 to 44,638 in 1935-36 and to 43,583 in 1936-37. In 1936-37, the proportion of the boys of the Depressed Classes at schools to their total male population was 1.7 per cent and that of girls .08 per cent. The number of pupils in the middle and high stages of the institution has risen and there were 10 pupils of the Depressed Classes in the college stage in 1936-37 against 1 in 1932-33."

M. D.

CASE FOR INQUIRY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I published some time ago facts relating to Nallathur Harijans. Shri K. Tatachar sent me some time ago the notes from his diary of the no less serious ill-treatment of the Harijans of Tenpatnam Cheri. I publish them below in full: "28-11-38

Certain Harijans belonging to Tenpatnam Cheri staged a village drama on the night of 28-11-38, on land adjoining Tenpatnam and forming part of Mugayur, and held in patta by ten persons out of them. The drama began at 8 P. M. Vinayaka Vesham appeared first on the stage. Next came the buffoon or Kattiayan Karan. When he was still on the stage, about a hundred persons rushed in with sticks and attacked the Harijans assembled at the place and beat.

1. Sabapathi, age 45, inflicting a bleeding wound on the chest.

2. Gangan, age 45, striking him on the nose and causing the same to bleed.

3. Gangan, age 65, another man of same name. He received a large number of blows on his back, on his sides and on his thighs resulting in weal marks.

4. Muthuvangri, wife of No. 3, age 50, who rushed to the rescue seeing her husband being beaten and who received blows all over her body resulting in weal marks.

5. Bharani, age 40, who received a number of blows causing weal marks, including one bleeding wound on the shoulder.

6. Angan, age 30, who received one blow on the left forearm a little above the wrist, which broke one of the bones and another blow on the back.

7. Doraiswami, age 59, who received severe blows on the back and chest.

8. Kodandan of Cheyyur, age 25, who received a severe beating including a wound on the head and two broken arms.

9. Rangamma, 35, the mother-in-law of No. 8 who came to the rescue of No. 8, received a large number of blows, and had to be carried to her house.

10. Channappa, age 40, who came to the help of his wife No. 9 and who received two wounds on the shoulder.

After inflicting the above injuries the party went away.

29-11-38

Next morning, on 29-11-38 at 6 A. M. or so, Chellamuthu, the cheri washerman and living in the cheri, was made to go away from the cheri. At about 7 A. M. about 150 persons came into the cheri patta land above referred to; of these one: Srinivasan had a rifle, four or five had swords and the rest had sticks. Of those who had swords, one was Murugasen and Govindaraj was another. On this occasion the following injuries were received.

1. Vanji, age 45, who received several blows, one of them striking the right shoulder and causing a wound there and dislocating the joint.

2. Chinnakolandai, age 70, who received a wound on the right shoulder; and

3. Yelumalai, S/o Kariyan of Cheyur, who received a number of blows and the following properties were forcibly taken away:

(1) 160 goats and sheep belonging to 5 persons, Asaparan (108) Manikam (25) Bharani (19) Sabapathi (5) and Kuppan (3), all collected in a thatched stable before being taken to the jungle; value Rs. 640.

(2) Actor's dresses, ornaments, etc., value Rs. 150, and 20 dhotis, 30 saris, 5 shirts and 2 pairs of ankle gajjis, two hurricane lanterns, two ropes, three brass vessels, and two locks with key from the house of Vanji where they were kept.

(3) One ladder.

(4) 5 planks with which they got up the stage.

(5) One large brass chembu from the hut of Saliyan. The party also pulled down the thatched roof of Saliyan's house and broke about 15 pots in his house.

(6) Altogether 13 persons have received injuries including two women aged 50 and 35 and 3 men aged 59, 65 and 70. The value of the property taken away is approximately Rs. 1,000. The terrorizing involved is immense, and this last is not, it is submitted, a negligible consideration at all. The methods employed, the consequences involved, the broad daylight in which valuable property belonging to the poorest of the poor was forcibly taken away and every other consideration bearing on the subject, it is respectfully submitted, call for a thorough and impartial investigation by a highly placed and responsible officer, and deterrent punishment of the persons guilty of the violence as well as of the police officers who did not conduct themselves as they should have done in the circumstances.

The staging of the drama—an episode from the Mahabharat—involving an expense of Rs. 50, a large sum from the cheri people; and they got this money together taking a month or so. They had everything ready by the 28th Nov. The cheri belongs to Tenpatnam, but some families live on land belonging to Tenpatnam and other families live in adjoining land, forming part of Mugayur but held on 'patta' by ten persons belonging to the cheri. The ownership of Tenpatnam is divided among a Reddiar ($\frac{1}{2}$), Gramanis ($\frac{1}{8}$), Vanniars ($\frac{1}{8}$), Yedayars ($\frac{1}{8}$) and Settians ($\frac{1}{8}$).

Reddiar Chinnaswamy was informed of the staging of the drama. He referred the cheri people to the gramanis and others. These others objected to the staging. After protest by the cheri people, they permitted the drama but on condition that Rs. 10 were paid to their temple. The cheri people pleaded inability to pay and came away. As they were going back to their cheri Pungavana Gramani of Mugayur met them and, on being informed of all the facts, he asked the cheri people to go on with the drama and said he would explain to Tenpatnam people. Everything was ready and expenses had been incurred and the cheri people staged the drama without conforming to the condition of the Tenpatnam village people that Rs. 10 should be paid. *No drama had been staged at any time by the cheri people. The staging of a drama without conforming to the conditions imposed was a grave act of revolutionary rebellion against the traditional dependence and subservience of the cheri. The revolutionary spirit must be crushed and the high-handedness above described was the method adopted for the purpose.*

29-11-38

23 cattle, bulls, cows, and calves, were impounded.

30-11-38

The cheri washerman was removed on the 30th morning. The cheri people were forbidden to take water from the well adjoining the cheri from which they were taking their water.

The entire occurrence of the 28th night was reported at the police station in Cheyyur early in the morning of the 29th at about 5 a. m. The report was not recorded, but the informants were asked to bring Kodandan, son of Cheyyur, who had received a wound on the head and whose two arms had been broken, instead of the policemen at once rushing to the scene. If they had done so, the occurrence on the 29th morning would have been prevented. The informants returned to the cheri and it was on that morning that the second invasion and the looting of the cheri took place. Kodandan was, therefore, carried to the police station in Cheyyur only on the evening of the 29th. The entire occurrence of the 28th and 29th were reported. I am inclined to suspect that the report was not fully recorded.

The head constable took things quite coolly and came to the scene leisurely at 9 A. M. on 30-11-38. He put a number of questions and went off.

1-12-38

At 9 A. M. or so, the Sub-inspector came with two police constables and the head constable. Chinnaswamy Reddiar and many people from Tenpatnam also came. Chinnaswamy Reddiar promised to procure the return of all the things taken away. The Inspector said when going away that if the things were not returned, the cheri people were to go back and report and the case would be investigated then. On that occasion, the inspector arrested 4 persons from Tenpatnam and took them to Cheyyur.

7-12-38

The properties taken away were not returned and the cheri people reported to the D. S. P., the Collector, Deputy Collector, etc.

10-12-38

The head constable, Chinnaswamy Reddiar and 50 to 60 persons of Tenpatnam and Mugayur came and the signature of 4 or 5 people were taken to a document stating that there was no dramatic performance, that there was no breach of the peace and nothing was taken away. Chinnaswamy Reddiar then promised again that he was responsible for seeing that all the things taken away should be returned. The cheri people had not much choice in the matter and they acquiesced.

21-12-38

But nothing was returned. The cheri people approached the Rev. Father Paul of Cheyyur.

25-12-38

The head constable and Chinnaswamy Reddiar got 111 goats and sheep returned. The rest of the property had not been returned up to date.

6-1-39

The D. S. P. replied to the complaints of 7-12-38; "It is reported that a compromise has been effected and that there is no trouble of any kind."

This seems to be a case of gross failure of justice, and the matter, though comparatively old, requires investigation. There has been no remissness on the part of the people or their friends to secure redress. But if Shri Tatachari's recital is accurate, justice was denied to the Harijans because they were Harijans. The police belonging to the lowest grade should be taught that they have to serve Harijans equally with the others. Harijans ought to be able to feel that during the Congress regime at least they can get justice.

On the train to Simla, 3-9-39

LIMBDI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Though I have had protracted correspondence with the Limbdi people, I have refrained for a long time from saying anything about their woes. My silence was due to the hope that those who were trying to bring about peace between the Ruler and the people would succeed. But it was a vain hope. Much has happened since the beginning stages of that struggle. Perhaps nowhere has the policy of ruthlessness been pursued with so much precision and persistence as in Limbdi. If the reports received by me are to be believed, and I have no reason to disbelieve them, the peasants have been hunted out of their homes. The heaviest blow has been aimed at the hated Bania who was at one time the State's friend, favourite and main supporter. But he was to be crushed because he dared to think and talk of responsible government, dared to go amongst the peasantry and tell them what was due to them and how they could get it. The shops and houses of these merchants who have performed *hijrat* are practically looted. I cannot use any other term. There has not even been, so far as I know, any legal formality observed. The will of the administrator of the policy of ruthlessness is the supreme law. The idea is to terrorize the people into subjection. No wonder some have weakened. I would advise those who are in charge of the movement not to try to keep them from surrendering. Of course they should be told what is in store for them. But there are people who prize possessions before honour. They can only be a burden on a freedom movement. Freedom is always won by a few brave self-sacrificing souls who will stake everything for the sake of honour. Those who understand the value and the necessity of sacrifice, whether they are few or many, should feel glad that their possessions in Limbdi have been taken away. They should not live in suspense nor entertain any hope of immediate settlement. They should engage in healthy pursuits outside the State, always in the firm faith that a day must come when the people of Limbdi will come into their own. When that day comes,

as it must, it will have come because of the sacrifice and the bravery of those who will have refused to bend before repression, however severe. Let them remember Thoreau's immortal words that possession is a vice and poverty a virtue in a tyrannical State.

So much on reliable evidence before me. But should Limbdi be a tyrannical State? If there is exaggeration in the statements made to me, let the State authorities send me a contradiction. I would gladly publish it. Better still will be an impartial judicial inquiry into the allegations made, if they are disputed. I wish to make a public appeal to the Thakore Saheb of Limbdi. I have the privilege of knowing him. I have enjoyed his hospitality. He has the reputation of being a pious God-fearing man. It is not right that there should be this estrangement between him and his people, some of whom are well-known people with a reputation to lose and a stake in Limbdi. It would be wrong to regard them all as a discontented lot. They have no axes to grind. They have no earthly gain to make by ranging themselves against the State. They have incurred much material loss by becoming exiles from their own home. A wise ruler will think fifty times before facing the discontent of such people. He will conclude from it that there must be misrule and injustice on the part of his officials. He will summon the discontented people, listen to their complaints and pacify them. The Thakore Saheb has not adopted that course. It is not too late for him to do so even now.

Segaon, 31-8-39

A Correction

On p. 265, col. 1, line 24, after the words "I knew that", add "I had no authority to speak for any person except myself."

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1939

[ONE ANNA

A MAHARAJA'S THREAT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I received some weeks ago an important letter from Patiala. It contained such grave statements attributed to the Maharaja Saheb of Patiala that I referred them to him for confirmation or otherwise. It is now more than three weeks since I wrote to him. But I have no reply. I therefore presume that the statements reported by my correspondent are substantially true. Here is the main part of the letter:

"The Patiala State Praja Mandal launched satyagraha against the Hidayat of 1988, a lawless law curtailing the civil liberties of the people. On your advice the satyagraha was suspended unconditionally. The Publicity Officer Patiala, on behalf of H. H.'s Government, stated in a press communique dated 15th April that the Government would repeal or withdraw the aforesaid Hidayat within 3 to 4 weeks, and further stated that the Government had constituted a Committee to go into its provisions and submit an early report. But the announcement has remained up till now a dead letter. And instead, H. H. has by Ijlas-Khas orders dated 25th May ordered the strict enforcement of the Hidayat for a period of another six months. In view of this no propaganda of any kind can be carried on by the Praja Mandal workers, the provisions of the Hidayat being very wide and sweeping. The workers arrested in connection with this agitation are still in jail and others are being tried. Apart from this there is at present another movement going on within the State, i. e. between landlords and tenants.

Some of the Praja Mandal workers were allowed an interview with H. H. on the 18th inst. During the interview H. H. addressed them as follows:

'My ancestors have won the State by the sword and I mean to keep it by the sword. I do not recognize any organization to represent my people or to speak on their behalf. I am their sole and only representative. No such organization such as Praja Mandal can be allowed to exist within the State. If you want to do Congress work, get out of the State. The Congress can terrify the British Government, but if it ever tries to interfere in my State it will find me a terrible resister. I cannot tolerate any flag other than my own to be flown within my boundaries. You stop your Praja Mandal activities, otherwise I shall resort to such repression that your generations to come will not forget it. When I see some of my dear subjects drifting away into another fold it touches the very core of my heart. I advise you to get out of the Mandal and stop all kind of

agitation; or else remember I am a military man; my talk is blunt and my bullet straight.'

It may be that my letter never reached the Maharaja Saheb, and that if it had, he would have disputed the correctness of my correspondent's letter. If any repudiation is received by me, I shall gladly publish it. But I must say that my correspondent is a responsible person.

Assuming then that the Maharaja did make the remarks quoted, it is a serious thing for any prince, no matter how powerful he is, to use the threats the Maharaja is reported to have done. With due respect to him, I suggest that there is too much awakening among the people throughout India to be suppressed by threats and even corresponding action. The days of unadulterated autocracy are gone for ever. It is possible perhaps by intense frightfulness to suppress the rising spirit of the people for some time. But I am quite sure that it cannot be suppressed for all time.

I have no desire to eliminate the princes. Friends have complained to me that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has, however, made such a statement although the Congress has enunciated no such policy. I have not had the opportunity of asking him about the alleged remark. But assuming that he did make the statement, it can only mean that some princes are so acting as to bring about their own elimination. It is wrong to judge him by newspaper reports. His considered opinion is to be gathered from his statement on behalf of the Standing Committee of the All India States People's Conference. Therein he has even warned people against hasty action. He is much too loyal a Congressman to contemplate any action in advance of known Congress policy. Therefore the fear and hatred of the Congress on the part of some princes are misplaced and are calculated to injure rather than help them. The Congress is not seeking to interfere directly in the affairs of any State. But the Congress does guide the States people. They are part of the Congress organization. They derive strength and inspiration from their connection with the Congress. I do not know how this organic relationship can be avoided. To wish its termination is like an attempt to make children disown their parents. For better or for worse it is well to recognize the fact that just as the vast mass of people of British India look up more to the Congress than to the

Government for the removal of their woes, even so do the people of the States look to the Congress for their deliverance. It is under the Congress advice and inspiration that the people of the States say that they want to grow to their full height under the aegis of their respective princes. I hope, therefore, that the Maharaja Saheb of Patiala and those princes who hold the opinion attributed to him will revise their views and welcome the movement of their people for liberty to grow to their full height and not regard the reformers in their States as their enemies. It will be well if they will seek Congress aid in the settlement of their people's demands. But they need not do so, if they distrust Congress friendship. It is enough if they will placate the advanced section of their people by granting substantial reforms.

What is worse in my opinion, however, than the alleged threat of the Maharaja is the breach of the promise referred to in my correspondent's letter. There is no doubt so far as I can see that the promise of withdrawal of the Hidayat of 1988 was made; there is equally no doubt that the promise has been broken. It is a dangerous thing even for a rich and powerful prince to break his plighted word. Breach of a promise is no less an act of insolvency than a refusal to pay one's debt. I plead with the Maharaja Saheb to redeem the promise and hope that his counsellors will advise him to do so.

Segaon, 26-8-39

MAHARAJADHIRAJ'S REPLY

Ranbir Villa,

Chail, 9th Sept. 1939

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I thank you for your letter dated the 30th ultimo enclosing a copy of the letter reported to have been despatched to me on the 3rd August which, as I intimated you in my telegram dated 28th ultimo, was never received by me. I was somewhat surprised to learn of the publication in the vernacular Press of the letter from your correspondent together with your comments and was inclined to think that since you did not consider it worth while to await my reply before releasing to the Press your correspondent's letter, it was unnecessary for me to reply to your letter. However, I have since received your message conveyed through my Vakil at Simla informing that whereas an intimation had been given in time to the English Press to withhold publication of this matter, owing to rush of work similar instructions could not be conveyed to the vernacular Press. I am, indeed, thankful to you for intimating me that the comments that have already appeared in the vernacular Press will be revised or withdrawn in case it was considered necessary on receipt of my reply.

Your correspondent's letter deals with two issues, namely,

(a) the Hidayat of 1988

and (b) the threatening language alleged to have been used by me during the course of an interview I gave to the deputation that waited upon me on the 18th July.

As regards the Hidayat which has for some time been the subject of some controversy and criticism, I would state the following facts to enable you to appreciate my Government's attitude in this behalf.

The Hidayat in question is essentially an emergency legislation which was promulgated in the State on the 15th Jany. 1932 to deal with the situation arising out of the 1932 Civil Disobedience Movement in British India and its repercussions on Indian States. While in British India the situation was met by promulgating Ordinances and enacting other emergency legislations such as the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1932 with its corresponding counterparts in the British provinces as provincial enactments, the Hidayat of 1988 was promulgated in the State to cope with all illegal and subversive activities connected with that movement in relation to its reactions in the State. In view of the changes in the general political situation, which have taken place since, the possibilities of the future requirements as also the fact that some of my subjects considered the conditions imposed by the Hidayat as irksome, I appointed on the 29th March, 1939, a Committee to scrutinize the laws and regulations in force in the State and to suggest such amendments and modifications in the extant enactments as were called for to make them more suitable to the present requirements of my people. As the revision of the Hidayat was thus under the consideration of my Government, those who were organizing agitation against it were informed by the District Magistrate that suitable orders would be passed regarding its revision, amendment or withdrawal as my Government would consider fit. In view of the fact that the Hidayat is an interstatal piece of legislation and, as such, could not be revised or repealed by a unilateral act on the part of one of the parties to it, the assurance regarding its revision could not be implemented without consulting the other parties. Meanwhile, instructions were issued to all the District authorities that since the Hidayat was an emergency legislation intended to meet special situations, ordinarily its provisions should not be invoked as their regular enforcement would interfere with the right of the people of the State to hold public meetings for legitimate and lawful purposes. It is to be deplored, however, that the mischievous element both within and without the State hastened to abuse the liberty that the suspension of the Hidayat gave them and meetings and processions were organised and outsiders were invited to address public meetings whose inflammatory utterances and activities greatly fomented communal ill-feeling and culminated in the communal clash on the 24th May 1939, as a result of which one man was fatally assaulted and several

others sustained injuries. As the demonstrations and counter-demonstrations arranged by the various communities tended to accentuate the growing communal tension and further breaches of peace were apprehended, I was constrained to order that for a period of six months the provisions of the Hidayat, particularly those relating to the public meetings and organisations of processions should be rigidly enforced.

The main criticism against the Hidayat has been that since it was intended to meet a special situation, its retention as a permanent law of the land was not justifiable. The communal disturbances, as you will agree, were precisely the kind of special situation to meet which the Government have to keep themselves armed with such special legislation. It will appear, therefore, that it is the abuse, by those who were responsible for disturbing intercommunal harmony, of the liberty conferred on them, which was responsible for the subsequent order enjoining the enforcement of the provisions of the Hidayat. The fact that this unfortunate occurrence rendered it necessary for me to invoke the provisions of the Hidayat, was appreciated even by those who had earlier organised agitation against this enactment, as is evident from their voluntary decision to abide by the order issued by me on the 25th of May. The period for which the enforcement of the Hidayat was enjoined is not yet over; however as the communal situation has since eased considerably and I have exercised clemency and withdrawn cases against those involved in this communal clash, I would have considered the desirability of revising the provisions of the Hidayat, but, as you are aware, War has since broken out and while for the successful prosecution thereof emergency measures curtailing civic rights and liberties are being enforced, this emergency legislation has of necessity to be retained on the Statute Book. I have not the least intention of going back over the assurance that was given by the District Nazim, Sunam, but I am obliged to await more favourable circumstances to do the needful.

As regards the version of what transpired at the interview I gave to the deputation on the 18th July, I am sorry your correspondent has twisted what I told the deputationists and his letter contains several half-truths and mis-statements. I had assured them that while I was most anxious to redress the genuine grievances of my subjects, I did not approve of their being misled by those who were actuated by motives not wholly impersonal. I do not precisely remember the words I used, but I think I told them that I would readily respond to all legitimate wishes of my people but would not be intimidated by any agitation engineered by those not directly interested in the points at issue nor would I accept any dictation from any outside agency.

In view of what I have stated above, I feel your comments that have appeared in the vernacular Press do not seem to be called for and

I trust you will be good enough to withdraw them. I thank you for the courtesy you have shown me in inviting my comments on your correspondent's letter.

Yours sincerely,
YADAVINDRA SINGH

[As doubt was raised whether my letter to His Highness the Maharajadhiraj was received or not, I sent a telegram to inquire whether it was received. As the reply came saying that the letter was not received, I recalled the foregoing article which had already been sent to the manager of *Harijan*. Owing to great pressure under which all who are assisting me are working, the article sent for *Harijansevak* (Hindustani) was not recalled. Hence I thought that the ends of truth would be served by publishing both my English article and His Highness' reply to my letter. The reply speaks for itself. It substantially confirms what my correspondent said about the Hidayat of 1932. It is to be hoped that the Hidayat will be repealed at an early date. When the very war which is going on is claimed to be fought for democracy, it ill becomes any prince to curtail the liberty of the people without just cause.

Segaon, 12-9-39

M. K. G.]

"Earning whilst Learning"

The following extract, taken from the issue of the American journal *Nature* dated 24th June last, will be read with interest and profit, particularly by those who cavil at the idea of self-supporting education even in the higher stages and by students who shun all manner of bodily labour during college days, lead an expensive life and become helpless victims of unemployment at the end of their academic careers:

"The economic depression in the United States compelled university administrators and students to devise fresh plans for enabling poor undergraduates to pay their way. The Federal Government decided to help, not with scholarship grants but financing work projects through the National Youth Administration. So new ways were discovered for using student labour and some proved so beneficial to all concerned that they became permanent. A summary of the more important is given in Bulletin No. 9 of the Office of Education (Supt. of Documents, Washington, D. C. 10 cents). This gives particulars of factories, printing-presses and other money-earning projects, of cooperative housing and other schemes for reducing students' living costs, and of the 'self-help' colleges which aim at making education as nearly as possible self-supporting. These are described as strongly Christian in intent and influence, proclaiming the dignity of labour and the fundamental importance of training in heart and hand as well as head. Yale's bursary employment scheme, providing employment for more than four hundred of the residents in its new undergraduate hostels, is described in some detail. It is so popular that well-to-do students have applied for bursary work without stipend because of the opportunities it offers

for personal development. Harvard also has lately introduced an employment scheme in connection with its new dormitories. The report emphasizes the increasing recognition of the value of money-earning labour as a part of education, especially its contribution to character-building, and the advantages of cooperative living arrangements."

C. S.

H A R I J A N

Sept. 16

1939

SOURCE OF MY SYMPATHY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The statement made by me just after my interview with H. E. the Viceroy has had a mixed reception. It has been described as sentimental twaddle by one critic and as a statesmanlike pronouncement by another. There are variations between the two extremes. I suppose all the critics are right from their own standpoint and all are wrong from the absolute standpoint which in this instance is that of the author. He wrote for nobody's satisfaction but his own. I abide by every word I have said in it. It has no political value, except what every humanitarian opinion may possess. Interrelation of ideas cannot be prevented.

I have a spirited protest from a correspondent. It calls for a reply. I do not reproduce the letter as parts of it I do not understand myself. But there is no difficulty in catching its drift. The main argument is this:

"If you shed tears over the possible destruction of the English Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey, have you no tears for the possible destruction of the monuments of Germany? And why do you sympathize with England and France and not with Germany? Is not Hitler an answer to the ravishing of Germany by the Allied Powers during the last war? If you were a German, had the resourcefulness of Hitler, and were a believer in the doctrine of retaliation as the whole world is, you would have done what Hitler is doing. Nazism may be bad. We do not know what it really is. The literature we get is one-sided. But I suggest to you that there is no difference between Chamberlain and Hitler. In Hitler's place Chamberlain would not have acted otherwise. You have done an injustice to Hitler by comparing him with Chamberlain, to the former's disadvantage. Is England's record in India any better than Hitler's in another part of the world in similar circumstances? Hitler is but an infant pupil of the old imperialist England and France. I fancy that your emotion at the Viceregal Lodge had the better of your judgment."

No one, perhaps has described English misdeeds more forcibly, subject to truth, than I have. No one has resisted England more effectively, perhaps, than I have. And my desire for and power of resistance remain unabated. But

there are seasons for speech and action, as there are seasons for silence and inaction.

In the dictionary of Satyagraha there is no enemy. But as I have no desire to prepare a new dictionary for Satyagrahis, I use the old words giving them a new meaning. A Satyagrahi loves his so-called enemy even as his friend. He owns no enemy. As a Satyagrahi, i.e. votary of ahimsa, I must wish well to England. My wishes regarding Germany were, and they still are, irrelevant for the moment. But I have said in a few words in my statement that I would not care to erect the freedom of my country on the remains of despoiled Germany. I should be as much moved by a contemplation of the possible destruction of Germany's monuments. Herr Hitler stands in no need of my sympathy. In assessing the present merits, the past misdeeds of England and the good deeds of Germany are irrelevant. Rightly or wrongly, and irrespective of what the other Powers have done before under similar circumstances, I have come to the conclusion that Herr Hitler is responsible for the war. I do not judge his claim. It is highly probable that his right to incorporate Danzig in Germany is beyond question, if the Danzig Germans desire to give up their independent status. It may be that his claim to appropriate the Polish Corridor is a just claim. My complaint is that he will not let the claim be examined by an independent tribunal. It is no answer to the rejection of the appeal for submission to arbitration that it came from interested quarters. Even a thief may conceivably make a correct appeal to his fellow-thief. I think I am right in saying that the whole world was anxious that Herr Hitler should allow his demand to be examined by an impartial tribunal. If he succeeds in his design, his success will be no proof of the justness of his claim. It will be proof that the Law of the Jungle is still a great force in human affairs. It will be one more proof that though we humans have changed the form we have not changed the manners of the beast.

I hope it is now clear to my critics that my sympathy for England and France is not a result of momentary emotion or, in cruder language, of hysteria. It is derived from the never-drying fountain of non-violence which my breast has nursed for fifty years. I claim no infallibility for my judgment. All I claim is that my sympathy for England and France is reasoned. I invite those who accept the premises on which my sympathy is based to join me. What shape it should take is another matter. Alone I can but pray. And so I told His Excellency that my sympathy had no concrete value in the face of the concrete destruction that is facing those who are directly engaged in the war.

Segaon, 11-9-39

A Correction

In the last issue on p. 265, col. 1, line 24, after the words "I knew that", add "I had no authority to speak for any person except myself."

Notes

Surplus Khadi

Under the impulse of the phenomenal rise in the spinners' wages, voluntarily made by the A. I. S. A., there has been a great output of yarn. It has been difficult everywhere to cope with the khadi thus produced. In Tamil Nad alone khadi productions shot up to nearly 15 lakhs from about 5½ lakhs and the sales increased to only 11 lakhs from nearly 9 lakhs. I have already dealt with the difficulty in the U. P. These are only typical instances. The difficulty is almost universal. I have suggested that khadi experts should study this aspect of it in a scientific manner and discover the remedy. This research work, like all other research work, will take time. Meanwhile the surplus stock must be cleared. It is up to the patriotic public to come to the assistance. I have no love for the celebration of my birthday. Any other day is as good or as bad as a birthday. My parents, so far as I recollect, never celebrated the birthdays of their children. I remember the date of my birthday only because I had to take the birth certificate for the London examination. But I never thought of the date until after the rebirth of khadi. Khadi-lovers made the date of my birth an occasion for pushing khadi sales. I did not mind such exploitation of my birthday but tried with more or less success to give it the name of *Rentia Jayanti* so far as the Gujarati-speaking public was concerned. For it was they who first set the vogue for celebrating the date. Ever since the Khadi Week has been celebrated in many parts of India for popularizing khadi and village products. Khadi-lovers are setting much store by the forthcoming 2nd October according to the Christian calendar and the 10th October according to the Vikram Samvat. U. P., Tamil Nad and other provinces have issued khadi hundis for which they expect a heavy demand in expectation of the coming celebration. Special fuss is being made because I shall have completed seventy years on those dates, assuming of course that I shall survive till then. But whether I do or not the dates will come unfailingly. And if it is of any value to the public to know it, let them know that my spirit, whether embodied or disembodied, will certainly rejoice to think that there are sufficient men and women in India who will combine always to take up, for the sake of Daridranarayan, all the khadi that can be produced by the semi-starved villagers. Let no one plead the war as an excuse for not buying khadi. War or no war, so long as there is life in us, we shall need to feed and clothe ourselves. What can be better than that we cover ourselves with cloth produced through the labours of the needy sisters and brothers of the villages?

Plea for Self-denial

Shri Banker writes to say that the prices of foreign dyes have considerably gone up owing to

the war. In order to make khadi attractive the A. I. S. A. have allowed the use of foreign dyes for colouring khadi cloth. Now if the use of foreign dyes is continued, there will have to be an increase in the price of khadi. The best way of avoiding the increase is for khadi depots to drop the use of foreign dyes and restrict themselves to the use of indigenous dyes and be satisfied with such colours as can be produced therefrom. But this can be done only if the public will, by simplifying their taste, encourage the A. I. S. A. in the experiment. If they will, it is just possible that necessity will be the mother once more of many inventions in the matter of producing beautiful colours from indigenous dyes.

Not Authoritative

The Secretary of the A. I. S. A. draws my attention to my article "Spinners' Wages" in *Harijan* of August 26th regarding the purchase of underpriced yarn of quality below standard. He says in effect: "Many people take your word as authoritative, more so in matters of khadi since you are President of the A. I. S. A. Will you not therefore state clearly that your opinion expressed in *Harijan* does not in any way affect or alter the resolutions of the A. I. S. A., and that those who have occasion to take up your advice have to do so subject to the previous permission of the Secretary in accordance with the recent resolution of the A. I. S. A. on the subject of prices of yarn?" I need hardly say that I endorse every word of what is said by the Secretary. Whatever I write in *Harijan* has as much authority as any editorial writing has and no more. It must be treated as an individual opinion, always subject to the resolutions passed by competent authority on the subject in question.

Intoxicating Wines in Judaism

When I saw that a claim was registered, and accepted by Dr. Gilder, for the use of spirituous liquors on behalf of Jews, I was much disturbed. For my experience of Jews among whom I had many friends in Johannesburg was wholly against the claim made in Bombay. I therefore wrote to my friend Herr H. Kallenbach to send me an authoritative opinion from the Chief Rabbi in Johannesburg. Here is Dr. Landau's opinion:

"I beg to state that the orthodox Jew may use only specially prepared (*kasher*) wine for the sanctification of the Sabbath or holidays in the Synagogue after Divine Service and at home before meals, and on the two eves of the Passover Festival.

The wine need not be fermented.

I may state that the use of wine is not a law but a tradition which the orthodox Jew cherishes, as it is referred to both in the Talmud and in Jewish Codes of Law."

If the Jews of Bombay accept this opinion as authoritative, they should withdraw their claim and be satisfied with the juice of fresh grapes which I understand is the original meaning of

the word wine. It is worthy of note, too, that even this use has the authority, not of the Jewish scriptures but of tradition only.

Segaon, 10-9-39

M. K. G.

FOUNTAIN PEN INK

A COTTAGE INDUSTRY

(By Satish Chandra Dasgupta)

Here is a working formula for the manufacture of fountain pen inks:

Ingredients:

Gall Nuts	1½ lb.
Water	2 gallons
Ferrous Sulphate	15 oz.
Acid Sulphuric (Comm. S. G. 1740)	½ oz. by volume
Water blue	4 oz.
Methylate Spirit	15 oz.

Gall Extract

Process:

Take gall nuts and powder fine enough to sift through a sieve having 20 lines to an inch.

Put the powdered nuts in an earthenware or glazed vessel and add to it one gallon of water. Macerate or keep the water and powder together for 15 days, stirring the liquid once daily.

Decant or take the clear liquid from the top of the settling and keep separately. Add one gallon of water to the residue. Macerate again for 15 days with stirring. Allow to settle thoroughly till the powder will occupy a small volume at the bottom of the vessel. Decant and take the clear liquid. Mix the two portions of decanted liquid and bring the volume up to two gallons with water. This is gall extract. The sediment that is left behind may be again washed out with water to be used for the next change.

Ink Basis

Now take the gall extract, add sulphuric acid and ferrous sulphate and allow to settle. This mixture is the basis of the ink to which the colouring and methylated spirit only remain to be added. The ink basis will throw down precipitate gradually. The longer the basic fluid is allowed to settle the better will be the finished product. Two months' settling at least should be given.

The settled liquid is filtered through filter paper over a large glass or earthenware funnel.

Ink

To the filtered ink basis is now added the water blue and methylated spirit. This completes the process. The prepared ink may be allowed to stand for some time and then filled into pots, taking care not to stir the liquid while filling. The contrivance of syphon may be applied at all stages where liquid is to be drawn off without disturbing the sediment. Two gallons of fluid will be enough for 12 dozens of 2 oz. ink pots. Some quantity will be left over at the bottom which may be used as ordinary ink, for it may contain some fine invisible sediment.

Adjustment

The methylated spirit is for giving fluidity and drying quality to the ink. Too much spirit will cause ink to flow out from the pen by the warmth of the hand or if the pen is kept exposed to the sun's rays. If this happens, the quantity of spirit should be reduced.

The sulphuric acid keeps the ink in fine fluid condition. If the ink stains the nib, in other words if there is a blackish coating on the nib after a day's use, it will indicate that there has been too little acid. Correct by adding a little more acid; too much acid will smudge or corrode paper.

If the ink is too deep black and if a lighter shade is desired, the quantity of gall nuts should be reduced; or if too thin, more nut is to be used. The extractive from all nuts is not constant. Ordinarily the foregoing formula will give a very deep ink. As the ink dries on the nib, some solid is deposited on the underside. A little pressure on the nib may be necessary to start the flow. The pen should be thoroughly washed out every time before refilling with these quick-drying inks, for then the old deposits on the underside of the nib get washed off. The necessity of a little coaxing to start the flow is not the fault of the ink. It indicates that the ink is quick-drying and the pen should be kept capped when not in use. For blue, please do not use any blue but 'Water Blue'.

Cost

Cost for 2 gallons of ink put up in 1 gross ink pots with cardboard box:

Gall Nuts	... 1½ lb. @ 12as. per lb.	Rs. 1-2-0
Ferrous Sulphate	... 1 "	0-1-6
Acid Sulphuric	... ½ oz.	0-1-6
Water Blue	... 4 oz.	1-12-0
Methylate Spirit	... 1 lb.	0-2-0
		3-3-0

Packing:

1 Gross corked pots	...	Rs. 5-0-0
1 " cardboard box with labels...		" 6-0-0

Total Rs. 14-3-0

Total per gross: Rs. 14-3-0

Our Envelopes

Envelopes made from handmade paper are available with us in the following sizes:

Size (inches)	Price per 100
4½ × 3½ (white)	7 as.
" " (coloured)	8 as.
" " (white thicker)	10 as.
6 × 3½ (white)	9 as.
" " (coloured)	10 as.
5½ × 4½ (white)	11
6½ × 5 (thinner)	12 as.
" " (thicker)	14 as.
9 × 4	Rs. 1-6 as.

Postage or freight will be extra. Can be had in any quantity. 5 different colours — blue, yellow, green, pink, almond. Gum quite satisfactory.

Manager, HARIJAN

DISAPPEARING OF UNTOUCHABILITY

II

Temple Entry

The news of most outstanding importance was that of the opening of several famous temples in South India to Harijans, beginning with the opening of the Meenakshi Temple in Madura. Shri L. N. Gopalswami's report of how the temple came to be opened shows the steady work of several years that preceded the epoch-making event, and deserves to be reproduced here :

"The idea of temple entry was not new to Madura as in that very same place in the year 1932 a referendum was taken among the municipal voters and more than 80 per cent of them cast their votes in our favour. Not only that, in 1934 the elections of trustees to the Shri Meenakshi Temple came off, and we put up candidates who pledged themselves in writing to the admission of Harijans into that temple. It was openly announced in the meetings, and as a result of the propaganda six of them out of seven got elected. With such a background before us, the Provincial Temple Entry Conference was held on 13th June, and it only added an extra momentum and the whole thing caught fire. The presidential address of Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru and the speeches of Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, Sjt. V. I. Muniswami Pillai and Dr. Rajan fully convinced the public of the necessity of such a reform. More than 300 delegates from various parts of the province attended the Conference and Harijans came in their hundreds. The Conference passed many important resolutions and was a very great success. The public meeting that assembled in the evening numbered over 30,000, and all of them except one in a solemn voice gave their unstinted support for temple entry to Harijans.

From then on began the regular work. A Temple Entry Propaganda Committee was opened in one of the main streets of Madura. Arguments in favour of temple entry were broadcast in the form of notices every day. Wall posters adorned every car in which were written in bold type 'Harijans are Hindus and please give them temple entry.' Public meetings became very common, and not a day passed without there being at least 2 if not 3 meetings in each and every corner of the town. These were very largely attended. From then onwards, house to house propaganda was carried on and the whole Madura flowed with enthusiasm. So much so that in the first week of July the question in everybody's lips was not whether there should be temple entry or not, but when it should come off.

Having worked up this public feeling, side by side, the temple trustees, archaks, servants and all those who had anything to do with the temple worship, were consulted. Perhaps this was much more difficult, but strong persuasion and a clear exposition of our dharma were able to prevail even upon these people, who were not unaware of the public feeling that was prevailing in Madura. These two things having been achieved it was only the question of getting rid of the old demon. It would have been impossible to wait after having created such a profound feeling

as was exhibited in Madura. Every moment seemed to be anxious. Even long before actual entry, the excluded castes felt as if the whole custom had disappeared, and it was on that memorable day (8th July 1939) at 8.45 A. M. that the first batch of Harijans numbering 5 and 1 Nadar made their first entry into the famous Shrine of Meenakshi, in the company of Shri A. Vaidyanath Iyer, the President of the Tamil Nad H. S. Sangh. Ever since then worship has been going on as usual and worshippers in large number attend all the pujas. It is really a sight to see the Harijan men and women, with their bright eyes and a brighter heart coming to the temple in clean dress and taking their stand along with the Caste Hindus as they utter their prayer to God and eagerly wait for His darshan."

It is a pity that a section of the orthodox Brahmans has found it difficult to reconcile themselves to the great reform. But it is a vain attempt to mop the floodtide that has come over the land. After the Meenakshi temple 3 more temples in Madura, 1 in Trichinopoly, 90 in Tanjore, 1 in Chengleput, 2 in Tinnevely, 1 in Anantpur, 1 in Coimbatore and 1 in the Nilgiris have been thrown open to the Harijans.

M. D.

TO THE BRAVE POLES

Gandhiji has received the following cable from Morges (Switzerland) from Paderewski, the aged ex-President of the Polish Republic and celebrated pianist :

"On behalf of a nation who is today defending the sacred right to remain free against a cruel and nameless tyranny I appeal to you as one of the greatest moral authorities of the world to use your noble influence with your countrymen to gain for Poland their sympathy and friendship. Throughout the thousand years of its history the Polish nation has always stood for the highest ideals of humanity, for faith, for justice, and peace. In this terrible hour when innumerable innocent women and children are massacred daily, a word of sympathy and encouragement from you, great teacher of your own nation, would profoundly move the heart of every Pole."

To this Gandhiji has replied:

"Of course my whole heart is with the Poles in the unequal struggle in which they are engaged for the sake of saving their freedom. But I am painfully conscious of the fact that my word carries no power with it. I wish I had the power to stop this mad destruction that is going on in Europe. I belong to a country that has lost its independence and is struggling to be free from the yoke of the greatest imperialist power on earth. It has adopted the unique method of non-violence to regain its lost freedom. Though the method has proved its efficacy to an extent, the goal seems far off. All that I can, therefore, send to the brave Poles is my heartfelt prayer for the early termination of their fearful trial and for the grant of the required strength to bear the suffering whose very contem-

plation makes one shudder. Their cause is just and their victory certain. For God is always the upholder of justice."

Segaon, 8-9-39

MOTOR V. CART

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Gram Udyog Patrika for August examines the respective merits of motor vans and carts for village propaganda. Those who will read the whole argument should send for the *Patrika*. I give below the most important part of the argument:

"We have been asked whether District Boards and such other local bodies, who wish to set apart a certain amount of money for village work will do well to invest in motor vans for propaganda work of various kinds in villages. It is a happy sign that institutions such as these are beginning to realise their duty to the villages and are seeking to bridge the gulf that now exists between towns and villages and between the literate and the illiterate. The question is whether speeding up matters by the use of motor vans which can visit more than one village in a night will suit the purpose.

In all our expenditure, especially when that expenditure is undertaken expressly for the benefit of the village people, it is necessary to see that the money spent goes back to the villager. District and Local Boards obtain their money from the people, and their purchases must be such as will help to circulate money among the people. If on the other hand the money taken from the villagers by way of rates and taxes is sent out of the locality, it must necessarily result in impoverishment of the people, and this will perforce mean that there will be less and less money in the coffers of District and Local Boards.

A local board does not set apart more than a few thousands of rupees for village work. If it decides to buy even one motor van for the purpose, it means about Rs. 5,000 sent out of the locality to pay for the van and, in addition, constant expenditure on tyres and other spare parts, besides day to day expenditure on petrol, all of which are imported and to pay for which money has to be drained out of the locality. The manifest object of this expenditure is rural welfare, but, in order to be able to hear occasional lectures on agriculture, health, prohibition, child welfare and such like, or to listen to the gramophone or the radio, the villager has to bear this heavy expenditure when he and his family have to live on about Rs. 2 a month. What the villager needs above all is profitable employment. We steadily deprive him of employment by buying imported articles, and by way of compensation give him lectures, magic lantern shows and tinny music all at his expense, and pat ourselves on the back that we are working for his welfare. Can anything be more absurd?

Compare with this what happens if in the place of the motor van the much despised bullock cart were used. It will not make so much stir nor so effectively declare to all the world that something wonderful is being done for the villages. But if mere

stage-acting and trumpet-blowing are not intended but real quiet constructive work, then we submit that the bullock cart will do much better. It can reach the most remote villages which a motor lorry cannot do. It costs only a fraction of the money required for a van, so that many bullock carts can be bought, if necessary, to serve groups of villages in the district. The money spent on them goes to the village-carpenter, blacksmith and cart-driver. Not a pie of it need go out of the district. The cart itself may be made an exhibit if it is scientifically constructed with disked wheels, proper steel bearings, and axles with well placed and designed hubs, spokes and felloes. The expenditure on equipment consequently instead of draining wealth out of the village will direct it into it. A motor is necessary where speed is of the essence of the work to be done. But nothing of the kind can be claimed for propaganda to be carried on in villages for rural welfare. On the other hand, slow, steady methods will be of greater avail. It will be an advantage not to be able to rush from one village to another but to spend some time in each place. Only thus can the life and the problems of the people be properly understood, and the work directed to meet those problems be effective.

Rural work and motor vans appear, therefore, to go ill together. What is required is steady, constructive effort, not lightning speed and empty show. We would commend to local boards and public institutions genuinely interested in village welfare to start by using only village-made goods, to study the conditions which are steadily producing poverty in the villages, and concentrate on removing them one by one. When every side of village life needs intensive, well-considered effort, it seems a waste of public money to throw it away on methods which attempt to bring about village uplift overnight."

It is to be hoped that those who interest themselves in village welfare will take to heart the obvious argument advanced in favour of the cart. It will be cruel to destroy the village economy through the very agency designed for village welfare.

Segaon, 25-8-39

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1939

[ONE ANNA

WORKING COMMITTEE'S MANIFESTO

1. The Working Committee have given their earnest consideration to the grave crisis that has developed owing to the declaration of war in Europe. The principles which should guide the nation in the event of war have been repeatedly laid down by the Congress, and only a month ago this Committee reiterated them and expressed their displeasure at the flouting of Indian opinion by the British Government in India. As a first step to dissociate themselves from this policy of the British Government, the Committee called upon the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session. Since then the British Government have declared India as a belligerent country, promulgated Ordinances, passed the Government of India Act Amending Bill, and taken other far-reaching measures which affect the Indian people vitally, and circumscribe and limit the powers and the activities of the Provincial Governments. This has been done without the consent of the Indian people whose declared wishes in such matters have been deliberately ignored by the British Government. The Working Committee must take the gravest view of these developments.

2. The Congress has repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of the ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism and their glorification of war and violence and the suppression of the human spirit. It has condemned the aggression in which they have repeatedly indulged and their sweeping away of well-established principles and recognised standards of civilised behaviour. It has seen in Fascism and Nazism the intensification of the principle of imperialism against which the Indian people have struggled for many years. The Working Committee must therefore unhesitatingly condemn the latest aggression of the Nazi Government in Germany against Poland and sympathise with those who resist it.

3. The Congress has further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people, and no outside authority can impose this decision upon them, nor can the Indian people permit their resources to be exploited for imperialist ends. Any imposed decision, or attempt to use Indian resources, for purposes not approved by them, will necessarily have to be opposed by

them. If cooperation is desired in a worthy cause, this cannot be obtained by compulsion and imposition, and the Committee cannot agree to the carrying out by the Indian people of orders issued by external authority. Cooperation must be between equals by mutual consent for a cause which both consider to be worthy. The people of India have, in the recent past, faced great risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free democratic State in India, and their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom. But India cannot associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her, and such limited freedom as she possesses taken away from her.

4. The Committee are aware that the Governments of Great Britain and France have declared that they are fighting for democracy and freedom and to put an end to aggression. But the history of the recent past is full of examples showing the constant divergence between the spoken word, the ideals proclaimed, and the real motives and objectives. During the War of 1914-18 the declared war aims were, the preservation of democracy, self-determination, and the freedom of small nations, and yet the very Governments which solemnly proclaimed these aims entered into secret treaties embodying imperialist designs for the carving up of the Ottoman Empire. While stating that they did not want any acquisition of territory, the victorious Powers added largely to their colonial domains. The present European war itself signifies the abject failure of the Treaty of Versailles and of its makers, who broke their pledged word and imposed an imperialist peace on the defeated nations. The one hopeful outcome of that Treaty, the League of Nations, was muzzled and strangled at the outset and later killed by its parent States.

5. Subsequent history has demonstrated afresh how even a seemingly fervent declaration of faith may be followed by an ignoble desertion. In Manchuria the British Government connived at aggression; in Abyssinia they acquiesced in it. In Czecho-Slovakia and Spain democracy was in peril and it was deliberately betrayed, and the whole system of collective security was sabotaged by the very Powers who had previously declared their firm faith in it.

6. Again it is asserted that democracy is in danger and must be defended, and with this statement the Committee are in entire agreement.

The Committee believe that the peoples of the West are moved by this ideal and objective and for these they are prepared to make sacrifices. But again and again the ideals and sentiments of the people and of those who have sacrificed themselves in the struggle have been ignored and faith has not been kept with them.

7. If the War is to defend the *status quo*, imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee are convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or of world democracy. But there is an inherent and ineradicable conflict between democracy for India or elsewhere and Imperialism and Fascism. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions, establish full democracy in India, and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference, and must guide their own policy. A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic cooperation. She will work for the establishment of a real world order based on freedom and democracy, utilising the world's knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity.

8. The crisis that has overtaken Europe is not of Europe only but of humanity and will not pass like other crises or wars leaving the essential structure of the present-day world intact. It is likely to refashion the world for good or ill, politically, socially and economically. This crisis is the inevitable consequence of the social and political conflicts and contradictions which have grown alarmingly since the last great war, and it will not be finally resolved till these conflicts and contradictions are removed and a new equilibrium established. That equilibrium can only be based on the ending of the domination and exploitation of one country by another, and on a reorganisation of economic relations on a juster basis for the common good of all. India is the crux of the problem, for India has been the outstanding example of modern imperialism, and no refashioning of the world can succeed which ignores this vital problem. With her vast resources she must play an important part in any scheme of world reorganisation. But she can only do so as a free nation whose energies have been released to work for this great end. Freedom today is indivisible and every attempt to retain imperialist domination in any part of the world will lead inevitably to fresh disaster.

9. The Working Committee have noted that many Rulers of Indian States have offered their

services and resources and expressed their desire to support the cause of democracy in Europe. If they must make their professions in favour of democracy abroad, the Committee would suggest that their first concern should be the introduction of democracy within their own States in which today undiluted autocracy reigns supreme. The British Government in India is more responsible for this autocracy than even the Rulers themselves, as has been made painfully evident during the past year. This policy is the very negation of democracy and of the new world order for which Great Britain claims to be fighting in Europe.

10. As the Working Committee view past events in Europe, Africa and Asia, and more particularly past and present occurrences in India, they fail to find any attempt to advance the cause of democracy or self-determination, or any evidence that the present war declarations of the British Government are being, or are going to be, acted upon. The true measure of democracy is the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike and the aggression that has accompanied them in the past and the present. Only on that basis can a new order be built up. In the struggle for that new world order, the Committee are eager and desirous to help in every way. But the Committee cannot associate themselves or offer any cooperation in a war which is conducted on imperialist lines and which is meant to consolidate imperialism in India and elsewhere.

11. In view, however, of the gravity of the occasion and the fact that the pace of events during the last few days has often been swifter than the working of men's minds, the Committee desire to take no final decision at this stage, so as to allow for the full elucidation of the issues at stake, the real objectives aimed at, and the position of India in the present and in the future. But the decision cannot long be delayed as India is being committed from day to day to a policy to which she is not a party and of which she disapproves.

12. The Working Committee therefore invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people? A clear declaration about the future, pledging the Government to the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike, will be welcomed by the people of all countries, but it is far more important to give immediate effect to it, to the largest possible extent, for only this will convince the people that the declaration is meant to be honoured. The real test of any declaration is its application in the present, for it is the present that will govern action today and give shape to the future.

13. War has broken out in Europe and the prospect is terrible to contemplate. But war has been taking its heavy toll of human life during the past year in Abyssinia, Spain and China. Innumerable innocent men, women and children have been bombed to death from the air in open cities, cold-blooded massacres, torture and utmost humiliation have followed each other in quick succession during these years of horror. That horror grows, and violence and the threat of violence shadow the world, and, unless checked and ended, will destroy the precious inheritance of past ages. That horror has to be checked in Europe and China, but it will not end till its root causes of Fascism and Imperialism are removed. To that end, the Working Committee are prepared to give their cooperation. But it will be infinite tragedy if even this terrible war is carried on in the spirit of imperialism and for the purpose of retaining this structure which is itself the cause of war and human degradation.

14. The Working Committee wish to declare that the Indian people have no quarrel with the German people or the Japanese people or any other people. But they have a deep-rooted quarrel with systems which deny freedom and are based on violence and aggression. They do not look forward to a victory of one people over another or to a dictated peace, but to a victory of real democracy for all the people of all countries and a world freed from the nightmare of violence and imperialist oppression.

15. The Committee earnestly appeal to the Indian people to end all internal conflict and controversy and, in this grave hour of peril, to keep in readiness and hold together as a united nation, calm of purpose and determined to achieve the freedom of India within the larger freedom of the world.

Wardha, 14-9-39

GANDHIJI'S COMMENT ON THE MANIFESTO

The Working Committee's statement on the world crisis took four days before it received final shape. Every member expressed his opinion freely on the draft that was, at the Committee's invitation, prepared by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I was sorry to find myself alone in thinking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally. This could only be done on a purely non-violent basis. But the Committee had a tremendous responsibility to discharge. It could not take the purely non-violent attitude. It felt that the nation had not imbibed the non-violent spirit requisite for the possession of the strength which disdains to take advantage of the difficulty of the opponent. But in stating the reasons for its conclusion the Committee desired to show the greatest consideration for the English.

The author of the statement is an artist. Though he cannot be surpassed in his implacable opposition to Imperialism in any shape or form,

he is a friend of the English people. Indeed he is more English than Indian in his thoughts and make-up. He is often more at home with Englishmen than with his own countrymen. And he is a humanitarian in the sense that he reacts to every wrong, no matter where perpetuated. Though, therefore, he is an ardent nationalist his nationalism is enriched by his fine internationalism. Hence the statement is a manifesto addressed not only to his own countrymen, not only to the British Government and the British people, but it is addressed also to the nations of the world including those that are exploited like India. He has compelled India, through the Working Committee, to think not merely of her own freedom, but of the freedom of all the exploited nations of the world.

The same time that the Committee passed the statement it appointed a Board of his choice with himself as Chairman to deal with the situation as it may develop from time to time.

I hope that the statement will receive the unanimous support of all the parties among Congressmen. The strongest among them will not find any lack of strength in it. And at this supreme hour in the history of the nation the Congress should believe that there will be no lack of strength in action, if action becomes necessary. It will be a pity if Congressmen engage in petty squabbles and party strife. If anything big or worthy is to come out of the Committee's action, the undivided and unquestioned loyalty of every Congressman is absolutely necessary. I hope too that all other political parties and all communities will join the Committee's demand for a clear declaration of their policy from the British Government with such corresponding action as is possible amidst martial conditions. Recognition of India, and for that matter of all those who are under the British Crown, as free and independent nations seems to me to be the natural corollary of British professions about democracy. If the war means anything less, the cooperation of dependent nations can never be honestly voluntary, unless it were based on non-violence.

All that is required is a mental revolution on the part of British statesmen. To put it still more plainly, all that is required is honest action to implement the declaration of faith in democracy made on the eve of the war, and still being repeated from British platforms. Will Great Britain have an unwilling India dragged into the war or a willing ally cooperating with her in the prosecution of a defence of true democracy? The Congress support will mean the greatest moral asset in favour of England and France. For the Congress has no soldiers to offer. The Congress fights not with violent but with non-violent means, however imperfect, however crude the non-violence may be.

Segaon, 15-9-39

Speeches and Writings

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H A R I J A N

Sept. 23

1939

TEMPLE ENTRY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I had a complaint from a Sanatanist in Madura regarding the manner in which the celebrated Meenakshi temple was opened. I had forwarded the complaint to Shri Vaidyanatha Aiyar and sent it to another friend too. I got a categorical refutation from the latter. He added in his letter that Shri Vaidyanatha Aiyar was so persecuted by the Sanatanists that his nerves were shattered. Thereupon I sent him a long wire urging him not to take to heart what his persecutors may say or do, and that as a religious reformer he had to work with perfect detachment keeping himself unruffled in the midst of persecution and worse. To my wire he sent the following consoling reply: "With Shri Meenakshi's grace and your blessings acquired usual calmness. Continuing work. Expecting other big temples will follow shortly. Your love and blessings my strongest support." The reply is characteristic of this great reformer. He is one of the humblest and the most silent among the workers in the cause of removal of untouchability. He is a God-fearing man. This is what Shri Brijkrishna Chandiwalla of Delhi, who had gone on a pilgrimage to the South, writes of his experience in Madura:

"I stopped seven days in Pondicherry, five in Raman Ashram and went as far as Rameshwar. I had a great desire to visit the temples of the South. But I would not enter those that were closed to Harijans. I did, however, see the temples in Madura and Tanjore. The others I contemplated from without. I tarried a while in front of many of them—and for the first time I realized what the bar sinister must mean to the tens of thousands of Harijans who, though eager for darshan, could never cross the precincts of the great temples. We who have the right to visit them never think of entering. But this time I was overwhelmed. I felt a longing to visit them and prayed from the depth of my heart that God might move the Sanatanists to open the other temples to Harijans so that I too could visit them. I saw too, at Shri Vaidyanatha Aiyar's house, what temple entry costs reformers like him. Had I not seen with my own eyes what has been happening to Shri Vaidyanatha Aiyar, I could never have believed that human nature could descend so low as I discovered in Madura. The conduct of the Sanatanists towards him has been most unseemly. One of the ways adopted by them is to spread lies about Shri Vaidyanatha Aiyar. But both he and his wife are bearing this persecution bravely."

Only four days ago I had a letter from some ladies of Kumbakonam complaining of the treatment meted out to them by reformers. They asked for an appointment. In the midst of my work I sent them an early appointment, warning

them of my views on untouchability. They repented of their wire and said that since I had taken no notice of their complaint, they did not propose to come. I have since read the report in *The Hindu* of the happenings in Shrirangam. Dr. Rajan has given a graphic account of the disgraceful behaviour of the so-called Sanatanists there. I have no reason to doubt Dr. Rajan's account. It is a shame that innocent women are being exploited for supporting a wrong. I have a vivid recollection of what used to happen to me during my Harijan tour. No lie was too bad to be spread about me or my tour. So far as I could see the opposition was confined to a handful only. I never opened a temple until I was satisfied that there was no opposition worth the name from the temple-goers. But the organizers of the opposition resented the very propaganda I was conducting. No doubt their opposition proved fruitless. My point, however, is that it was unscrupulous and violent. If I survived the year's tour, it was no fault of theirs; it was God's grace. Sixtyfour charges were recorded against me. Not one of them was true. I am therefore loath to believe the complaints now made about the campaign in the South. I have not found any of them substantiated. Untouchability is itself a lie. Lies are not known to have been supported by truth, even as truth cannot be supported by lies. If it is, it becomes itself a lie. There is no wonder, therefore, that from everywhere evidence continues to pour in that the Sanatanist opposition is confined to a few and that the few do not hesitate to resort to any method, however unscrupulous it may be.

Nevertheless the case against untouchability is not to be sustained by the weaknesses of opponents. It has to be supported by purity of character, industry and strictest honesty of reformers and a limitless capacity for sacrifice. For I should not wonder if the wrath of the opponents takes a heavy toll of the lives of reformers. No sacrifice, however great, will deter the reformers from pursuing the God-given mission of ridding Hinduism of the curse of untouchability. For I must repeat for the thousandth time that Hinduism dies, as it will deserve to die, if untouchability lives. Only let the reformers know that impatience will be fatal to success. They must not open a single temple where a clear majority of temple-goers to a particular temple are demonstrably opposed to its opening. Untouchability will not be removed by the force even of law. It can only be removed when the majority of Hindus realize that it is a crime against God and man and are ashamed of it. In other words, it is a process of conversion, i. e. purification, of the Hindu heart. The aid of law has to be invoked when it hinders or interferes with the progress of the reform as when, in spite of the willingness of the trustees and the temple-going public, the law prohibits the opening of a particular temple.

Segaon, 18-9-39

Notes

Sirohi

Sirohi is a Rajputana State with a population of 186,639 and revenue of Rs. 970,000. It has figured in the press for its lathi charge said to be wholly unprovoked. I have authentic information of the event from Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt who belongs to Sirohi. He has gained a reputation as an efficient teacher and a devoted Congress worker. He is saturated with the spirit of non-violence. He has been recently staying in Sirohi attempting to gain elementary rights for the people. He thus writes about the lathi charge to Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala:

"The events of the 8th inst. in Sirohi make it a memorable day for its people. The police swooped down upon a meeting all of a sudden, began to pull down the Praja Mandal flag and delivered a lathi charge. This was not the national flag. When the Hon. Resident, Mr. Lothian, was in Sirohi last February he suggested that we could use the Praja Mandal flag in our office, in our processions and at our meetings. And we were acting accordingly. On the 3rd inst. the Dewan Sahab prohibited its use in our processions. In order to avoid a breach of the order, we discontinued the procession. There was no prohibition against its use at meetings, so we had it at our meeting. Suddenly appeared the police in great style and, without warning, without any order, began to pull down the flag. Some of the workers held on to it. They could not, however, keep their hold for long against the superior police force. They were separated. I had somehow retained my hold. So they dragged me with the flag. They caught me by the neck and beat me. Then began an indiscriminate lathi charge on the audience. Some notabilities are said to have been inciting the police not to spare the people who said, 'You may beat us as much as you like. We will not leave the meeting.' Women were also bravely taking part in this struggle. The charge must have lasted about seven minutes. The meeting continued to the end. The event has not demoralized the people. It has put heart into them."

Knowing Shri Gokulbhai as I do, I have no reason to disbelieve his account which is in Gujarati. It reflects no credit upon the Sirohi authorities. I have before me a long list of the grievances of the people. They are trying, in a perfectly constitutional manner, to seek redress. But instead of granting redress the authorities are evidently trying to crush their spirit. If, however, the people have inbibed the right spirit of non-violent resistance, they are bound to gain their end, lathi charges notwithstanding.

A Polish Sister's Agony

"In spite of all I am going to try to reach Poland—sailing tonight—to Basra in Iraq, then through Turkey and Rumania. The inner call is irresistible. It may seem madness from the ordinary human point of view. Now I am not going for my mother's sake nor for my dearest friends who are now on the battle-fields—ready to die at any moment—it is for Poland itself. I believe countries have also souls. Souls of nations are a reality, not a theory, for me. If I reach the soil of Poland, I will feel satisfied, even if I do not find those whom I love. It is the soul (and body) of the nation itself that is in its supreme hour of martyrdom. I believe Poland bleeds and struggles not only for her own rights but for the Right, the Just, the True; for the Freedom of

all nations, India including. I feel Hindu to the bottom of my heart; Indian as much as Pole, both Motherlands are to be in my soul to the last day of my life. But I could not live if I would not do what is humanly possible to reach the feet of the Mother who is now bleeding in agony of pain. I shall write from the way, but not when I reach the war zone; I shall only think often about you and send mental messages as well as I can. Bapuji, do pray in all fervour of your great loving heart for those thousands of innocent people who suffer incredible pain and misery in Poland. It is these that need most sympathy and blessings and tender thoughts."

This is the letter a Polish sister wrote from Bombay harbour. I have known her for some years. She has become as much Indian as she is Polish. She had decided to work at Maganwadi in the Magan Museum. But the rumours of war upset her. She has an aged mother in Poland whom she could not bring out owing to passport difficulties. When the war actually broke out, she calmed down so far as her mother was concerned. But her highly strung nature would not let her rest whilst her nearest and dearest were in peril of their lives for no offence of theirs. She is herself a believer through and through in non-violence. But her very non-violence made her restless. Her whole soul has rebelled against the wrong, as she thinks, that is being perpetrated against her motherland. So she has gone to find the Poland of her imagination fighting to the last ditch, not for merely preserving her own freedom but for the freedom of all those nations who have lost it. And in this she naturally includes her second love, India. May her dream prove true. If Poland has that measure of uttermost bravery and an equal measure of selflessness, history will forget that she defended herself with violence. Her violence will be counted almost as non-violence.

Segaon, 18-9-39

The Rich Are Trustees

A friend writes;

"You will be glad to know that your view about the trusteeship of the rich was anticipated 1300 years ago. The following verse occurs in the sacred Hadis: 'Whatever is possessed by people is my property, the poor are my family, the wealthy are the trustees of the riches they possess. Therefore the wealthy persons who will not spend on behalf of my poor children, will go to hadis. And I will not worry about them.'

My correspondent's letter which is in Gujarati gives in Gujarati script the whole verse with its translation in Gujarati contained in a newspaper whose name he has not given. Here is the original text in Devnagri:

अल मालु माली बल फक्राओ अयाली बल अमियाओ बकलाई
कमन बहलाव माली अला अयाली उदखलुदुन्नार बला उवाली.

The curious reader will observe that twenty-five per cent of the words are easily understood by a Gujarati reader. In other words, they have become current in the language.

3-9-39

M. K. G.

Foreign subscribers will please bear with us if, owing to abnormal conditions, they do not receive their copies as regularly as before. MANAGER

PROHIBITION NOTES

Temperance Teaching

A doctor friend writes to Gandhiji :

"The main predisposing cause of the liquor habit is the wide-spread belief that moderate drinking is beneficial under certain circumstances. Belief in the beneficial effects of the general use of alcohol prevails to some extent in the medical profession though not to so great an extent as it did in 1880 when I started my medical practice. I used myself to share that belief then. It was a casual reading of Dr. Carpenter's prize essay on *The Use and Abuse of Alcohol* that opened my eyes and converted me from an advocate of moderate drinking to a member of the Indian Temperance Association. The most remarkable work done by that Association was to induce the Director of Public Instruction to introduce some temperance lessons in school text books. I know that having influenced a large number of youngsters to abstain from the use of alcohol....Unfortunately the Indian Temperance Association ceased to work after the death of its Working Secretary, Mr. Gilder, Dr. Gilder's father. So long as this belief in the supposed beneficial effects of moderate drinking continues, and the use of drinks is looked upon as a mark of good fellowship and hospitality, legislative prohibition is bound to excite resentment and reaction. Law can detect a number of law-breakers and punish them, it cannot prevent law-breaking itself.... May I therefore suggest that work should be taken up of giving temperance education to the people, particularly young children, to put prohibition on a sound and stable footing?"

The suggestion deserves the attention of the Congress ministers who have undertaken the programme of prohibition. Although prohibition legislation has banished the demon of drink from the tables and lockers of the drinkers, it must be exorcised from their hearts if the reform is to be a success. Legislation in fact has only set the way clear for educative effort. For, a man must be sober before he can be reasoned with. What the doctor friend says about the efficacy of education in temperance during the formative period of a youngster's life is borne out by the personal experience of many. Unfortunately it is a fact that the tendency of the reading in vogue in most of our schools and colleges today is to weaken instead of strengthening the inhibition against the cult of Bacchus. The writer of these notes well remembers how during his college days one of his English professors actually used to come into the lecture room in a tipsy condition and how some students after a reading of Stevenson founded a "Captain Billy Bones Club" with

"Fifteen men on the Dead Men's chest

Yo! ho! ho! and a bottle of rum!

Drink an' the Devil have done for the rest

Yo! ho! ho! and a bottle of rum!"

as their incantatory motto. Drinking was a 'lark'. I do not know whether they actually put their theory into practice. But I know several instances of students who would never

have touched a cigar or visited a cocktail bar in a fashionable restaurant in the manner they did but for the influence which they imbibed from their reading at school or college. In European countries, as has been pointed out by an authority on the subject, drinking has become a cultural trait. For ages past "the custom of seeking, and the habit of finding, joy in states of intoxication have become a cult by social heredity, with little examination as to their worth." It has stamped itself not only on the practices and social customs and behaviour patterns of those who share it, but has become ingrained in the assumptions of many who do not." Under a prohibition regime, however, all this must be reversed. It is up to our Education and the Public Health Departments to see that our people, and particularly our children, are immunized against all 'wet' influences by being instructed in the facts about alcohol in their nakedness in a scientific and authentic manner. The Excise Committee's Report of 1922-23 recommended the adoption of the American system inaugurated by Mrs. Mary H. Hunt which is in vogue in Great Britain and Eire. It is based on class text-books and keeps running through the whole course of the school, varying its copies and methods according to the development of the pupils. The reform is overdue. A regular course in prohibition and the evils of alcoholic indulgence should be made an integral part not only of primary education but of all schemes of adult education too.

The Menace of Moderate Drinking

What the correspondent says about moderate drinking is but too true. It has very aptly been observed that the bulwarks of alcoholism are not the drunkards—they are a helpless, pitiable lot—but the respectable moderate drinkers; and it is in the stronghold of 'moderate drinking' that the final battle between inebriety and abstinence will be fought. The menace of moderate drinking is inherent in the nature of alcohol itself. It arises out of the fact that, more than any other means of securing a pleasurable sensation, alcoholic indulgence, even in moderate doses, leads quickly to vast changes in personality and conduct. The 'narcotic pull' which it sets up after dulling the higher brain centres constitutes a definite trade asset, whose economic value is fully appreciated by the liquor-dealer and the investor who puts his millions into distillery and brewery stock. "That so little drinking is done," observed one of them, "compared with the possible amount of drinking, is a matter of grave concern among producers, whose investments are large....The abstainer is an obstacle... In millions of cases nothing but education (*sic*) is needed to make him a serious drinker, a profitable customer...More drinking in the home, more drinking among the younger set, more drinking at college might help, but regular drinking is the most important thing, drinking which constitutes a habit so fixed that nothing which

competitors hold forth as an inducement will interfere with it."

A Vicious Circle

The so-called beneficial effects on the human system of moderate indulgence in alcohol is a myth assiduously fostered by these same liquor interests. A little of alcohol is said to be "good for you". It makes you "feel fine". It is the "milk of old age". But both science as well as actuarial experience give a lie to these claims. The latest researches in physiology have failed to discover any evidence for the existence of an "alcoholic diathesis", namely that a certain condition of the human system creates a special requirement for alcohol. As regards the so-called food value of alcohol, emphasized by some 'wet' enthusiasts, Mr. Catlin pertinently observes in his admirable little book, *Liquor Control*: "Whatever may or may not be the value of alcohol as a food administered to the sick under medical supervision, the food value of alcohol is a merely academic matter when it comes to the question of its general consumption by the healthy. Even so, it is well to point out that to speak of its being 'good for you' as a food (as distinct from its gustatory value) in any way at all peculiar to itself, must be understood as a phrase to be taken in a Pickwickian sense." "The consensus of medical testimony as to the effect of alcoholic indulgence on human physiology," observes Mr. Catlin, "goes to show that it is chronic alcoholism caused by persistent 'soaking' that is medically more dangerous than the occasional 'spree' followed by a period of temperance during which the alcohol is eliminated from the system."

The havoc becomes all the greater in the case of the poor working class, because the badly paid and especially heavy manual workers with daily experience of the stimulus which alcohol gives, "tend to substitute drink for food when there is not money for both. It is, however, precisely steady drinking, perhaps seldom going so far as definite intoxication, upon an empty stomach by an undernourished person, which is liable to result in lesions of the digestive organs—and, hence, to a discomfort which it requires a narcotic to allay. Thus a vicious circle is set up."

Testimony of Insurance Practice

This is in conformity with insurance practice. For instance, the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution found, over the period 1866-1914, a percentage of actual deaths to expected deaths (according to the actuarial societies' calculation of mean expectancy of 91.73 per cent, in the general section and of 69.45 per cent in the "Temperance" section. The Scottish Temperance Insurance Company, in the period 1883-1912, showed a percentage of 69 and 46 for the general and abstainers' sections respectively. A large number of other life insurance companies, without making a difference between the general and abstainers' sections,

give a premium reduction or monetary advantage to abstainers. Similarly, several accident insurance companies find it to be a sound financial policy to give a 10 per cent reduction to abstainers on the basis of "more rapid recovery".

Enemy of Efficiency

The experiments to ascertain the nature of the effects of alcohol on the human system, carried on by Furrh and Schwartz, Dodge and Benedict, Hellsten, Rivers, Vernon and others, indicated, where positive results were obtainable, that "alcohol tends to impede the strength and speed of muscular activity although a brief period of heightened activity is observable immediately after the administration of the dose." (Hellsten) As regards the latter effect Mr. Catlin in another place observes: "For the understanding of the alcohol problem, however, it is not helpful to speak of something as a stimulant which releases certain activities, solely because it puts to sleep the control." In a test of speed and energy expenditure in mountaineering, Durig found that on a moderate dose of alcohol (30 C. C. or three and half table spoons of spirits at 30 underproof) "without experiencing any subjective feeling of reduced efficiency the ascent took him twentyfive minutes longer." This, comments Mr. Catlin, is borne out by the general experience of explorers and of military staffs. Thus in the Sudanese campaign, where extreme heat had to be faced, Lord Kitchener permitted no spirits to be used, while Sir Frederick Treves observed, referring to the march for the relief of Ladysmith, "The drinkers dropped out as clearly as if they had been labelled."

The deleterious effects of alcohol even in moderate doses become more marked as we proceed from muscular work to work requiring a minimum of training and co-ordination. The experiments of Aschaffenburg with composers, as well as those of Furrer, Rivers and Vernon, are at one in this and are confirmed by general practice (musketry tests in the Swedish Army and shooting in the British Navy). In the last case it was found that rum-ration caused a falling off of 30 per cent in the accuracy of gun fire. Mental arithmetic, committing numbers to memory, and problems in the association of ideas were shown by Kraepelin to be reduced in speed and accuracy. "The more skilled the work, the more likely it is that alcohol even in moderate doses 10 c. c. and certainly 30 c. c. absolute alcohol, i. e. a "double whisky" at 30 a. p.) will decrease efficiency."

As regards the relationship between alcohol and mental efficiency, we have the authority of celebrated psychologists like MacDougall and others that one of the first effects of alcohol is to reduce the rapidity of mental grasp (although not necessarily its obstinacy and downrightness) and to interfere with the power of rapid and correct association of ideas suggested from without. "In the highest ranges of thought, alcohol

appears to be inimical to good creative work where what is at the moment required are scientific conclusions or considered judgments rather than mere self-confidence."

A Terrible Indictment

The greatest condemnation of alcoholic indulgence in moderation, however, as was pointed out by the British Medical Research Committee, is that "alcoholic addiction is a danger inherent in alcoholic beverages. There is no evidence to justify the opinion that any young man or woman is exempt from the possibility of becoming an addict." How grave and real is the risk of being seriously involved is shown by the statement of Dr. William J. Mayo. "In dealing with addiction to liquor," he observes, "the difficulty is that we cannot tell in advance who may become victims. We have no particular tests, except the test of time, which ruins the man, nor have we any remedy to prevent his becoming an addict; consequently three drinkers in ten take their chance." The corresponding figure for syphilis—"the next great plague to go"—in America is one in ten. No wonder that the Superintendent of Boston Inebriates' Home reported that of 7,000 cases treated, eight-tenths had originated from wine and malt liquors.

Segaon, 31-8-39

Pyarelal

JAIPUR SATYAGRAHA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Jaipur Satyagraha has ended satisfactorily as announced in Sheth Jamnalalji's public statement. He had had several interviews with the Maharaja Saheb. The result has been that the regulation regarding public meetings and processions has been withdrawn. So has the ban on newspapers. Amelioration in several other matters has been assured. For this happy result both the Maharaja and Sheth Jamnalalji deserve to be congratulated—the Maharaja for his just-mindedness and Shethji for his wisdom and moderation in conducting the negotiations on behalf of the Jaipur Praja Mandal. It is a happy ending to a struggle which was conducted with great restraint and calmness. It is a triumph of non-violence. From the very beginning the demands were restricted to the barest minimum necessary for self-expression and political education. The goal of responsible government has been always kept in view, but it has never been offensively or aggressively advanced as if the insistence was on an immediate grant of full responsibility. The Praja Mandal has wisely recognized its own limitations and the backward state of the people. Practically no political education has been hitherto allowed in many of the Rajputana States. It will be solid gain if civil liberty in its real sense is assured to the people of Jaipur. For this, as much will depend upon the wisdom with which it is used by the

people as upon the restraint of the Jaipur authorities.

In this connection Sheth Jamnalalji has raised a most important question. He insists that no European should be appointed Dewan. I have had to perform the painful duty of criticizing the administration of the State by one of its English Dewans. I have no doubt that an English Dewan is any day a misfit in an Indian State. He has to serve an Indian Chief. But retired English officials from whom Dewans are chosen are not by habit used to take orders from Indian Chiefs. They cannot understand the caprices of Indian Princes and will not accommodate themselves to them. The Chiefs themselves never feel at home with English Dewans. Moreover no matter how conscientious they are, Englishmen can never understand the people of the States or have patience with them. And the people can never take the same liberty with them that they can and will with men who are drawn from among themselves. Thus an English Dewan is a double handicap in an Indian State and robs it of what little scope there is left in it for indigenous development. Add to this the fact that the appointment of English Dewans in States is a cruel encroachment upon the very narrow field left for the expression of Indian administrative talent. Supposing Dewanships had been a preserve of retired English officials, we would have missed Sir T. Madhao Rao or Sir Salar Jung, to mention only two among the well-known Dewans of Indian States.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that if H. H. the Maharaja has really a free choice, he will select an Indian known for his integrity, ability and sympathy for popular aspirations. It is to be hoped further that if the choice has to be made by the British Government, they will not impose a European Dewan on the Maharaja.

Segaon, 17-9-39

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[ONE ANNA

IS INDIA A MILITARY COUNTRY ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the interesting broadcast delivered by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces in India on the 5th inst. there occurs this passage :

"India is a military country and I am a soldier. It will, therefore, perhaps not be amiss if I give you some personal impressions of what the effect of modernization will be on the personnel of the future Army in India. They are not just guess-work but based on what has already been done. With new scientific weapons and with modern vehicles, there will inevitably come new ideas and a new outlook. Modernization is likely to give increased impetus to the already high rate of education in the Indian Army; and when nearly every soldier on discharge returns to his home with a knowledge of motor cars and machinery, there may well be a perceptible effect upon the age-old methods of agriculture and ways of living. Modernization in the Army may therefore have a considerable indirect effect upon the life of India. Many of those who hear me will regret the passing of the horse. No one regrets it more than myself. But as a soldier who knows the fate which awaits the horse in modern warfare, I rejoice for its sake, that one of the greatest and best of friends of man is in future to be spared the horrors of war."

I must wholly, though respectfully, dissent from the view that India is a military country. And I thank God that it is not. It may be that the Commander-in-Chief has a special meaning for the term which I do not know. Or is it that his India is composed of only the Defence Forces under his command? For me the Defence Forces are of the least importance in the make-up of the nation. I need not be reminded that life would be in constant peril if the forces were withdrawn. The forces notwithstanding, life is not free from peril. There are riots, there are murders, there are dacoities, there are raids. The Defence Forces avail little in all these perils. They generally act after the mischief is done. But the gallant Commander-in-Chief looks at things as a soldier. I and, with me, the millions are untouched by the military spirit. From ages past India has had a military caste in numbers wholly insignificant. That caste has had little to do with the millions. This, however, is not the occasion for examining its contribution to the making of India. All I want to state, with the utmost emphasis at my command, is that the description of India as a military country is

wrong. Of all the countries in the world India is the least military. Though I have failed with the Working Committee in persuading them, at this supreme moment, to declare their undying faith in non-violence as the only sovereign remedy for saving mankind from destruction, I have not lost the hope that the masses will refuse to bow to the Moloch of war but will rely upon their capacity for suffering to save the country's honour. How has the undoubted military valour of Poland served her against the superior forces of Germany and Russia? Would Poland unarmed have fared worse if it had met the challenge of these combined forces with the resolution to face death without retaliation? Would the invading forces have taken a heavier toll from an infinitely more valorous Poland? It is highly probable that their essential nature would have made them desist from a wholesale slaughter of innocents.

Of all the organizations of the world the Congress is the best fitted to show it the better way, indeed the only way, to the true life. Its non-violent experiment will have been in vain if, when India wakes up from the present fear, she does not show to the world the way of deliverance from the blood bath. The criminal waste of life and wealth that is now going on will not be the last if India does not play her natural part by showing that human dignity is best preserved not by developing the capacity to deal destruction but by refusing to retaliate. I have no manner of doubt that if it is possible to train millions in the black art of violence which is the law of the beast, it is more possible to train them in the white art of non-violence which is the law of regenerate man. Anyway if the Commander-in-Chief will look beyond the Defence Forces, he will discover that the real India is not military but peace-loving.

Nor do I contemplate without uneasiness the prospect of Indian soldiers, trained after the modern manner, taking the motor spirit to their homes. Speed is not the end of life. Man sees more and lives more truly by walking to his duty.

On the train to Simla, 25-9-39

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OCCASIONAL NOTES

'Speed' an Anti-rural Force

The London *Times* published some years ago a series of articles by various authors on the changes wrought in the life of England during the half-century in the authors' recollection. Lord Ernle contributed an essay on 'Countryside'. His remarks on the disaster wrought by 'speed' deserve to be borne in mind by those who would introduce 'speed' in our rural planning. He recalls the "golden age of agriculture for squires and farmers, when the land not only supplied bread to 17,000,000, and meat to the whole of the existing population, but employed nearly 1,100,000 rural workers," the age when "men ploughed, sowed, reaped, and threshed almost as they had done in Biblical days." This was in 1855. Those days are gone, the land no longer supplies bread to those millions and meat to even a fraction of population, thanks to the demon of 'speed'. To quote Lord Ernle:

"If one word can express the various workings of these transforming agencies, it is 'speed'. The idol of the hour, it breathes through rural districts a new spirit of movement. Life travels faster than it did. Its pace is no longer set by ploughmen behind their horses in the furrows. But rich in advantages though the change is, those who live by the land—tenant-farmers, landlords, workers, parsons, or tradesmen who depend on their custom—have not found speed an unmixed blessing. *With one hand it brings the farmer help, with the other disaster.* Speed saves his time, cheapens his production, checks the caprice of climate; but it is also speed that ruins his market by bringing perishable products from the ends of the earth. By innumerable means it has made life easier in the countryside; for all who live by the land it has made it harder to live. *But speed clashes with the dominant force of the countryside.* Nature refuses to be hustled by mechanics. However much the handling of her products may be accelerated, her own processes of production remain unhurried. It is from her deliberate methods that rural life derives the air of repose, or, if you will, stagnation, which gives it dignity and independence. If its special needs are wholly sacrificed to urban interests, the country becomes only a poor relation of the town. Road authorities might save expenditure if they more often remembered that cattle can shift their quarters without a Rolls-Royce, and that horses cannot keep their feet on skating rinks.....

The material progress of rural workers and their increased command of conveniences represent social gains which none can wish to diminish. But of them, as well as of squires and tenant-farmers, it is true that, if life is made easier, it is also made harder to live. One consequence of the agricultural transformation is that more arable land is converted to pasture, more labour-saving machinery introduced, and fewer rural workers are employed. The scarcity of work on the land is masked by the demand for labour on the roads, but *there are signs that unemployment is increasing fast.*" (Italics mine)

If nature refuses to be hustled, even so does the countryside which, wherever it has still remained unspoilt, reflects the countryside most. Do not therefore hustle the countryside by any of the present-day devices of industrialism. To hustle it is the surest way to kill it.

To Recover Tranquillity

A similar and perhaps more authentic voice

raised its protest against the invasion of industrialism in the field of medicine—I mean Lord Horder. And if Lord Ernle deplores the dwindling of hand-ploughing and hand-sowing and hand-threshing, Lord Horder deplores the disappearance of hand-spinning and hand-digging from the point of view of health. We lend a willing ear nowadays to expert medical men and go in for the latest patent medicines and injections they prescribe. Shall we then listen to the advice of Lord Horder than whom there are few greater names in the world of English medicine? This is what he said in a popular lecture picturesquely entitled '*When Eve Span*':

"We have wandered far away from the idyllic scheme, and of course, I am not for one moment going to suggest that we should return to it, though nudists have apparently gone back farther still. What I am going to suggest is that together with the passing of the spade and the spinning wheel, tranquillity has passed also. I want to raise two questions: whether this is necessary, and whether the fact that we have lost our peace, in body and in mind, is not the key to what is wrong with our lives today. It may be that to some of you the sound of this lovely word 'tranquillity' is as strange as were the words of my topic; but you will not have forgotten its significance. It is one of those words whose very sound carries its meaning. Well we have lost it as individuals and probably, for that reason, we have also lost it as nations. My thesis today is that I don't believe we are going to 'get anywhere' that 'counts for anything' until we recapture it. As I said, few men dig any more, and still fewer women—if, indeed, any—spin. Machines do both. We just press a button or pull a lever and we are clothed and we are fed. I told you that I was not suggesting we should go back to Eden for the manner of getting our food or our frocks. *But if the modern man and woman want to experience a strange new set of sensations and feelings, and even thoughts, I commend to them an hour with a spade or a spinning wheel.* And since new sensations are in such demand, I expect to be thanked for finding one. The trouble will be that most people who try to achieve this new sensation, will be so overcome, either by a sense of fatigue or by a feeling of wasting time ('precious time') that for one or other of these reasons they will stop the experiment after the first five minutes.

Well, as I was remarking, life has become mechanized so far as its necessities are concerned. And our labour-saving devices are so efficient that we '*save*' quite a lot of time one way and another. *But what do we do with it when we have saved it?* Some of the most mentally active amongst us make more machines, with the idea of speeding things up still faster, and saving more time. *But the majority of us are more lazy-minded, and we spend a great deal of our life in dodging boredom on the one side and anxiety on the other.* We search for things, events, persons, incidents—demanding that they shall be like the dopes that they are, more and more piquant and stronger and stronger as their dose. We clutch, with our feverish hands, circumstances rather than ourselves, and put our faith, such as it is, in happenings rather than in principles." (Italics mine)

Utilize Science for the Poor

All this seems like trying to prove what is self-evident. But we have so far allowed ourselves to be shaken off our roots that even the obvious has got to be proved with the weight of scientific authority. Listen now to Lord

Horder making a most natural plea for unprocessed foods and for the utilization of science in the interests of the undernourished poor:

"But, as I say, this new knowledge is of great value in helping us to say if any section of the community is being inadequately nourished, and why, and it gives us equally valuable help as to how best to remedy the defect. Certain important principles emerge. One is that *the simpler and more restricted the food the less must we interfere with its nutritive value*, whether in its manufacture or in its cooking; in this case bread must be made from the whole of the meal, potato must be the whole potato, and rice must be the whole of the rice. If, on the other hand, the articles of food are widely assorted, deficiencies in one or two are easily made good in the others. You can 'balance' your diet in either case, *but it is clearly the poor man's table that needs the investigations of science and not the table of the well-to-do.*"

Oh for a Contact with Mother Earth!

And let us see how the gospel of speed has affected our physical fitness and robbed us of our daily contact with mother earth. Here again it is not a so-called crank like Joust speaking, but a modern medical authority like Lord Horder:

"But large masses of us have moved into the towns and cities; we have become what we call 'urbanized'. We sit at desks for hours together as children being educated! We find our occupations in factories, in mines, in banks, and in offices. These less natural modes of living lead to faults in posture and bad muscle habits which must be corrected if we are to keep physically fit. And there are more vital things even than muscles and joints; there is our breathing, our circulation, and what is termed our elimination—getting rid of the waste products from our bodies. During the hours that we spend working in cramped, dark, and badly ventilated places these functions are restricted and to keep fit we must adjust them during a certain portion of the week. And since we cannot have healthy minds unless we have healthy bodies, the adjustment is just as necessary to keep us mentally sound as physically fit. Our most popular modern amusement, the cinema, does not do anything to effect this adjustment—anyway, not on the physical side. Just as natural and appetizing foods are better for us than artificial and doctored foods, so natural and pleasant forms of exercise are better for us in every way than drill and physical jerks.

Walking and hiking, outdoor games of all sorts—playing them ourselves and not watching others play them—bicycling, swimming, gardening, digging in allotments, things that bring us once more into contact with mother earth, the sun, the wind and even the rain, all these make for health more readily and more pleasantly than anything we do at the bidding of the drill sergeant or the gymnasium instructor. 'Exercise' would not be a bad slogan in this matter."

On the train to Simla, 3-9-39

M. D.

Book on Non-violence

	Rs	As.	As.
R. Gregg—The Power of Non-violence...	2	0	4
A. Huxley—Ends and Means	...	5	14
" — An Encyclopædia of Pacifism	...	0	6
J. H. Hoyland—The Cross Moves East	3	7	3
J. M. Murry—The Necessity of Pacifism	2	7	3
A. Ruth Fry—Victories without Violence	2	10	3

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AN APPEAL

Service of the poor through hand-spinning and khadi is the message of the Gandhi Jayanti which the people will be celebrating during the coming month. According to the English Calendar Gandhiji's birthday falls on the 2nd October and on the 10th October according to the Hindu Calendar. The period between these two dates will be observed as Gandhi Jayanti and efforts will be made all over the country to popularise hand-spinning and spread the use of khadi, so dear to Gandhiji, as offering subsistence and strength to the village population now engulfed in abject poverty and distress. It is hoped that the generous public will extend enthusiastic co-operation and help to make the programme a perfect success by purchasing khadi for their use and inducing others to do the same.

It is a pleasure to mention on this occasion that khadi work has made considerable progress during the last year as will be seen from the following figures:

	1937	1938
Production Value	Rs. 30,15,339	54,99,486
" Sq. Yards	72,49,877	1,25,59,594
Sales	Rs. 44,32,929	54,98,620
Number of villages served	10,280	13,265
Number of Spinners	1,77,496	2,81,880
Number of Weavers	13,598	18,632
Wages distributed	Rs. 17,63,252	33,13,627

Valuable service has also been rendered to people in famine-affected areas in various parts of the country. In Tamil Nad alone the number of spinners increased from 34,304 to 54,047, owing to prevalence of severe famine conditions in Tirupur area resulting in a production of Rs. 16,57,642 in 1938 as against production of Rs. 6,45,594 in the previous year. Relief was also made available through hand-spinning in the Hissar District in Punjab, Bijapur District in Bombay and Kurnool District in Andhra.

The production during the first half of the current year has come to 52,86,924 sq. yards valued at Rs. 23,86,061 and sales effected to Rs. 26,94,910.

The condition of the people in rural areas all over the country is becoming worse and worse every day and the need for supplementary occupations to add to their scanty resources is very keenly felt. Hand-spinning being the most suitable occupation for people residing in villages there is demand for it, particularly in parts where the distress is acute. This need can be satisfied to a larger extent if there is speedy clearance of the khadi produced. The sympathy and the fellow-feeling entertained by generous public for their poorer brethren in the villages, it is hoped, will result in an earnest vigorous effort on this occasion to exhaust the stocks lying in the khadi bhandars so as to make this much-needed relief available to all who need it.

S. G. BANKER

Hon. Secretary, A. I. S. A.

H A R I J A N

Sept. 30

1939

CONUNDRUMS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus asks a well-known Congressman:

"1. What is your personal attitude towards this war consistent with non-violence?

2. Is it the same as or different from your attitude during the last war?

3. How could you with your non-violence actively associate with and help the Congress whose policy is based on violence in the present crisis?

4. What is your concrete plan based on non-violence to oppose or prevent this war?"

These questions conclude a long friendly complaint about my seeming inconsistencies or my inscrutability. Both are old complaints, perfectly justified from the standpoint of the complainants, wholly unjustified from my own. Therefore my complainants and I must agree to differ. Only this let me say. At the time of writing I never think of what I have said before. My aim is not to be consistent with my previous statements on a given question, but to be consistent with truth as it may present itself to me at a given moment. The result has been that I have grown from truth to truth; I have saved my memory an undue strain; and what is more, whenever I have been obliged to compare my writing even of fifty years ago with the latest, I have discovered no inconsistency between the two. But friends who observe inconsistency will do well to take the meaning that my latest writing may yield, unless, of course, they prefer the old. But before making the choice they should try to see if there is not an underlying and abiding consistency between the two seeming inconsistencies.

So far as my inscrutability is concerned, friends should take my assurance that there is never any attempt on my part to suppress my thought when it is relevant. Sometimes it arises from my desire to be brief. And sometimes it must be due to my own ignorance of the subject on which I may be called upon to give an opinion.

To give a typical instance, a friend between whom and me there never is any mental reservation, thus writes in anguish rather than anger:

"In the not-improbable event of India being a theatre of war, is Gandhiji prepared to advise his countrymen to bare their breasts to the enemy's sword? A little while ago I would have pledged my word he would do so, but I am not confident any more."

I can only assure him that, notwithstanding my recent writings, he can retain his confidence that I would give the same advice as he expects I would have given before, or as I gave to the Czechs or the Abyssinians. My non-violence is made of stern stuff. It is firmer than the firmest metal known to the scientists. Yet, alas, I am painfully conscious of the fact that it has still not attained its native firmness. If

it had, God would have shown me the way to deal with the many local cases of violence that I helplessly witness daily. This is said not in arrogance but in the certain knowledge of the power of perfect non-violence. I will not have the power of non-violence to be underestimated in order to cover my limitations or weaknesses.

Now for a few lines in answer to the foregoing questions.

1. My personal reaction towards this war is one of greater horror than ever before. I was not so disconsolate before as I am today. But the greater horror would prevent me today from becoming the self-appointed recruiting sergeant that I had become during the last war. And yet, strange as it may appear, my sympathies are wholly with the Allies. Willynily this war is resolving itself into one between such democracy as the West has evolved and totalitarianism as it is typified in Herr Hitler. Though the part that Russia is playing is painful, let us hope that the unnatural combination will result in a happy though unintended fusion whose shape no one can foretell. Unless the Allies suffer demoralization, of which there is not the slightest indication, this war may be used to end all wars, at any rate of the virulent type that we see today. I have the hope that India, distraught though it is with internal dissensions, will play an effective part in ensuring the desired end and the spread of cleaner democracy than hitherto. This will undoubtedly depend upon how the Working Committee will ultimately act in the real tragedy that is being played on the world stage. We are both actors in and spectators of the drama. My line is cast. Whether I act as a humble guide of the Working Committee or, if I may use the same expression, without offence, of the Government, my guidance will be for the deliberate purpose of taking either or both along the path of non-violence, be the step ever so imperceptible. It is plain that I cannot force the pace either way. I can only use such power as God may endow my head or heart with for the moment.

2. I think I have covered the second question in answering the first.

3. There are degrees of violence as of non-violence. The Working Committee has not wilfully departed from the policy of non-violence. It could not honestly accept the real implications of non-violence. It felt that the vast mass of Congressmen had never clearly understood that in the event of danger from without they were to defend the country by non-violent means. All that they had learnt truly was that they could put up a successful fight, on the whole non-violent, against the British Government. Congressmen have had no training in the use of non-violence in other fields. Thus, for example, they had not yet discovered a sure method of dealing successfully in a non-violent manner with communal riots or goondaism. The argument is final inasmuch as it is based on actual experience.

I would not serve the cause of non-violence, if I deserted my best co-workers because they could not follow me in an extended application of non-violence. I therefore remain with them in the faith that their departure from the non-violent method will be confined to the narrowest field and will be temporary.

4. I have no ready-made concrete plan. For me too this is a new field. Only I have no choice as to the means. It must always be purely non-violent, whether I am closeted with the members of the Working Committee or with the Viceroy. Therefore what I am doing is itself part of the concrete plan. More will be revealed to me from day to day, as all my plans always have been. The famous non-cooperation resolution came to me within less than 24 hours of the meeting of the A. I. C. C. at which it was moved in Calcutta in 1920; and so did practically the Dandi March. The foundation of the first civil resistance under the then-known name of passive resistance was laid by accident at a meeting of Indians in Johannesburg in 1906 convened for the purpose of finding the means of combating the Anti-Asiatic measure of those days. I had gone to the meeting with no preconceived resolution. It was born at the meeting. The creation is still expanding. But assuming that God had endowed me with full powers (which He never does), I would at once ask the English to lay down arms, free all their vassals, take pride in being called "little Englishers" and defy all the totalitarians of the world to do their worst. Englishmen will then die unresistingly and go down to History as heroes of non-violence. I would further invite Indians to co-operate with Englishmen in this godly martyrdom. It will be an indissoluble partnership drawn up in letters of the blood of their own bodies, not of their so-called enemies. But I have no such general power. Non-violence is a plant of slow growth. It grows imperceptibly but surely. And even at the risk of being misunderstood, I must act in obedience to "the still small voice".

On the train to Simla, 25-9-39

Kathiawad States

The other day I referred to the series of articles in *The Tribune* suggesting a scheme of confederation of States with special reference to Kathiawad. I had kept the cuttings containing the articles by R. L. H. for the purpose of giving, when the pressure on *Harijan* columns admitted it, a reproduction of the most important extracts from the articles which appeared in *The Tribune* dated 5th and 7th July. The extracts, published elsewhere in this issue, should interest both the Princes and the people of Kathiawad. The writer is evidently a friend of the States. He desires reform, not destruction. His scheme is worthy of serious consideration by all who are interested in the question of the administration of the States.

Segaon, 11-9-39

M. K. G.

KATHIAWAD STATES

The Western India States Agency, comprising all the 284 States in Kathiawad, is, numerically, by far the biggest Agency under the administrative control of the Political Department. The Kathiawad States, between themselves account for just half the number of States in India, the total being computed at 562. These States present the greatest possible variety in size and government. At one end of the scale are Cutch with an area of 8,250 square miles and Bhavnagar with an annual income of about Rs. 15 million; at the other end of the scale are petty estates or minute holdings amounting in extent to a few acres only. As many as 46 States in this Agency have an area of two or less than two square miles each. Eight of them, namely Bodaneness, Gandhol, Morchopra, Panchabda, Samadhiala, Chabbadia, Sanala, Sataneness and Vangadhra, are just over half a mile each in area. Yet none of these is the smallest State in Kathiawad! That distinction goes to Vejano-ness which has an area of 0.29 square mile, a population of 206 souls and an income of Rs. 500 a year. There is nothing in the annals of the Indian States—Gujarat States excepted—which can beat this record. This is not all. Even these tiny principalities do not seem to be indivisible units. Some of them are claimed by more than one "sovereign" officially described as share-holder. Thus Dahida, with an area of two square miles, has six share-holders, and Godhula and Khijadia Dosaji, being one square mile each in extent, have two share-holders each; while Sanala, 0.51 in area, is put against two share-holders. Such instances can be easily multiplied up to thirty to forty. Sir George Macmunn must have had these statelets in mind while writing his famous book *The Indian States and Princes*. In the very first chapter he says, "The Ruling Princes of India number between five and six hundred, and their principalities vary from that of the Nizam, as large as a third of France, to others no larger than Battersea Park."

As mentioned above, against this staggering statistics, we have also a number of bigger and prosperous States with developed resources and generally an efficient administration. In all there are 16 salute States in the Agency. These are: Bhavnagar, Cutch, Dhrangadhra, Dhrol, Gondal, Idar, Junagad, Limbdi, Morvi, Nawanagar, Palitana, Porbandar, Radhanpur, Rajkot, Wadhwan and Wankaner. These are also the principal States of the group, considering their size, population and income. Only five of them, however, have an income of Rs. 50 lakhs or more, viz. Bhavnagar, Gondal, Junagad, Morvi and Nawanagar. Bhavnagar, Cutch and Junagad are the only States with populations slightly above half a million in each case, the rest of them having anything between 28,000 to 4,50,000 inhabitants. Considering their small areas, it may be said that some of these States are among the richest

in India. Bhavnagar, for example, with an area of only 2,961 square miles, has an income of Rs. 1,47,76,273. There is no other State in India approximating to this size, which has such a high income. Cochin in the south alone appears to be a rival with 1,489 square miles of area and an income of about Rs. 90,00,000. Similarly there is hardly any State in India, Rampur excepted, which comes up to the standard of Morvi which with an area of 822 square miles has an income of Rs. 56,39,000. The same is more or less true of Junagad, Nawanagar and Gondal.

The real demand of the States subjects, it must be presumed, is self-government or responsible government and not merely good government. Nothing short of extensive democratisation of the administrative machinery is likely to satisfy them. As democratisation must of necessity involve certain financial commitments, it is neither helpful nor politic to demand it from rulers of States whose annual income is less than, say, Rs. 50 lakhs. Joint administration is, therefore, the only alternative to the existing arrangement for such States.

Joint administration for small States is no novel or visionary suggestion. His Excellency the Viceroy himself, than whom none can claim to be more solicitous for the welfare of the Princes, is responsible for propagating this view. The germs of this theory, however, are traceable in the Butler Committee Report 1928-29. Dealing with the classification of States, the Report says:

"The petty States of Kathiawad and Gujarat, numbering 286 of the total of 327 in the third class, are organised in groups called thanas under officers appointed by local representatives of the Paramount Power, who exercise various kinds and degrees of criminal, revenue and civil jurisdiction. As the cost of administration rises, the States find it necessary to distribute it over larger areas by appointing officials to work for several States. Already there is talk in some of the larger States in Kathiawad of appointing a High Court with powers over a group of such States."

Lord Linlithgow, however, has given this idea a definite shape, and, indeed, during the last six months he has hardly spoken but once about the States problem without laying emphasis on the possibility and advisability of grouping. His Excellency's views on this question may be gathered from the following extract from his address delivered on the occasion of inaugurating the session of the Chamber of Princes in March last:

"In no case is the need for co-operation and combination more patent, more pronounced and more immediate than in the case of the smaller States. Those States whose resources are so limited as virtually to preclude them individually from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standard, have indeed no other practical alterna-

tive before them. I would take this opportunity to impress upon the Rulers of such States, with all the emphasis at my command, the wisdom of taking the earliest possible steps to combine with their neighbours in the matter of administrative services so far as this is practicable."

Though the principle of combination enunciated by the Viceroy can apply to smaller States all over India, it is particularly suitable in the case of Kathiawad States. One peculiar feature of these States is that, unlike their neighbours, the Gujarat States or the Central India States, they are geographically one compact province. The whole of this peninsula jutting into the Arabian Sea is almost entirely under Indian rule. There is no British territory cutting across or penetrating into this hoof-like area linked with Cutch by land and sea. That is why the Kathiawad cluster of States does not present a "fantastic jig-saw puzzle picture" as so many other clusters of States do. This geographical continuity is a great asset to these States. The process of combination or grouping or, to be a little bolder, of confederation, is immensely facilitated by this continuity. The total area of all these States is just over 40,000 square miles and the total population is 42,29,494. The total annual income is estimated at about Rs. six crores.

During the last three months the Kathiawad Princes have met a number of times and at their last conference in May they decided to hold monthly conferences. Besides considering the draft Instrument of Instructions to the Princes, they were reported to have discussed the feasibility of having a combined police force, common Excise, Medical, Public Health, Public Works and Forest Departments and a common High Court. It is not known what degree of success these negotiations have so far achieved. Nor has it ever been made clear how it is possible to have so many combined administrative departments without having something like a common legislature. It is so easy to see the futility of combined administration in these important spheres without providing for a combined legislature. For, the question arises, to whom will these common administrations be responsible? Certainly not to all one score Princes and their Governments. You cannot earnestly be responsible to twenty authorities unless confusion is their aim and to bungle your wish.

R. L. H.

To be published on Oct. 2

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DO YOU MEAN WHAT YOU SAY ?

The last world war familiarised us with a number of phrases one of which was "making the world safe for democracy". The present war has brought a new phraseology into being, though one may presume that the same objective is meant. But in order that there may be no doubt left in the minds of men the Working Committee has asked for the position to be made clear beyond a shadow of doubt. How is any individual or nation to make up their minds about a war which might involve all humanity, without making themselves sure as to what the war is being waged to achieve?

Here are some of the declarations that were made by high dignitaries and statesmen on the declaration of the present war.

"We have been forced into a conflict, for we are called, with our allies, to meet a challenge of a principle which, if it were to prevail, would be fatal to any civilized order in the world. It is a principle which permits a State in selfish pursuit of power to disregard its treaties and solemn pledges; which sanctions the use of force or threat of force against the sovereignty and independence of other States. Such a principle, stripped of all disguise, is surely *the mere primitive doctrine that might is right*, and if this principle is established throughout the world, *the freedom of our own country and the whole British Commonwealth of Nations* would be in danger. But far more than this, *the peoples of the world* would be kept in bondage of fear and all hopes of settled peace and of security of justice and liberty among nations would be ended. This is the ultimate issue confronting us. *For the sake of all that we ourselves hold dear and of the world's order and peace*, it is unthinkable that we should refuse to meet the challenge."—*His Majesty the King*.

If the sentences italicized do not mean the ensuring of democracy for all the peoples of the world—which presumably includes India—what can they mean?

"I cannot tell what part I may be allowed to play but I trust I will live to see the day when *Hitlerism is destroyed* and a *restored and a liberated Europe has been re-established*."—*Mr. Chamberlain*.

What is Hitlerism but a denial of democracy? And does not the vow to destroy Hitlerism carry with it the promise to restore and preserve democracies everywhere? And can Europe liberate itself without liberating India?

This is what H. E. the Viceroy said in his broadcast speech:

"The issues that emerge are clear. Acceptance of the policy and the methods which Germany has adopted would make life in the world impossible. It would represent the triumph of aggression and the supremacy of the rule of force. In circumstances such as these there could be no security in the world and no peace of mind for any of us. The ruthless onslaught of Germany on Poland, without a declaration of war, is in keeping with the rest of her conduct in this matter. What faces us today is the safeguarding of principles vital to the future of

humanity, principles of international justice and international morality, the principle that civilized man must agree to settle disputes between nations by reason and not by force, the principle that in the affairs of men the law of the jungle, the will of the strongest, irrespective of right and justice, cannot be allowed to prevail. To fail to take up this challenge would be to destroy for mankind any hope of true progress and true development. So long as this cruel and ruthless thing is in the world, there can be no freedom of the spirit for humanity. Nowhere do these great principles mean more than in India. There is no country that values them more highly than India and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them. His Majesty's Government in entering the war have done so with no selfish aims. They have done so to safeguard vital principles affecting all humanity; to ensure the orderly progress of civilization; to see that disputes are settled between nations, not by the arbitrament of force, but by equitable and peaceful means. They have spared no effort to avoid the calamity that now threatens the world."

There is, as there ought to have been, a pointed reference to India. If the Viceroy's words mean anything, they must mean, to borrow the language of the Working Committee's manifesto, "the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people." An India in bondage fighting to free other nations from bondage is a contradiction in terms.

"This is no question," said Mr. Winston Churchill, "of fighting for Poland or for Danzig. We are fighting to *save the world from the pestilence of Nazi tyranny* and in defence of all that is most sacred to man. This is *not a war for domination, for imperial aggrandisement* or for material gains and not a war to shut any country out of its sunlight and aims of progress. This is *a war to establish and revise the stature of man*. Perhaps it may seem a paradox that a war undertaken in the name of liberty and right should require as a necessary part of its process the surrender for the time being of so many valuable liberties and rights. We are sure these liberties will be in hands which will not abuse them and which will cherish and guard them, and we look forward to the day confidently when our liberties and rights will be restored to us and when we shall be able to share them with peoples to whom such blessings are known."

Mr. Churchill obviously goes even farther than the other statesmen.

But it is no use anyone writing a commentary on these declarations. Nor will it be any use churlishly asserting that if all you want is contained in these declarations, why ask for a fresh declaration? The fact is that the ordinary man follows the old adage 'once bitten twice shy', and he understands not sonorous phrases but plain and unequivocal language, and more than the language he understands plain steps taken to implement these declarations. All that

the Working Committee manifesto says is that if the co-operation of the ordinary man in India — the millions of people of India — is desired, an unequivocal declaration, explaining the declarations already made, coupled with corresponding action which a plain man can understand, is indispensable.

On the train to Simla, 25-9-39

M. D.

THE OLD REVOLUTIONARY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Readers of *Harijan* know that after twenty-five years, part of which was spent in jail and sixteen in hiding as an absconder, Sardar Prithvisingh finds himself a free man. He cannot call a life of freedom those sixteen years of dodging the C. I. D., assuming new names and new dresses as circumstances demanded. The reader will recall that Prithvisingh made up his mind to discover himself to me last year when I was convalescing in Juhu, to confess his past sins and regulate his future under my guidance. I advised him to surrender himself to the police and purge his past by becoming a prisoner amenable to prison discipline by choice. I had told him that though I would try to secure his discharge, he must not bank upon my success but should be content, if necessary, to pass the rest of his life in prison. Quite cheerfully and light-heartedly he showed his preparedness to face [life imprisonment. With sincere conviction he accepted the truth that voluntary imprisonment might be as good service of the country as life outside.

I am glad to be able to say that he was true to his word. The readers know from Mahadev Desai's description of him after his visit to the Sardar in Rawalpindi prison that he was a cent per cent model prisoner. He endeared himself to his jailors who never found misplaced the trust that they had reposed in him. He learnt wool spinning and cotton spinning and worked at the first so assiduously that even his powerfully built body had to take relaxation from strenuous labour. First Pyarelal's and then Mahadev Desai's enthusiastic testimony in favour of Sardar Prithvisingh's exemplary conduct in the jail decided me. Mahadev Desai felt confident that he could plead the cause successfully before Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. I let him go. Sir Sikander made a generous response. He was impressed with the truth of Mahadev's description, fortified as it was by the uniformly good reports from the officials in charge of Sardar Prithvisingh. Mahadev knocked also at the Viceregal gates. The result was that Sardar Prithvisingh was delivered to me by the authorities on the 22nd instant.

I greeted him with the remark that he had transferred himself from one jail to another and harder. He smiled a hearty assent. He knows that he is on his trial. He has been a staunch believer

in violence as the only way to the deliverance of his country. He has to his credit examples of daring which may be equalled by some but surpassed by no revolutionary. His life is rich in romance. But by patient introspection he discovered that fundamentally his was a life of falsity, and that true deliverance could never come out of falsity. In spite of the glamour that surrounded his life of hiding and the adoration of his companions who marvelled at his exploits, he had wearied of the false life and the hiding. The gymnastic lessons he gave to hundreds of young men had given him no satisfaction. Fortunately he had companions like Nanabhai of Dakshinamurti. They guided his footsteps towards me. I have told him I will not be satisfied unless he becomes a better example of ahimsa in action than I could ever be. I was never full of himsa in action except the himsa of a coward. He was himsa in action personified. If now he has assimilated ahimsa, his non-violence should be infinitely richer in romance than his past violence. He should by God's grace be a modern exemplar of the proverb "The greater the sinner the greater the saint." He has shown me authenticated leaves from his diary in which he describes his first night as a voluntary prisoner as death. I pick up the following striking passage from it:

"Today is the day of my surrender when under divine guidance I surrender everything I can call my own. For a period of 25 years I had faced all perils and worked hard to acquire the light which could guide me in the field of service. As a revolutionary of good experience I used to look upon my achievements with pride. 19th May is an eventful day in my life — the day when I realized that by treading the trodden path I would not enrich my nation nor make any contribution to the uplift of humanity. This 19th May is the day of the greatest adventure of my life. The present life has no charm, no meaning for me. I must have a new life. How can I have it without embracing death? But to embrace death is not the objective. A new life is the objective. But how could I come to it except through death? There was not much room for reason. It was faith which led me to make my choice."

May the freedom the Sardar now enjoys prove that his notes were no creation of a heated imagination but were an expression of a yearning soul.

On the train to Simla, 25-9-39

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1939

[ONE ANNA

Notes

Thanks

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan has made much of my seventyfirst birthday. He has sent me his book of praises from friends, known and unknown to me. With it he has been good enough to send also a covering letter of further appreciation. I do not know when I shall have the time to go through all the tributes collected in the volume. I can only pray that God may give me the capacity to live up to the contributors' picture of me whatever it may be. To Sir Sarvapalli and all those who have sent me their blessings and greetings, I return my thanks hereby. It is impossible for me to send personal acknowledgments.

One warning I should like to issue to my admirers. Some would like to erect my statues in public places, some others would have portraits, yet others would proclaim my birthday as a public holiday. C. Rajagopalachari knows me well and so he has wisely vetoed the proposal to declare my birthday a public holiday. These are days of dissensions and discord. I should feel deeply humiliated if my name became in any way an occasion for accentuating them. Avoidance of such opportunity is a real service to the country and me. Statues, photographs and the like have no place today. The only praise I would like and treasure is promotion of the activities to which my life is dedicated. He or she who does a single act to produce communal harmony or to destroy the demon of untouchability or to advance the cause of the villages, brings me real joy and peace. Workers are striving during these days to dispose of the khadi stock that has accumulated in various khadi bhandars. I can conceive no greater or more tangible blessing to me than to know that the whole of the surplus khadi stock was taken up by the people during the khadi week or fortnight misnamed after me. I am nothing without or apart from my activities.

Further Falsehoods

I had the misfortune to remark the other day on the Sanatanist propaganda being supported by falsehoods. I have the following wires from Madura and Kumbakonam respectively:

"Srirangam temple being forcibly entered today. Armed Madura temple peons dispersing opposing orthodox worshippers. This is waging war during

world war. Pray issue immediate instructions suspending such high-handedness. We have after all to live together.—K. R. VENKATRAMAYYA"

"Minister Rajan threatening Harijan entry Srirangam with police. Pray interference to avoid bloodshed. Inform Rajaji.—KUPUSAMI"

Rajaji happened to be in Wardha when these wires were received. He gave the following reply: "There is no Harijan entry being tried in Srirangam. This is impossible without Government consent, and the Government has not yet given any such consent."

In the face of this flat denial I can only regard the wires as figments of imagination. It is noteworthy that there is no complaint from Srirangam itself. Madura and Kumbakonam are too far from Srirangam to know firsthand what may happen there. Trichy is the only town near enough to Srirangam to know events there, if the people interested themselves in the happenings in that temple town. An opposition that requires palpable falsehoods to support it, must be on its last legs. I have seen correspondence which shows that Meenakshi temple has not been boycotted by anybody except a few orthodox Brahmins. It is as popular as ever with the vast mass of temple-going population.

On the train to Delhi, 1-10-39

A Striking Thought

A Pathan friend who met me during the journey, talking about violent deeds, said: "You know the Government is strong enough to put down any violence however organized it may be in our country, but your non-violence is uncanny. You have given our country a wonderful weapon. No Government in the world can put down non-violence." I complimented my visitor on the striking thought he gave me. In one sentence he presented the matchless beauty of non-violence. If only India can understand the full implications of the remark so naturally, so effortlessly made by the Pathan friend, she will become unconquerable in the face of any combination of invaders. Ten to one there will be no raid on a people trained in non-violence. Indeed the weakest State can render itself immune from attack if it learns the art of non-violence. But a small State, no matter how powerfully armed it is, cannot exist in the midst of a powerful combination of well-armed States. It has to be absorbed by or be under the protection of one of the members of such a combination. Well

does Badshahkhan say, as reported by Pyarelal during my last tour in his province: "We would have fared ill if we had not learnt the lesson of non-violence. We have taken it up quite selfishly. We are born fighters and we keep up the tradition by fighting amongst ourselves. Once a murder takes place in a family or a clan it becomes a point of honour to avenge it. There is no such thing generally as forgiveness among us. And so there is avenging and re-avenging and re-re-avenging. And thus the vicious circle never ends. This non-violence has come to us as a positive deliverance." What is true of the Frontier Province is true of all of us. Without knowing it, we move in the vicious circle of violence. A little reflection and corresponding practice should enable us to get out of the circle.

Narsinghgarh

The reader knows that at the invitation of the Dewan of Narsinghgarh and with the consent of the Secretary of the Central India States Conference I had sent Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to inquire into certain allegations made against the State. The Rajkumari was given every facility by the State to make what inquiry she liked. Shri Kanhaiyalal Vaidya was present during the inquiry. The Rajkumari's way was made easy by the State giving her every facility. The immediate cause of complaint was soon settled to the satisfaction of all concerned. The Maharaja has given cautious assurances of civil liberty. The people of these States have hitherto been strangers to civil liberty and all it means. I hope the Maharaja and his advisers will remember that civil liberty means the fullest liberty, consistent with non-violence, to speak, write and do what the people like, even though it may mean strong criticism of the acts of the State. He has, however, given full permission to Shri Vaidya to do khadi, Harijan and other constructive work. He has also requested the Rajkumari to send Shri Shankerlal Banker or a representative of the A. I. S. A. to the State in order to explore the possibilities of khadi work in the State which grows plenty of cotton. He has also shown interest in other village industries and basic education. I hope that the beginning so well made will continue uninterrupted, and that the people of Narsinghgarh will show political, economic, social and moral progress on an ever-increasing scale. From the correspondence I had with the Dewan, I have reason to hope for the best. Much will depend upon the sympathy of the Maharaja and his advisers towards all-round progress and the restrained manner in which the workers use the liberty given by the State. I must congratulate the Maharaja and the Dewan on having shown wisdom and courage in calling in the Congress aid (for my aid is virtually Congress aid) for settling their domestic difficulty. This is perhaps the second instance of its kind.

On the train to Wardha, 28-9-39 M. K. G.

"And Only Man Is Vile"

The skies during the rainy season towards the sunset hour are particularly beautiful where the country is at all hilly. It was on one such evening that I happened to be in the little State of Narsinghgarh in Central India watching some sports which had been arranged in honour of the birthday of the Maharaja. Among other amusing items such as a three-legged race, a donkey race, musical chairs for children, etc., was included "a race for fat men". About eight or ten persons of fairly large proportions arranged themselves in a row and were just about to start when some altercation seemed to begin. The man in charge of the race came running to His Highness to say that as two of the "fat men" were Harijans the Caste Hindu competitors refused to run with them. The Maharaja sent word to say that it was a pity they should feel thus because running in the same race with Harijans could in no sense be deemed to pollute anyone. But the remonstrance was of no avail. Not only did they insist on their ridiculous objection but the Mussalman competitors sent word that they too would not run with the Harijans. I had just been admiring the beauty of the setting in which the sports were being held. The rays of the setting sun were casting a golden glow on the green plain as on the surrounding hills; the colourful turbans and full skirts and veils of the women added to the picturesqueness of the scene, and from right at the top of one of the hills an old temple of Shri Mahadev looked down on us. But this incident sounded a jarring note and spoilt the evening as far as some of us were concerned. Incidentally the two Harijans who had entered for the race were the most eligible because they were more corpulent than the others. They were cleanly dressed, looking for all the world like Seths with coloured turbans and embroidered chogas and, what is more, they were sitting amongst the crowd with no one apparently objecting to their proximity. It was astonishing — this objection of the Hindu and Mussalman competitors. The Maharaja expressed his displeasure and just said quietly to me, "You see this wretched and extraordinary mentality. It makes reform so difficult." How can we expect to have even-handed justice meted out to us when we are unwilling to treat our fellow beings in a humane manner?

On the train to Simla, 24-9-39

A. K.

Books on Non-violence

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J. H. Hoyland — The Cross Moves East	3	7	3
J. M. Murry — The Necessity of Pacifism	2	7	3
A. Ruth Fry — Victories without Violence	2	10	3

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AN EYE-OPENER

[The following note on the development of khadi work in the Ernad Taluk up to the end of June 1939 should open the eyes of sceptics as to the possibilities of khadi as a readymade means of giving remunerative employment to the needy millions. M. K. G.]

Hand-spinning was started by the A. I. S. A. in Ernad Taluk as an experimental measure at Pulickal in June 1937. The area has had no tradition for hand-spinning. Therefore, all those who took to hand-spinning had to be taught the art of spinning and carding afresh. Regular classes had to be conducted to teach them spinning and carding. By the end of June 1938, about 300 spinners were trained at Pulickal. Most of the persons who attended the classes were Muslim girls between 12 and 16, and they showed great aptitude for and diligence in learning the art of spinning and carding, with the result that it was made clear that hand-spinning could be successfully introduced in the area with proper arrangements to train spinners.

This successful experiment conducted at Pulickal encouraged the A. I. S. A. to include in the Government grant for khadi for 1938-39 a scheme for starting four more centres in the Taluk viz. Nediyruppu, Pandikkad, Randhani and Tirurangadi. Arrangements were made to conduct three classes in each of the centres from October 1938, and these continued steadily in different localities within a radius of three to four miles of each centre.

By the end of June 1939 there were 1,233 spinners trained up in the Taluk as per details given below:

Pulickal	...	425
Nediyruppu	...	191
Pandikkad	...	182
Randhani	...	222
Tirurangadi	...	213
Total		1233

Of these, 878 are Muslims, 6 Harijans and 349 other Hindus. Out of this total number 1,118 are females.

The total expenditure for developing these centres up to the end of June 1939 has come to Rs. 5,830-8-10 including the cost of implements supplied to spinners. The cost of implements itself comes to Rs. 3,482-0-6, the whole of which was met out of the Government grant. Other expenses, including salary and sundry expenses such as rent, prizes, etc., come to Rs. 2,348-8-4 of which Rs. 1,859-8-7 were given out of the Government grant and the remaining sum of Rs. 488-15-9 was spent out of A. I. S. A. funds in the initial stages at Pulickal and other centres. The details of implements distributed in this Taluk are given below:

Yeravda wheels	1,108
Spindles with disc	1,954
Bow with gut, strikers and slivering sets	1,000

Due to the attention bestowed on giving proper training to spinners, the quality of yarn produced is of a very high standard so far as hand-spun yarn is concerned. It has been possible to fix the minimum quality of yarn at 70% strength and 95% uniformity from February 1939. Arrangements were made in all the centres actually to test the yarn for strength before it was received. From the start of testing for this minimum quality, a large percentage of the spinners found no difficulty at all in producing this quality. Others who found it difficult to conform to this standard had to be given individual attention in training. Now nearly all the spinners are able to produce yarn of the standard quality and earn the full wages.

From February 1939, while we insisted on quality, we also increased the spinning wages by 17-19% of the cost of yarn. From 15 hanks per rupee it was increased to one anna three pies per hank of 840 yards.

Efforts are being made to induce the spinners to be habitual wearers of khadi. To facilitate this work yarn deposits are collected from each spinner at the time of delivering the weekly production at the A. I. S. A. centres. Khadi in the required width and pattern at nearly cost price is being issued to spinners in exchange for yarn thus deposited. In this way an appreciable percentage of spinners have already become habitual wearers of khadi. The total value of khadi thus exchanged came to Rs. 1,888-1-0 by the end of June 1939.

All the five centres can now be taken as regular spinning centres. The total production of yarn in these centres up to June 1939 was 15,050 lbs., 2,19,871 hanks. It is estimated that Rs. 11,452 have been distributed as wages.

A khadi weaving centre is being started at Tirurangadi. There are 10 looms engaged already and the quality of khadi produced in the centre has been found to be very satisfactory both in respect of texture and strength. It is expected that in the course of a few months nearly all the looms necessary to convert the yarn produced in the Taluk can be engaged at Parappanangadi and Tanur where there are a large number of professional weaving families. There is still a demand from different places for introduction of hand-spinning. A separate scheme for further development of khadi work in the Taluk has been submitted as part of the scheme of utilisation of the Government grant for 1939-40.

C. K. KARTH
Secretary

Published on Oct. 2
Mahatma Gandhi

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H A R I J A N

Oct. 7

1939

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During my last journey to Simla my attention was drawn to the bitterness with which, it was alleged, the Muslim League and its doings were being criticized in some Congress organs. I have not seen any such criticism for the simple reason that I do not see the papers except for a few moments daily. But if there is any ground for such complaint, it should certainly be removed. The Muslim League is a great organization. Its President was at one time an ardent Congressman. He was the rising hope of the Congress. His battles with Lord Willingdon cannot be forgotten. The Jinnah Hall of the Bombay Congress is a standing monument of the President's labours for the Congress and a mark of Congressmen's generous appreciation of his services. The League contains many members who were whole-heartedly with the Congress during the memorable Khilafat days. I refuse to think that these erstwhile comrades can be as bitter in their hearts towards their fellow-workers of yesterday as their speeches and writings of today will show. It is therefore wrong of Congressmen and Congress organs if they are bitter against the League or its individual members. The Congress policy of non-violence should put an easy restraint upon the speech, writings and actions of Congressmen in their dealings with the League and its members. They must resolutely believe and hope that sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, there is to be communal unity, not superficial but real and lasting.

Zahid, the late Big Brother's son, who met me in Simla said, "We must not quarrel. Blood is thicker than water. We are of the same blood. You must work for unity." Other Muslim friends who met me during the journey said: "You must bring about unity. You alone can do it. Heaven help us if unity is not achieved in your lifetime." I have a similar message from a great Muslim.

All this may flatter my vanity. But I know that it does humble me. I wish God had given me the power to realize the hope genuinely expressed by so many Muslim friends. I assure them that not a day passes but I think of and pray for the unity. It is neither for want of will nor effort that I have to be a helpless witness of so much bitterness and quarrelling between the two. I have not lost hope that I shall live to see real unity established between not only Hindus and Muslims but all the communities that make India a nation. If I knew the way to achieve it today, I know that I have the will and the strength to take it,

however difficult or thorny it may be. I know too that the shortest and the surest way lies through non-violence. Some Muslim friends tell me that Muslims will never subscribe to unadulterated non-violence. With them, they say, violence is as lawful and necessary as non-violence. The use of either depends upon circumstances. It does not need Quranic authority to justify the lawfulness of both. That is the well-known path the world has traversed through the ages. There is no such thing as unadulterated violence in the world. But I have heard it from many Muslim friends that the Quran teaches the use of non-violence. It regards forbearance as superior to vengeance. The very word Islam means peace, which is non-violence. Badshahkhan, a staunch Muslim who never misses his *namaz* and *Ramzan*, has accepted out and out non-violence as his creed. It would be no answer to say that he does not live up to his creed, even as I know to my shame that I do not. If there is difference in our actions, the difference is not one of kind, it is of degree. But argument about non-violence in the Holy Quran is an interpolation, not necessary for my thesis.

I hold that for the full play of non-violence only one party need believe in it. Indeed if both believe in it and live up to it, there is no appreciation or demonstration of it. To live at peace with one another is the most natural thing to do. But neither party gains the merit that the exercise of non-violence carries with it. Unfortunately, at the present moment, those Hindus who do not know the use of violence, though they have it in their hearts, are sorry for their incapacity and would fain learn the trick—I won't call it the art—of violence, so as to be able to match what they describe as Muslim violence. And if peace is to be brought about by both parties being equally matched in the use of violence both offensive and defensive, I know that that peace will not come in my lifetime and, if it came, I should not care to be witness of it. It will be an armed peace to be broken at any moment. Such has been the peace in Europe. Is not the present war enough to make one sick of such peace?

Muslim friends who hope much from me will perhaps now recognize my agony for the unattainment of peace in spite of the travail that I have gone through and am still going through. They should also see that my principal work lies through teaching at least the Hindus to learn the art of non-violence unless I can bring the Muslims to the position the Ali Brothers and their associates took up during the Khilafat days. They used to say: "Even if our Hindu brethren cut us to pieces, yet will we love them. They are our kith and kin." The late Maulana Abdul Bari used to say: "Muslims of India will never forget the ungrudging and unconditional support that Hindus have given to us at this critical period of our history." I am sure that both Hindus and Muslims of those

days are the same today that they were then. But times have changed and with them have changed our manners. I have no shadow of a doubt that our hearts will meet some day. What seems impossible today for us God will make possible tomorrow. For that day I work, live and pray.

On the train to Wardha, 28-9-39

UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE OF TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An evil fate seems to dog the career of the people of Travancore in so far as they are represented by the State Congress. The Congress is composed of some of its bravest and most self-sacrificing men. But unfortunately there never have been happy relations between them and the able Dewan of the State. The charges brought against him by the Congress in the preliminary stages of the movement for responsible government somehow or other acerbated the relations. The framers of the charges, as I happen to know from personal conversations with them, honestly believed in them. But when I reasoned with them that they were bound to withdraw them if their cause was the attainment of responsible government, and not the removal of the Dewan — a case in which India could not be interested — they saw the wisdom of my advice and promptly acted upon it. This cleared the ground for them and made their case unassailable. But I feel that the estrangement created by the charges between the Dewan and the leaders has persisted. I wish it had been otherwise. Though civil disobedience has been discontinued and personal talks between the Dewan and the leaders have taken place, cordiality between them has been lacking. On the contrary there has been a ring of distrust about their talks. The Dewan has kept himself at a safe distance from the leaders. Negotiations after a struggle are generally preceded by discharge of prisoners and withdrawal of prosecutions and removal of other disabilities. In Travancore these things have not happened. Cancellation of lawyers' sanads and suspension of elected members of the Assembly remain. In fact there is not much sign of an advance by the State towards the leaders. And now comes like a bombshell suspension of negotiations for political reform. These are the words of the Travancore communique:

"For reasons which must be obvious and which have, for instance, influenced the Government of India in their decision regarding the Federal negotiations, no conversations can possibly take place regarding any constitutional reforms until normal conditions are restored and the position is stabilised."

This is followed by the following minatory warning:

"With reference to the statement to the Press issued by the President of the Travancore State Congress and his letter to the Dewan, Government wish

to point out that while they do not intend to curb or put a check upon ordinary activities of political organisations and while their ideas are unaltered as to consultations with political organisations and leaders as soon as conditions permit, they cannot possibly allow an organised scheme of agitation to be conducted at this juncture, in view of the present situation and especially the likelihood of increased unemployment owing to war conditions and the public excitement that may be caused by the situation regarding foodstuffs and other commodities. Such a scheme of agitation is bound to give rise to serious repercussions and results, and the Government, who have a duty to protect the law-abiding inhabitants of the State, cannot possibly take the risks involved thereby nor can they at present devote any attention to questions relating to constitutional demands. Government desire to warn the Travancore State Congress and other organisations with similar programme that they will be forced to take steps both under the ordinary law and under the Defence of Travancore Proclamation and Rules for maintaining normal conditions and a peaceful atmosphere in the State."

The reason for suspension of contemplated reform is wholly unconvincing. So far as I know in no State has such suspension been thought necessary. Indeed I venture to suggest that the offer of the States to the British Government lacks the spirit assumed to be behind the aims of the Allies, viz. the saving of democracy for the world. The States' offer to be consistent with the time spirit has to carry with it the will and the co-operation of their people. This is clearly impossible if the people of the States do not feel that they are partners with the Princes in the administration of the States. Viewed in this light, the grant to the people of the greatest measure of responsibility consistent with their own safety becomes a first and first class war measure so far as the States are concerned. And who will say that the people of Travancore, where education has for years been given to the people on a liberal scale, are not ready for shouldering the burden of managing their own affairs? The responsibility in large States can mean no more than that of a big corporation in the Provinces. This suspension of political advance in Travancore on the ground of war comes as a shock and a surprise. What connection political reform in the States has with the suspension of Federation is not easy to understand. But for the opposition of the Princes, the Muslim League and the Congress, Federation would have come long ago; and I make bold to say that the British Government would gladly bring it in today if the three parties desire it. Political reform in the States is overdue and has to come irrespective of Federation.

I mean no offence to the Princes when I say that generally speaking they may in a sense be compared to Herr Hitler. The difference is that they have not his dash, energy, resourcefulness and capacity. Every one of the Princes has the

powers of absolute autocrats, and they have times without number exercised such powers. In their own sphere they enjoy powers which the British monarchs have not possessed for centuries. The present British King is merely the first citizen of his country. He cannot arrest a single person at his mere wish. He cannot administer corporal punishment to a single person without coming like any other citizen under the law of the State. This severe limitation on the British monarchy is rightly the envy of the world. But every Indian Prince is a Hitler in his own State. He can shoot his people without coming under any law. Hitler enjoys no greater powers. If I am not mistaken, the German constitution does impose some limits on the Fuhrer. Great Britain's position as the self-constituted guardian of democracy is compromised so long as it has more than 500 autocrats as its allies. The Princes will render Great Britain a real service when they can offer their services not as so many autocrats but as true representatives of their people. I venture, therefore, to suggest to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the distinguished constitutional lawyer that he is, that he has ill served the people and the Prince of Travancore and the British Government by suspending political reform and threatening the State Congress with dire consequences if it dares to carry on the contemplated agitation for political advance during these times.

New Delhi, 2-10-39

CONFERENCE OF BASIC EDUCATION

The first conference and exhibition of basic education will be held from 29th October to 1st November. The Government of Bombay kindly volunteered to act as host for the conference and has undertaken all responsibility for the necessary arrangement for the conference and exhibition. The venue of the conference and exhibition will be the Training College for Men, Poona.

After the Wardha Educational Conference of October 1937, this is the first gathering of educational workers for a collective discussion of the working of the new scheme of education. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the Wardha and the Poona conferences. The Wardha conference was a gathering of seekers in the field of education. Except to the originator and a few others it meant little more than a stimulating educational challenge. It was at this conference that the first steps were taken towards giving a concrete shape to this new challenging vision.

On the other hand, the Poona conference is to be a workers' conference. It has grown out of a need felt by the actual workers of basic education in the different parts of India, to meet together, to discuss their difficulties, to share their experiences, and thus to arrive at some tentative findings for the guidance of their future work.

During the last two years, following the deliberations of the Wardha Educational Conference, this new educational vision has gradually taken concrete form and is functioning today as an accepted educational process in different parts of India. There are thirteen training centres where teachers are being trained, and over two thousand basic schools where children are being educated, through the medium of a productive craft. A new educational technique is slowly being evolved and the foundations of a new educational literature are being laid as a result of this new experiment.

The programme of the conference will therefore be centred round the practical problems that have arisen during the actual working out of the scheme. Six such main problems have been selected for discussion, and the deliberations of the conference will aim at arriving at some tentative solutions of these problems.

The main problems to be discussed at the conference will be the following:

- a. The training of teachers of basic education.
- b. The basic syllabus in practice.
- c. The technique of correlated teaching.
- d. The administrative and economic problems arising out of the introduction of basic education.
- e. The productive aspect of basic education.
- f. The preparation of suitable literature.

The exhibition of basic education will form an integral part of the conference, since through this exhibition it is desired to give a visual representation of the actual working of basic education in all its aspects—educative, administrative and economic. As the exhibition is meant primarily for workers, it will be technical and not popular in character.

While commenting on the Wardha Educational Conference in the pages of *Harijan* on 30-10-37, Gandhiji described it as "a step forward". Through the Poona Conference the workers of basic education wish to take the second step forward, but this purpose can be secured only if the workers give their sincere and effective co-operation.

Segaon, 30-9-39

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A WORD TO THE OXFORD GROUPERS

I wrote some weeks ago, in these columns, a few notes on the Oxford Group and their methods of work. They seem to have attracted some attention, especially because there was held soon after in Srinagar a conference "retreat" of some of the members of the group. As soon as the War broke out a wire was received by Gandhiji asking for an interview with him by several members headed by the very Rev. the Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta. "It is no use dragging the Metropolitan to Wardha," said Gandhiji in reply, "but youths may come, for for them I have no mercy."

In response to this, six friends came to Wardha on the 23rd of last month. These included a barrister and his wife, an American journalist, a European who is a railway official, and a gifted lady, daughter of a one-time Army officer, who has come on a tour to India and "stayed on to make reparation for her nation which has got from India and not given", as another member described her.

Their mission may be described in common parlance as one of thinking aloud, and in their language of "spiritual sharing". "There is good somewhere in all," said one of the members, "and there are different ways of finding that out. For us it is by sharing. Every morning I sit down to find out what God wants and then whether I am ready to be obedient to His will. If I can be absolutely obedient, then He will work through me." Another member said: "You have always been listening to God. We feel that the solution of those problems for which you have worked would be reached if all the millions of India would start listening to God. We feel we have a place in this plan and have therefore come to you in joy."

Some of the members described their experiences of changes having come over the lives of men and women by thus "listening in".

How one wishes the problem was so simple as these good men and women believed it to be. The modern age has brought its new technical terms—scientific and psychological. Whereas people of old used to use the word "prayer", "listening in" is the modern word. It is all right for those who are not in want to say comfortably "we will listen in", but it would take a certain amount of brazenfacedness to tell the man for whom getting a square meal a day is the eternal problem, "Listen in and you shall get your bread". Modern age has accentuated the gulf between the "haves" and the "have-nots", between the exploiters and the exploited. With what face shall the former say to the latter, "You better listen in to God and your miseries will be at an end"?

There was a discussion and Gandhiji spoke out his mind to them. "How I wish I had the same enthusiasm that fires you," he said. "Of course I have the experience of listening,

not merely of trying to listen. The more I listen, the more I discover that I am still far away from God. While I can lay down rules, the observance of which is essential for proper listening, the reality still escapes me. When we say we are listening to God and getting answers, though we say it truthfully, there is every possibility there of self-deception. I do not know that I am myself altogether free from self-deception. People sometimes ask me if I may not be mistaken, and I say to them, 'Yes, very likely, what I say may be just a picture of my elongated self before you.'

"And then see how one may claim to be God-guided in taking a particular course of action, and another may make the same claim in taking an opposite course of action. I will give you a good illustration. Rajaji, whom you know, at any rate whose name you have heard, is I think unsurpassed in godliness or God-mindedness. Now when I took the 21 days' purificatory fast in the Yeravda Jail in 1933 and proclaimed that it was in answer to a call from God, Rajagopalachari came all the way from Madras to dissuade me. He felt sure that I was deluding myself and that I should, probably die and, if I did not, I should certainly be demented. Well you see that I am still alive and of a sound mind. And yet perhaps Rajaji still thinks I was deluded and it was by an accident that I was saved, and I continue to think that I fasted in answer to the still small voice within."

"I say this in order to warn you how unwise it may be to believe that you are always listening to God. I am not at all against the endeavour, but I warn you against thinking that this is a kind of 'open sesame' which has just to be shown to the millions. No one will contradict me when I say I have tried my very best to make India listen to the way of God. I have had some success but I am still far away from the goal. When I listen to the testimonies you have given I become cautious and even suspicious. In South Africa a preacher came who after his sermon got people to sign their names under a pledge, which was published in a book, binding them not to drink. Well I have been witness to numerous of these promises being broken. It was no fault of these people. They signed the pledge under the temporary influence of the preacher's moving eloquence."

"This I know that all that glitters is not gold, and also that if a man has really heard the voice of God, there is no sliding back, just as there is no forgetting it by one who has learnt to swim. The listening in must make people's lives daily richer and richer."

"Let me not appear to damp your enthusiasm; but if it is to be built on solid rock, it is better that listening in is also based on solid rock."

"This listening in presupposes the fitness to listen, and the fitness is acquired after constant and patient striving and waiting on God. Shankaracharya has likened the process to the

attempt to empty the sea by means of a drainer small as the point of a blade of grass. This process thus necessarily is endless being carried through birth after birth.

"And yet the effort has to be as natural as breathing or the winking of the eyes, which processes happen without our knowing them. The effort coincides with the process of living. I commend to you this process of eternal striving which alone can take us face to face with God."

The next day they returned having slept over this message. It was, they said, a challenge to more "life changing", or, again to put it in common parlance, more self-purification. But man often becomes a prisoner of his own making, and so these good friends produced another word begging the same rigorous definition and spiritual striving as "listening in", viz. repentance. "Repentance is the foundation of peace. Repentance is the wave-length that will reach every heart and every nation." The friend who is also a poet left for Gandhiji a poetic message in which she said:

"God! May there flow forth through all the earth
Repentance in the torrent of its power.

Washing perception clean and motive pure,
Breaking through every faction, every heart
Without exception, for all have sinned."

Quite true, we all have sinned in, a greater or a less degree. But whereas the poor "have-nots" have, if I may say so, sinned against God, the "haves" or the exploiters have sinned both against God and man. And so Gandhiji asked, "What is India as a nation to do at this juncture? What would you want *her* to do? How is *she* to repent? India may say she has committed many sins for which she is suffering and would pray to be given the strength to wipe them out. Or is there anything else at the back of your minds?" There was no satisfactory reply. "We should begin listening to God as a whole," was their reply so far as I can recollect it. That is how we escape the conclusion of our own premises. Bluntly speaking the exploited have to pray, the exploiters have to repent—both prayers and repentance not being abstract mental attitudes but expressing themselves in action. The Harijan may pray for sins which may have made him an untouchable, but the Savarna Hindu who has kept him an untouchable has to repent by starting with befriending him and striving to put him on a level equal to his own, in brief by a steady process of self-purification and self-sacrifice. And after all the names "haves" and "have-nots" are but other names for "non-Harijans" and "Harijans", or "exploiters" and "exploited" or "debtors" and "creditors". It does not lie in the mouth of a debtor to say he will not pay until the creditor prays or purifies himself. His duty of repentance and repayment comes first and foremost and he may not even think of the duty of the creditor.

On the train to Delhi, 1-10-39

M. D.

"OPEN A NEW CHAPTER"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An advance copy of Reuter's summary of the Lords' debate on Indian affairs has been shown to me. Perhaps silence on my part at this juncture would be a distinct disservice both to India and England. I was unprepared for the old familiar flavour in the debate in the shape of drawing comparisons unflattering to the Congress. I maintain that the Congress is an all-inclusive body. Without offence to anybody it can be said of it that it is the one body that has represented for over half a century, without a rival, the vast masses of India irrespective of class or creed. It has not a single interest opposed to that of the Mussalmans or that of the people of the States. Recent years have shown unmistakably that the Congress represents beyond doubt the interests of the people of the States. It is that organization which has asked for a clear definition of the British intentions. If the British are fighting for the freedom of all, then their representatives have to state in the clearest possible terms that the freedom of India is necessarily included in the war aim. The content of such freedom can only be decided by Indians and them alone. Surely it is wrong for Lord Zetland to complain as he does, though in gentle terms, that the Congress should at this juncture, when Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle, ask for a clear declaration of British intentions. I suggest that the Congress has done nothing strange or less than honourable in asking for such a declaration. Only a free India's help is of value. And the Congress has every right to know that it can go to the people and tell them that at the end of the war India's status as an independent country is as much assured as that of Great Britain. As a friend of the British I, therefore, appeal to English statesmen that they will forget the old language of imperialists and open a new chapter for all those who have been held under imperial bondage.

Segaon, 28-9-39

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POONA — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1939

[ONE ANNA

INDIA'S ATTITUDE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

On 27th August last, i.e. just before the senseless war broke out, Shrimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya wrote to me as follows:

"I have sent you an appeal through *The Bombay Chronicle*, asking you to voice the attitude of India and of the exploited peoples of the East on the present situation. What I meant was not a mere reiteration of our old position that we can have nothing to do with this imperialist war, but something more than that. The present conflict is mainly centred round the usual scramble for colonies, or spheres of influence as they are now called in polite phraseology. On this question the world thinks there are only two opinions, for it hears only two views: one which believes in the maintaining of the *status quo*; the other which wants a change but on the same basis, in other words a redistribution of the loot and the right to exploit, which of course means war. It is in the very nature of things that such a redistribution can never come about without an armed conflict. Whether there will be anyone or anything left to enjoy, of course, is another question. But the world is mainly torn between these two. If the thesis of the one is accepted, then that of the other should also be. For, if England and France have the right to rule over large tracts and big nations, then Germany and Italy have an equal right. There is as little moral justification in the former countries crying halt to Hitler as there is in his what he calls his rightful claims.

That there is a third view the world hardly seems to think for it rarely hears it. And it is so essential that it should find expression: the voice of the people who are mere pawns in the game. Neither Danzig nor the Polish Corridor is the issue. The issue is the principle on which the whole of this present Western civilization is based: the right of the strong to rule and exploit the weak. Therefore it is centred round the whole colonial question, and Hitler and Mussolini are never tired of reminding the world of that. And that is exactly the reason why England has raised the cry of the Empire in danger. This question therefore vitally concerns all of us.

We are against the *status quo*. We are fighting against it for we want a change in it. But our alternative is not war for we know that the real solution does not lie there. We have an alternative to offer which is the only solution of this horrible muddle and the key to future world peace. It is

this which I would like to be placed before the world. It may seem today like a cry in the wilderness; still we know that it is the voice which will ultimately prevail; and it is those hands which seem so feeble before these mailed fists that will finally reshape a battered humanity.

You are eminently fitted to give voice to it. India has, I think, a peculiar place today in the colonies of the world. It has both a moral prestige and organizational strength enjoyed by few colonies. The others look to it for a lead in many matters. It has already shown to the world a superior technique of struggle whose moral value the world is bound to appreciate some day. India has therefore to tell a very distraught and maddened world that there is another path that humanity must tread if it would save itself from these periodical disasters and bring peace and harmony to a bleeding world. It is only those who have suffered so much against this system and who are bravely struggling to change it that can speak with all the conviction and moral basis necessary, speak not only for themselves but all the exploited peoples of the world."

I am sorry I had not seen Shrimati Kamaladevi's letter to *The Chronicle*. Try as I will, I simply cannot do adequate justice to the reading of newspapers. The letter then remained on my file for want of time to deal with it. But I think delay has not affected the object of her letter. Perhaps this is the psychological moment for me to express what is or should be India's attitude. I agree with Kamaladevi's analysis of the motives of the parties to the war. Both are fighting for their existence and for the furtherance of their policies. There is, however, this great difference between the two: However incomplete or equivocal the declarations of the Allies are, the world has interpreted them to mean that they are fighting for saving democracy. Herr Hitler is fighting for the extension of the German boundaries, although he was told that he should allow his claims to be submitted to an impartial tribunal for examination. He contemptuously rejected the way of peace or persuasion and chose that of the sword. Hence my sympathy for the cause of the Allies. But my sympathy must not be interpreted to mean endorsement, in any shape or form, of the doctrine of the sword for the defence even of proved right. Proved right should be capable of being vindicated by right means as against the rude, i.e. sanguinary, means. Man may

and should shed his own blood for establishing what he considers to be his 'right'. He may not shed the blood of his opponent who disputes his 'right'. India as represented by the Congress has been fighting in order to prove her 'right', not by the sword but by the non-violent method. And she has carved out for herself a unique place and prestige in the world although she is yet far—let us hope, not very far—from the independence of her dream. Her novel method has evidently struck the imagination of the world. It has the right to expect India to play a decisive part in this war, which no people of the world have wanted, by insisting that the peace this time is not to be a mockery designed to share among the victors the spoils of war and to humiliate the vanquished. Jawaharlal Nehru, who has a right to speak for the Congress, has said in stately language that the peace must mean freedom for those who are held in bondage by the imperialist powers of the world. I have every hope that the Congress will also be able to show the world that the power that armaments give to defend right is nothing compared to the power that non-violence gives to do the same thing and that too with better show of reason. Armaments can show no reason, they can make only a pretence of it.

Seagon, 9-10-39

LACK OF SENSE OF HUMOUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I cannot resist publishing the following very frank and well-meaning letter addressed to the Editor :

"I earnestly request you to be kind enough to give me a few minutes to clear some of my doubts. I write this letter not as a critic. I am an ardent seeker after truth and one of the many 'Ekalavyas' of Bapuji.

I am rather very much pained to read the following in this week's *Harijan* in the course of a note under the caption 'Why Only Prohibition' written by Bapuji: 'Therefore if I treated these evils as I have treated the drink evil and if I begin to organise picketing in respect of them, I should lose my caste, lose my Mahatmaship and even lose my head which of course has very little value at this time of my life. But as I do not wish to suffer the triple loss, I must allow my correspondent and others like him to think that I am shirking an obvious duty.'

I was not prepared for the above note, especially the portion quoted by me, along with his previous writings and my reading of his life. For, I was, and am still, of the opinion that Bapuji stands for 'Truth' and he would be ready to lose any donation whatever it may be, his Mahatmaship, his caste and, if necessary, even his head for the sake of Truth, i. e. God.

Now let us examine some of his writings. In his *Autobiography* (Part V Ch. X) he says when he accepted Dudhabhai, an untouchable, and his family, 'All monetary help, however, was stopped..... With

the stopping of monetary help came rumours of proposed social boycott. We were prepared for all this.'

This clearly indicates that he was not ready to accept donations or maintain his caste at the cost of his principle, i. e. Truth.

In an article 'Truth v. Brahmacharya' (*Young India* Feb. 25, 1926) he says: 'My Mahatmaship is worthless. It is due to my outward activities, due to my politics, which is the least part of me and is therefore evanescent. What is of abiding worth is my insistence on truth, non-violence and brahmacharya.' In yet another article he has tried to show the 'Handicap of Mahatmaship'. (*Young India* No. 8, 1928)

What else is necessary to show that he cares naught for his Mahatmaship?

Moreover he says in the course of a conversation reported in *Harijan* August 29, 1936: 'I am here to serve no one else but myself, to find my own realization...Man's ultimate aim is the realization of God, and all his activities, social, political, religious, have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God.' In another place (*Young India* Oct. 11, 1928) he says: 'I know too that I shall never know God if I do not wrestle with and against evil even at the cost of life itself.'

I hope that these are enough to prove that he stands for Truth and not for anything else. It may be perhaps that he does not recognize these evils, viz. gambling, race, cinema, etc., as such or so dangerous as the evil of drink or untouchability to lead an agitation against them, 'to wrestle with and against them at the cost of life itself'.

Anyhow I am sure that there will be a number of readers of *Harijan* like me who will not be prepared to read a statement like this from the pen of Bapuji. Now I ask you what does he stand for? For donations, caste, Mahatmaship, etc. at the cost of truth, or for truth at the cost of all these? Will you kindly refer this to Bapuji and correct the misunderstanding created by the above note?"

If the writer, who is manifestly a close student of my writings and is himself a schoolmaster, took seriously my note in *Harijan* about gambling, etc., there must be quite a number of other readers who too had the same doubts as the correspondent. The correspondent has quoted enough from my writings to enable him to know that the note was written in a humorous vein. But unfortunately many of us have no sense of humour. Therefore, in order to secure appreciation, humour evidently has to be boldly labelled as such. The readers should have known that by writing the note I had expressed my disapproval of cinemas, races, share market, gambling and the like. I had tried to show also that these vices were fashionable and therefore were not capable of being dealt with like prohibition. I claim to be a practical reformer. I know almost instinctively what vices are ripe for being publicly dealt with. Of course it may be that I lack the courage to tackle the others and cover my cowardice by pleading untimeliness. No man can get over his limitations beyond a point.

But my correspondent has shown from my writings that at the time I had the courage to face unpopularity and loss of everything. Let those who might have been disturbed by my innocent note reassure themselves that I retain the same spirit as before to face difficulties and trials in the prosecution of public causes. Time has not weakened it in any way; it has, if possible, strengthened it. But I am humble enough to restrain my ambition and to feel thankful to God for what capacity he has vouchsafed to me for the service of the country and humanity.

On the train to Delhi, 1-10-39

THE UNBRIDGEABLE GULF

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following letter comes from a friend:

"In the *Harijan* dated 30-9-39, on page 1 at the end of your article, you write: 'Speed is not the end of life. Man sees more and lives more truly by walking to his duty.' And then you subscribe: 'On the train to Simla'. I am surprised that, with all the fund of humour you possess, you could not see how the words 'On the train to Simla' pointed the finger of ridicule to the statement 'Man sees more and lives more truly by walking to his duty.'"

Time was when this friend used to believe in my method and was a valuable supporter. Somehow or other I have now fallen from grace. He should have had no difficulty in following the rich humour behind the writing which he exposes to ridicule. But I must deprive the ridicule of its sting by informing my friend that I was in my senses when I wrote the note referred to. I might easily have avoided the exact place where it was penned. But I wanted to add point to my remark and to discover to the reader the vast gulf that separates me from my ideal. Let the waverers take heart from the fact that though my note containing the flat contradiction of the ideal has provided my friend with mirth, I have got the credit for trying my best to live up to the ideals I may profess. If I am to make an ever-increasing approach to my ideal, I must let the world see my weaknesses and failures so that I may be saved from hypocrisy and so that even for very shame I would try my utmost to realise the ideal. The contradiction pointed out by the friend also shows that between the ideal and practice there always must be an unbridgeable gulf. The ideal will cease to be one if it becomes possible to realise it. The pleasure lies in making the effort, not in its fulfilment. For, in our progress towards the goal we ever see more and more enchanting scenery.

Coming, however, to the friend's gibe let me tell him and the reader that I could pen those lines because it is never a pleasure to me to travel by motor or rail or even a cart. It is always a pleasure to walk. Nor should I mind in the least if every rail was removed and men, except the sick and the maimed, had to walk to their businesses. I can not only imagine but am working for a civilization in which possession of a

car will be considered no merit and railways will find no place. It would not be for me an unhappy event if the world became once more as large as it used to be at one time. *Hind Swaraj* was written in 1908. Since then it has undergone many editions and has been translated in many languages of the world. I was asked last year by Shrimati Sophia Wadia to write a foreword for the edition that she was bringing out. I had the pleasure, therefore, of having to reread it carefully. The reader may know that I could not revise a single idea. I had no desire to revise the language. It is a fair translation of the original in Gujarati. The key to understand that incredibly simple (so simple as to be regarded foolish) booklet is to realise that it is not an attempt to go back to the so-called ignorant, dark ages. But it is an attempt to see beauty in voluntary simplicity, poverty and slowness. I have pictured that as my ideal. I shall never reach it myself and hence cannot expect the nation to do so. But the modern rage for variety, for flying through the air, for multiplicity of wants, etc., have no fascination for me. They deaden the inner being in us. The giddy heights which man's ingenuity is attempting, take us away from our Maker who is nearer to us than the nails are to the flesh which they cover.

Therefore even whilst I am travelling at the rate of 40 miles per hour, I am conscious that it is a necessary evil, and that my best work is to be done in little Segaoon, containing 700 souls, and in the neighbouring villages to which I can walk. But being a highly practical man I do not avoid railway travelling or motoring for the mere sake of looking foolishly consistent. Let the reader know that during the hurricane *Harijan* tour that Thakkar Bapa had arranged for me I had gently suggested to him that I would like to do the whole of the year's tour on foot. He would not listen. And we had violent demonstrations during the tour. Twice or oftener we escaped serious injury and it might have been even death. When we reached Puri, there was fear of bloodshed. So I put my foot down and insisted on performing the remaining pilgrimage on foot. Thakkar Bapa readily consented. Well the demonstrators who were prepared only for demonstrations by rail and motor could not overtake the pilgrims who covered only 8 to 10 miles per day in two stages. This was the most effective part of our tour. The awakening was solid. Our experiences were rich. And the demonstrators had no excitement left for them. They had no desire to kill me in cold blood. They were out for sensations. Sensations are not to be had with non-violent men and women walking to their mission without any fear of man and in the certain knowledge of having God as their infallible Guide and Protector,

Segaoon, 10-10-39

Hind Swaraj

By Gandhiji. Price 4 As. Postage 2 As. Extra.
Available at *Harijan* Office — Poona 4.

H A R I J A N

Oct. 14

1939

ON TRIAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the course of the conversation with the members of the Working Committee, I discovered that their non-violence had never gone beyond fighting the British Government with that weapon. I had hugged the belief that Congressmen had appreciated the logical result of the practice of non-violence for the past twenty years in fighting the biggest imperialist power in the world. But in great experiments like that of non-violence, hypothetical questions have hardly any play. I myself used to say in answer to questions that when we had actually acquired Independence we would know whether we could defend ourselves non-violently or not. But today the question is no longer hypothetical. Whether there is on the part of the British Government a favourable declaration or not, the Congress has to decide upon the course it would adopt in the event of an invasion of India. For though there may be no settlement with the Government, the Congress has to declare its policy and say whether it would fight the invading host violently or non-violently.

So far as I can read the Working Committee's mind after a fairly full discussion, the members think that Congressmen are unprepared for non-violent defence against armed invasion.

This is tragic. Surely the means adopted for driving an enemy from one's house must, more or less, coincide with those to be adopted for keeping him out of the house. If anything, the latter process must be easier. The fact, however, is that our fight has not been one of non-violent resistance of the strong. It has been one of passive resistance of the weak. Therefore there is no spontaneous response in our hearts, at this supreme moment, to an undying faith in the efficacy of non-violence. The Working Committee, therefore, wisely said that they were not ready for the logical step. The tragedy of the situation is that, if the Congress is to throw in its lot with those who believe in the necessity of armed defence of India, the past twenty years will have been years of gross neglect of the primary duty of Congressmen to learn the science of armed warfare. And I fear that history will hold me, as the general of the fight, responsible for the tragedy. The future historian will say that I should have perceived that the nation was learning not non-violence of the strong but merely passivity of the weak and I should have, therefore, provided for Congressmen's military training.

Being obsessed with the idea that somehow or other India will learn true non-violence, it would not occur to me to invite my co-workers

to train themselves for armed defence. On the contrary, I used to discountenance all sword-play and the display of stout lathis. Nor am I even now repentant for the past. I have the unquenchable faith that, of all the countries in the world, India is the one country which can learn the art of non-violence, that if the test were applied even now, there would be found, perhaps, thousands of men and women who would be willing to die without harbouring malice against their persecutors. I have harangued crowds and told them repeatedly that they might have to suffer much including death by shooting. Did not thousands of men and women brave hardships during the salt campaign equal to any that soldiers are called upon to bear? No different capacity is required from what has been already evinced, if India has to contend against an invader. Only it will have to be on a vaster scale.

One thing ought not to be forgotten. India unarmed would not require to be destroyed through poison gas or bombardment. It is the Maginot line that has made the Siegfried line necessary, and *vice versa*. Defence of India by the present methods has been necessary because she is an appendage of Britain. Free India can have no enemy. And if her people have learnt the art of saying resolutely 'no' and acting up to it, I dare say, no one would want to invade her. Our economy would be so modelled as to prove no temptation for the exploiter.

But some Congressmen will say: "Apart from the British, India has so many martial races within her border that they will want to put up a fight for the country which is as much theirs as ours." This is perfectly true. I am therefore talking, for the moment, only of Congressmen. How would they act in the event of an invasion? We shall never convert the whole of India to our creed unless we are prepared to die for it.

The opposite course appals me. Already, the bulk of the army is manned by the Mussalmans of the North, Sikhs and Gurkhas. If the masses of the South and the Centre wish to become militarized, the Congress, which is supposed to represent them, will have to enter into competition with them. The Congress will then have to be party to an enormous military budget. There may be all these things without the Congress consent. It will make all the difference in the world whether the Congress is party to them or not. The world is looking for something new and unique from India. The Congress will be lost in the crowd if it wears the same old outworn armour that the world is wearing today. The Congress has a name because it represents non-violence as a political weapon *par excellence*. If the Congress helps the Allies as a representative of non-violence, it will give to the Allied cause a prestige and a power which will be invaluable in deciding the ultimate fate of the war. But the members of the Working Committee have honestly and bravely not made the profession of such non-violence.

My position is, therefore, confined to myself alone. I have to find out whether I have any fellow-traveller along the lonely path. If I am in the minority of one, I must try to make converts. Whether one or many, I must declare my faith that it is better for India to discard violence altogether even for defending her borders. For India to enter into the race for armaments is to court suicide. With the loss of India to non-violence the last hope of the world will be gone. I must live up to the creed I have professed for the last half a century and hope to the last breath that India will make non-violence her creed, preserve man's dignity, and prevent him from reverting to the type from which he is supposed to have raised himself.

Segaon, 10-10-39

TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE (By M. K. Gandhi)

In dealing with the situation in Travancore last week I omitted to refer to the controversy between the Dewan and the State Congress as to the source of the information on the basis of which I had wired to the Dewan hoping that his notice did not ban the conference that was to be held in Travancore by the State Congress. Shri Thanu Pillai had said that neither he nor any other member of the State Congress was responsible for suggesting that there was any ban. He could not, therefore, say that my telegram to the Dewan was based on such information. In saying this he was quite correct. As a matter of fact, however, my wire was certainly based upon the information contained in Shri Verghese's wire. But there was no suppression of fact by Shri Verghese. Shri Thanu Pillai made his position clear in his letter to the Dewan dated the 23rd ultimo thus :

"In the letter under reference Government seem to disbelieve my statement that no one from the State Congress informed Gandhiji that there was a ban on the conference. Your contention is at best an inference from a telegram from Gandhiji while my assertion is confined to facts within my knowledge. The following is the substance of the Government communique as communicated by wire to Gandhiji by the Chairman of the Reception Committee: 'Government sprung surprise in issuing press note this noon in view outbreak war state of emergency arisen necessitating measures safeguarding public peace and avoiding incidents likely creating public excitement or large concourses. Regarding conference preparations being made for processions and demonstrations and as large crowd may gather at conference Government in public interest call upon conference organizers and all political or other organizations in the State to postpone or stop assemblages at present juncture and until further notice.' Gandhiji might have taken the Government communique calling upon the organizers of the conference and all political or other organizations to postpone or stop such assemblages at the present juncture and until further notice as virtually amounting to prohibiting all meetings and

processions. If Government still persists in their contention that the State Congress misled Gandhiji, they should in fairness substantiate it."

The language according to the Travancore legal form may not mean a ban. I could give it no other meaning. Whether it was technically a ban or not, its effect was that the Congress authorities felt obliged to cancel processions and the other demonstrative part of their programme. If, therefore, there is any difference between the language used by the Dewan in the Government communique and a ban, it is the same that exists between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. It is also suggested that the communique had to be issued because of objections taken to the holding of the conference. Why should a big organization be prevented from functioning properly merely because somebody objects to its so doing? I can only appeal to the Dewan not to harrass the leaders of the State Congress beyond the point of endurance. They should not be made useless even for constructive constitutional activities. This is their humble programme :

"This conference resolves that the immediate programme of the State Congress will be :

1. Intense, systematic and countrywide propaganda for educating the people on the issue of responsible government.
2. The strengthening of the State Congress organization throughout the State and putting the same on self-reliant and permanent foundations.
3. Real and effective mass contact through a carefully planned programme, emphasizing a mass literacy campaign, khadi and swadeshi and prohibition.
4. Establishment of a permanent volunteer and Desh Sevika service.
5. Opening of centres or camps for a minimum period of training for workers in the various programmes outlined above.

In order to leave no room for doubt this conference has to point out that the above programme will be wholly constitutional, and that the State Congress has no intention of creating a conflict with Government in the prosecuting of the above programme. The object of the above programme is to make the constitutional demand of the people irresistible."

They do not ask for immediate responsible government. Surely, they have every right to educate the people along the lines of responsible government. It should be a proud day for the Travancore Maharaja and for his people when it can be said of the latter that by patient and quiet training they made themselves fit to shoulder the responsibility of managing the affairs of their State.

Segaon, 9-10-39

We regret to announce that our stock of copies of the book 'Mahatma Gandhi' has been exhausted. Nor is the Bombay agent of the English publisher able to supply copies for the time being. We therefore request such of the readers as want copies to register their orders with us (without sending money), so that we can send them copies by V. P. F. when a fresh stock arrives. **MANAGER**

FALLACY ABOUT SUGAR

[The following article by Shri Gajanan Naik on the superiority of palms over cane and beet root for the purpose of yielding sugar is presented for the criticism of sugar experts. M. K. G.]

Sugar in its pure form is composed of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen ($C_{12} H_{22} O_{11}$). As such it does not take anything from the soil, but the crops now mainly cultivated for extracting sugar, viz. the beet and the cane, require for their development a number of substances from the soil in which they grow. Therefore their culture exhausts the soil. What is worse still is that the space now occupied by the beet in Europe and the cane in the Tropics, might and ought to serve for the culture of food and fodder crops. Considering the increase of population, the time is not far distant when it will be absolutely necessary to devote to the culture of wheat and rice the lands now growing sugar crops.

But people must have sugar. Is there a way of getting it without encroaching on the soil fit for superior crops? Yes — according to the opinion expressed by Mr. Devry at the Congress of Giessen. (*Watt's Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* V (1) p. 301-304) He says that palms can supply the required sugar for they can be grown on inferior soil where even to try to grow cereals would be a vain endeavour.

The statement throws much light on the place of the palm for the gud industry. It would be wrong to take it only as a philanthropic proposition for exploring avenues of employment for the toddy-tappers who will be rendered idle through prohibition. Neither should it be regarded as a mere attempt for converting waste into wealth. It has immense potentialities in the economics of national agriculture. Every-day experience bears testimony to Mr. Devry's statement.

Sugarcane cannot be grown with profit in the same field year after year. It has to be rotated with some cereal.

"By hard work, costly apparatus, and very expensive economic operations the cane sugar planter can, in favourable seasons, obtain 5 or 10 tons of sugar per hectare. The Filipino Koang (palm) tapper, according to estimates based on records, can, it appears, obtain no less than 20 tons of sugar per hectare." (*Philippine Agricultural Review* May 1914) A hectare equals about 2½ acres.

This is equally applicable to the conditions in our country. The cultivation of cane involves much initial cost which is beyond the resources of the ordinary cultivator. Though cane is considered to be an important money crop, it generally sends the cane grower into the clutches of the moneylender.

Cane has to be cultivated year after year while palms once planted yield sugar for 20 to 50 years. Heavy manuring and regular watering are required for cane while palms require neither. Again cane cultivation is liable to des-

truction by attacks of wild beasts or pests. The cultivators have to keep watch at night for the protection of the cane crop. Palm plantations are not affected by wind, flood or shortage of rain. Moreover, and this is very important, factory-made apparatus, such as crushers, are indispensable in cane gud-making while the accessories necessary for palm gud manufacture are procurable locally in villages, and their cost is negligible as compared with those used for cane gud.

EVEN HITLER MAY TEACH

I

The political house that Herr Hitler is building may disgust us and fill us with loathing of his methods. But the economic house that that old bricklayer has built is a marvel of planning, and if you make allowances for the institutional background on which his results have been achieved, there is much that we may learn from and even imitate with advantage certain striking features of the German National Socialist economy. Indeed there is much that is common between the Soviet and the Nazi planning — though we are told that Germans used to resent the comparison — but there is nothing to prevent us from achieving the same results in a non-violent fashion. If we can solve the problem of rural debt — as we are trying to in Congress-governed provinces — and the more difficult problem of prohibition, there is no reason why we should not also solve our economic problems.

With this preface it may be useful to summarise some of the commendable features of German economic planning during the past five years. Quite a valuable book from this point of view is *The Economic Recovery of Germany* (from 1933 to March 1938) by Prof. Guillebaud, Lecturer in Economics in the Cambridge University. We shall not refer to the creation of "work of no value, merely manufactured in order to give employment", based on the desire of Government to reduce "statistical" unemployment as quickly as possible. But the general plan of industrial reorganisation may be noted. "The essence of the measures was to extend and develop the system of responsible economic self-government, subject to the general directions of the State, while leaving management and risks of business in the hands of private enterprise.....A number of cartels were dissolved or their price agreements declared invalid, but in many industries firms were forced to cease competing with one another and to form cartels, and this compulsory cartelisation was combined with prohibitions against new capital investments. In 1933 and 1934 compulsory cartels were formed in 26 important industries, and in each case it was forbidden to set up new undertakings, or to recondition plants which were not in operation. The State went further. Even labour-saving devices were tabooed. "In some cases," says the author, special measures were

taken either to protect existing interests or to prevent technical exchanges from producing unemployment, or to defend small producers. Thus from 1933 to 1935 no new retail shops were allowed to be established except under licence. In August 1933 limitations were imposed on the introduction of labour-saving machines in cigar-making, and in June 1934 an embargo was placed on the extension of large scale plants producing smoking tobacco. Again in 1933 and 1934 the introduction of automatic machinery was prohibited for chemical and hollow glass-ware. The influence of technical improvements upon employment was widely debated at this time and the action of the Government was not universally approved, but the practical consideration of the difficulties in the way of the speedy re-absorption of displaced labour when there was wide-spread unemployment proved decisive."

In agriculture all previous organisations were dissolved and all landowners, tenants, cultivators and agricultural workers, as also all wholesale and retail dealers in agricultural products and foodstuffs, all manufacturers, such as millers, brewers, sugar makers, were brought under the operation of the Food Estate Law. The marketing associations were entrusted with the task of regulating the distribution, prices, profit margins and production of agricultural produce. The most notable innovation was the Hereditary Farms Law of 1933. "Subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions, peasants owning farms up to a maximum size of 309 acres were deemed to come within the scope of the law. Their farms were entailed and they were deprived of the power of either alienating or mortgaging their land in future, though they might still raise credit on their personal security. Steps were also taken in many parts of the country to consolidate peasant holdings and to increase their size till they were sufficiently large to support a family."

There was a great insistence on a good standard of farming, and not a few of the farmers have in fact been dispossessed of their holdings in favour of the next heir, if owing to incompetence, laziness or drunkenness they have been adjudged unworthy of their privileged status in the Reich. In 1933 there were 5,100,000 persons (including 4,100,000 owners and members of their families) living on some 640,000 hereditary farms, comprising about 40 per cent of the cultivated land in Germany." There was a thorough and wide-spread campaign started for this purpose, and "special attention was further devoted to the avoidance of waste through the rotting of foodstuffs, and by expert advice and with the aid of subsidies the construction of silos was greatly extended."

Under the second Four Year Plan the 'new battle of production' was conducted, under which one milliard marks were set apart for land improvements, e. g. the draining and reclamation of

waste lands, cheapening of artificial manures in order to promote more intensive cultivation of the soil, encouraging the cultivation of more certain and useful crops like potato and sugar beet. Attention was concentrated on making the country self-sufficient in foodstuffs. In 1935 taking all foodstuffs together Germany could produce 80 per cent of her needs under normal harvest conditions, the highest production (from 98 to 100 per cent of consumption) being in wheat, barley, potato, sugar, meat, milk, hops, and the lowest production (from 1 to 4 per cent) being in oil-seeds, oil-cake and vegetable oils.

This was both on political and military grounds, and care was also taken to "insulate German economy in a larger measure from the disturbing effects of external fluctuations." With this end in view, great stress is laid on "greater utilisation of waste wood and German timber in general for making paper, cellulose, etc.", "new raw materials such as staple fibre, magnesium and aluminium alloys, plastic materials (bakelite), artificial rubber, etc. are being invented and improved;" in building and road-making, materials whose supply is short (e. g. iron and steel) replaced by cement or other materials which are relatively plentiful. A second aim is to increase the supply of consumption goods by widening and extending the raw materials which could be obtained within the territories of the Reich.

The second Four Year Plan may be summed up as "the mobilization of all the resources of modern applied science and technique in the service of economic progress." The emphasis on prevention of wastage may be illustrated by house-to-house collection of such objects as empty tins, used tooth paste tubes, etc., regeneration of old rubber, purification of used oil (rancid oil?), new uses found for straw and other waste material.

Before I conclude this section let me mention the high status that the peasant occupies in the State. "The peasant is regarded as being in a very special degree entitled to the protection of the State. Agriculture is thought of as a way of life rather than only one of many ways of earning a living and the peasant is taught to regard himself as the backbone and aristocracy of the nation, the custodian of the purity and vigour of the German race."

(To be continued)

On the train to Simla, 25-9-39

M. D.

Some Books by Gandhiji

	Price	Postage
Satyagraha in South Africa	4 8	0 8
My Early Life	1 0	0 2
Speeches and Writings	4 0	0 9
Cent Per Cent Swadeshi	1 8	0 5
Hind Swaraj	0 4	0 2
From Yeravda Mandir	0 2	0 1
Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence		
Parts I & II (each)	1 0	0 3
Available at <i>Harijan</i> office-Poona 4		

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTION

The following resolution was passed by the A. I. C. C. at its meeting held this week at Wardha:

"The declaration of war in Europe has created an international situation of the gravest import to the world and to India, and the A. I. C. C., charged with the heavy responsibility of guiding the people of India in this moment of world crisis, has sought guidance from the principles and declarations of the Congress in considering this grave situation. The Congress has been guided throughout by its objective of achieving the independence of the Indian people and the establishment of a free democratic State in India wherein the rights and interests of all minorities are preserved and safeguarded. The means it has adopted in its struggles and activities have been peaceful and legitimate, and it has looked upon war and violence with horror and as opposed to progress and civilisation. In particular, the Congress has declared itself opposed to all imperialist wars and to the domination of one country over another.

In spite of the repeated declarations of the Congress in regard to war, the British Government have declared India a belligerent country without the consent of the Indian people, and various far-reaching measures have been hurried through the legislatures and promulgated in the form of ordinances, vitally affecting them and circumscribing and limiting the powers of the Provincial Governments.

The A. I. C. C., however, does not wish to take any final decision precipitately and without giving every opportunity for the war and peace aims of the British Government to be clarified, with particular reference to India. The Committee approves of and endorses the statement issued by the Working Committee on September 14, 1939, on the war crisis, and repeats the invitation contained therein to the British Government to state their war aims and peace aims.

While the Committee condemns Fascism and Nazi aggression, it is convinced that peace and freedom can only be established and preserved by an extension of democracy to all colonial countries and by the application of the principle of self-determination to them so as to eliminate imperialist control. In particular, India must be declared an independent nation, and at present application must be given to this status to the largest possible extent. The A. I. C. C. earnestly trusts that this declaration will be made by the British Government in any statement that it may make in regard to its war and peace aims.

The Committee desires to declare afresh that Indian freedom must be based on democracy and unity and the full recognition and protection of the rights of all minorities, to which the Congress has always pledged itself.

The Committee approves of the formation by the Working Committee of the War Emergency Sub-Committee, and authorises the Working Committee to take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to this resolution and to their statement on the war crisis."

A Minister's Dream

"If you can give a message or direction to the Provincial Governments and the people to see that spinning and weaving are made compulsory for boys and girls in all the schools, I have no doubt that within a short time the children of schools will be wearing cloth made by themselves. This will be the first step. I have not lost faith in your ideals and I am hoping to see that each home will make its own cloth and each village will become self-sufficient not only with regard to cloth but also every other article of necessity under your village industries scheme and education scheme. I believe with you that real swaraj in this land can be established only when the budget of the villager is balanced alongside of the budget of the Provincial Government or that of the Government of India which is brought about by artificial adjustments and manipulations generally."

Thus writes a Congress minister. If I had the powers of an autocrat, I would certainly make handspinning compulsory in at least the primary schools. A minister who has the faith should do so. There are several useless things made compulsory in our schools. Why should not this most useful art be made compulsory? But nothing can be made compulsory in a democratic system, if it is not widely popular. Thus compulsion in democracy is only so called. It removes laziness, it does not force the will. Such compulsion is an educative process. I suggest a milder preliminary course. Let there be prizes given to the best spinner. This competition will induce many if not all to take part in it. No plan will succeed if the schoolmasters themselves have no faith in it. If basic education is accepted by the Provincial Governments, handspinning and the like is not merely part of the curriculum, it is the vehicle of education. If basic education takes root, khadi surely becomes universal and comparatively cheap in this afflicted land of ours.

Segaon, 9-10-39

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

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[ONE ANNA

Notes

Disappointing

The Viceregal declaration is profoundly disappointing. It would have been better if the British Government had declined to make any declaration whatsoever. The long statement made by the Viceroy simply shows that the old policy of divide and rule is to continue. So far as I can see the Congress will be no party to it, nor can the India of Congress conception be a partner with Britain in her war with Herr Hitler. The Indian declaration shows clearly that there is to be no democracy for India if Britain can prevent it. Another Round Table Conference is promised at the end of the war. Like its predecessor it is bound to fail. The Congress asked for bread and it has got a stone. What the future has in store for India I dare not foretell. I do not blame the Viceroy or the leaders of Britain for the unfortunate result. The Congress will have to go into the wilderness again before it becomes strong and pure enough to reach its objective. I have no doubt that Congressmen will await the Working Committee's decision

Segaon, 18-10-39

A Poser

A Britisher has written to Deenbandhu Andrews a letter on the war expounding his own views. He is an ardent pacifist. Deenbandhu has shared the letter with me. In it occur the following paragraphs:

"For India too I think that this is a very critical time. The danger I see is that Britain may promise full Dominion Status or something of the kind, and as a result India will raise an army and become one more military-minded nation. Her witness for the way of non-violence and soul force would then be largely discounted.

How can Gandhiji as a believer in non-violence ask for clarification of war aims with a view to getting India's support for Britain in this way of war? The only thing that he can do and that we should all be doing is to build up an army of men and women who are committed to the way of love and forgiveness and to receive but never to return violence. We have to work this out to see how it will alter our daily life as well as all our thinking and acting towards other communities and nations. We have to be disciplined in this and also to learn to act together as one man. Along this line I see tremendous possibilities.

Of course we should also use all the influence we can to urge Britain to acknowledge and put into practice full democracy in India as it is a high principle quite apart from whether India helps Britain in the war or not."

The danger that the writer senses is real. I dealt with it last week. The writer cavils at my sympathy with the Allies. I have shown it as an out and out believer in non-violence, even because of my belief. Whilst all violence is bad and must be condemned in the abstract, it is permissible for, it is even the duty of, a believer in ahimsa to distinguish between the aggressor and the defender. Having done so, he will side with the defender in a non-violent manner, i. e. give his life in saving him. His intervention is likely to bring a speedier end to the duel and may even result in bringing about peace between the combatants. Applying the argument to the present war, if the Congress actively sides with the Allies in a non-violent way, the Congress assistance will lift the Allied cause to a high moral plane and the Congress influence will be effectively used in the cause of peace. What is more it will be the special business of the Congress to see that, if the war is fought to a finish, no humiliation is heaped upon the vanquished. That is the role I have conceived for the Congress. The declaration of independence has become a necessity. The question having been raised, the Congress cannot help Britain if Britain is secretly fighting for imperialism while it declares to the world that the fight is for saving democracies. For Britain to be in the right a clear declaration of her war aim is a necessity, irrespective of the Congress policy.

Segaon, 16-10-39

Hindu-Muslim Clashes

If proof were wanted to show that the non-violence of the Congress was in effect violence in suspension or inactive violence, it is furnished by the effective though quite indisciplined violence exhibited in Hindu-Muslim clashes. Had the thousands of Hindus and Muslims who took part in the Khilafat agitation been non-violent at heart, they could never have been violent towards one another as they are continually found to be. Nor can it be said that those who take part in the clashes are not Congressmen. If we rule out all those who resort to violence as non-Congressmen, the Congress will cease to be a mass organization. For the combatants in these

clashes are derived from the masses. Moreover one finds today violence resorted to by rival Congressmen at Congress meetings. The gross indiscipline and fraud practised at Congress elections are all illustrations of Congress violence. It is difficult to say, therefore, who, if any, are non-violent Congressmen. If they were in a majority in the Congress and if they played an effective part in Hindu-Muslim clashes, they could stop them or at least give their lives in stopping them. If the bulk of Congressmen were truly non-violent, Muslims would be obliged to confess that Congressmen could not be accused of anti-Muslim bias. It is not enough for Congressmen to say that they have not been found guilty of incorrect attitude. I may be proved to be legally correct but may fail miserably if my action was examined in non-violence scales. But this non-violence has to be non-violence of the brave and the strong. It must come from inward conviction. I have, therefore, not hesitated to say that it is better to be violent if there is violence in our breasts than to put on the cloak of non-violence to cover impotence. Violence is any day preferable to impotence. There is hope for a violent man to become non-violent. There is no such hope for the impotent.

Not Too Late

Rashtrapati Rajenbabu, Acharya Kripalani, Shri Shankarrao Dev, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh and Shri Jairamdas had remained behind for two or three days after the meeting of the A. I. C. C. All of these except Rajenbabu gently complained that I had wronged them by saying that the whole of the Working Committee was against me in the interpretation I had put upon their action in terms of non-violence. They said that they had hitherto given team work. They had always followed Rajenbabu and the Sardar at the meetings of the Working Committee. It must be said for them that they had whispered in my ears that they were with me in the interpretation I had put on non-violence. I had remonstrated that that was not enough. They had boldly to assert themselves at this critical juncture. But their humility would not allow them to do so.

But even their vote, if they had cast it in favour of my interpretation, would have been in their individual and not representative capacity. As I have made clear in my note on Hindu-Muslim clashes, it is not possible to claim non-violence for the Congress masses. Those Congressmen who believe in non-violence as a creed, to be enforced as much in Hindu-Muslim quarrels as in defending India, have to begin with the alphabet of non-violence and find out how many Congressmen are with them. It is highly probable that they will have to retire from the Congress and, like me, serve and convert the Congress from without. The new road is straight enough but difficult to negotiate. It is overlaid with the bones of lonely seekers. They died without finding the

way, but they had the inward satisfaction of having lived and died for their faith. When I wrote on the formation of peace brigades I had adumbrated a programme for them. The brigades died as soon as they were born, but the programme abides. It is a programme of courting death in preventing Hindu-Muslim clashes and the like. It is a programme of dying to prevent violence. Such death, however, will count as criminal suicide if the suicide has not a heart free from impurity and malice.

Segaon, 17-10-39

The A. I. C. C. Resolution

I regard the recent resolution of the A. I. C. C. on the situation as moderate and wise. It was bound to reiterate the Congress demand for an unequivocal declaration. Its merit lies in not fixing any time limit for the declaration. It is noteworthy that the resolution was carried by a majority of three to one. It is to be hoped that the British Government will appreciate the friendly spirit in which the Congress is approaching the situation. It is to be hoped also that the Europeans of India will range themselves alongside of the Congress. But the greatest help can only come from Congressmen themselves. If they do not act on the square, no external sympathy and even help will be of any avail. I see that impatience has seized some Congressmen who want to be doing something to signify their opposition to a war which they believe to be for defending Imperialism. I suggest to them that they will be defeating the common purpose by acting in opposition to the Congress decision expressed in the only way open to a democratic organization. They had their say at the A. I. C. C. meeting. They are in honour bound to defer direct action till the Working Committee or the A. I. C. C. decides otherwise. No reliance can be placed upon an organization which is not able to exercise effective control over its members. Imagine an army whose soldiers, under the false belief that they are advancing the common cause, adopt measures in defiance of those taken by the headquarters. Such action may well spell defeat. Therefore I beseech Congressmen at this critical juncture to desist from any action that would savour of indiscipline or defiance. They should surely see that by such action they undermine Congress prestige and weaken its influence.

Segaon, 13-10-39

M. K. G.

Some Books by Gandhiji

	Price	Postage
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DECLARE YOUR AIMS

The A. I. C. C. resolution on the war crisis represents the nation's invitation to Government to declare their war aims in an unequivocal manner. It is not coupled with any threats, it is pruned of all epithets, and has the dignity of a document passed by the representatives of a nation which has, in eight of its eleven provinces, ministries which have received the unstinted approbation of the representatives of the British Government. Has not such a nation a natural right to ask for a declaration of war aims before it appeals to its people to give what share they can in the life and death struggle? To make such a declaration is in no way an unusual procedure. Many declarations have been made during the past. More than one declaration was deemed to be necessary before the Congress could be persuaded to accept offices under the new regime in 1937. If the Government were then so anxious as to make more than one declaration and even supplementary declarations to make the meaning of previous declarations clear, they should be even more anxious to make a declaration at this juncture, as co-operation in the present crisis by the self-governing provinces is of greater pith and moment than ever before.

Some of the past declarations on constitutional reforms are worth studying in this connection:

1. August 1917: During the World War His Majesty's Government made the now famous declaration regarding "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India."

2. 1919: The above declaration was embodied in the preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919. The preamble is still in force.

3. December 1919: His Majesty spoke of the Act of 1919 in the Royal Proclamation as pointing the way to "full responsible government hereafter" and "the right of her (India's) people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests".

4. March 1921: Para IX of His Majesty's Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General enjoined:

"For above all things it is Our will and pleasure that the plans laid by Our Parliament for the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of Our Empire may come to fruition, to the end that British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions."

5. October 1929: Lord Irwin, then Viceroy, made a declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government "that, in the judgment of that Government, it was implicit in the declaration of August 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated was the attainment of Dominion Status."

6. December 1929: Mr. Wedgwood Benn, then Secretary of State for India, observed in the House of Commons that India was already in the enjoyment of "Dominion Status in action", because (a)

India had the same right to fiscal autonomy and to consider the question of tariffs from her own standpoint as Australia, New Zealand or South Africa, (b) she was an independent member of the League of Nations and her representatives had signed, on her behalf, the Peace Treaty, and (c) she was represented on the Dominion Legislation Committee, the Five Powers' Naval Conference, the Imperial Conference, and all other Conferences at which questions relating to the Commonwealth were discussed.

7. 19th January, 1931: The Prime Minister, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, said:

"The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee during a period of transition the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

"In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own government.

"His Majesty's Government, whilst making this declaration, is aware that some of the conditions which are essential to the working of such a constitution as is contemplated, have not been finally settled, but it believes that as the result of the work done here, they have been brought to a point which encourages the hope that further negotiations, after this declaration, will be successful."

8. March 1937: Para XVI His Majesty's Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General (which is the Instrument now in force) enjoins: "And finally it is Our will and pleasure that Our Governor-General should so exercise the trust reposed in him that *the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within Our Empire may be furthered, to the end that India may attain its due place among Our Dominions.*" (Italics mine)

It will be seen that twentytwo years have elapsed since the goal of responsible government was declared, but we are nowhere near its realization at the centre. If according to Mr. Wedgwood Benn we were already "in the enjoyment of Dominion Status in action" in 1929, would the A. I. C. C. resolution have been necessary? We should then, like the Union of South Africa, have been taking the vote of the nation whether it should participate in the war or not. But the fact of the matter is that the interpretation and implementing of these declarations has depended on those who have to part with power.

The time is gone when the status of Dominion Status in action or of an equal partner in the Empire may have been welcomed. When the very system of which the Empire is a synonym is wholly repudiated by the Congress, no decla-

ration on the lines of those hitherto made would be of any avail. A declaration that India will be free to decide and guide her own destinies, is what the A. I. C. C. resolution asks for. And if Lord Halifax rejects the German proposals of peace—and rightly—having considered the conditions under which they are offered, the Government through which they are offered, and “to the security that might be held to attach to any agreement which might be conceivably reached”, the British Government may be expected to understand India’s anxiety to ask for a clear and unequivocal declaration, accompanied by corresponding action which will leave no doubt that it will be fulfilled in letter and in spirit.

Seгаon, 16-10-39

M. D.

[As the date under the article indicates it was written before the Viceroy’s declaration. Asst. Editor]

H A R I J A N

Oct. 21

1939

THE FICTION OF MAJORITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is painful to find the British Press and Britishers advancing the minority claim to prevent the declaration suggested by the Congress, if I may say so, in the common interest. If the force of the Congress suggestion has not been overwhelmingly felt, the declaration will not come. There need be no dejection among Congressmen if it does not. We shall get our independence when it is deserved. But it would be well for the British Government and the Allied cause, if the minority argument were not flung in the face of a credulous world. It would be honest to say that the British desire to hold India yet awhile. There will be nothing wrong in such a desire. India is a conquest. Conquests are not surrendered except when the conquered successfully rebel, or under an awakened conscience the conqueror repents of the conquest, or when the conquered territory ceases to be a profitable concern. I had hoped and still hope that the British, having become war-weary and sickened over the mad slaughter involved in the present war, would want to close it at the earliest possible moment by being above board in every respect and therefore in respect of India. This they can never be, so long as they hold India in bondage.

I know that many have been angry with me for claiming an exclusive right for the Congress to speak for the people of India as a whole. It is not an arrogant pretension. It is explicit in the first article of the Congress. It wants and works for independence for the whole of India. It speaks neither for majority nor minority. It seeks to represent all Indians without any dis-

tinction. Therefore those who oppose it should not count, if the claim for independence is admitted. Those who support the claim simply give added strength to the Congress claim.

Britain has hitherto held India by producing before the world Indians who want Britain to remain in India as ruler and arbiter between rival claimants. These will always exist. The question is whether it is right for Britain to plead these rivalries in defence of holding India under subjection, or whether she should now recognize the mistake and leave India to decide upon the method of her own government.

And who are the minorities? They are religious, political and social: thus Mussalmans (religious); Depressed Classes (social); Liberals (political); Princes (social); Brahmins (social); Non-Brahmins (social); Lingayats (social); Sikhs (social?); Christians—Protestants and Catholics (religious); Jains (social?); Zamindars (political?). I have a letter from the Secretary of the All India Shiah Conference registering their claim for separate existence. Who are the majority in this medley? Unfortunately for unhappy India even Muslims are somewhat divided and so are the Christians. It is the policy of the British Government to recognize every group that becomes sufficiently vocal and troublesome. I have drawn no fanciful picture of the minorities. It is true to life. The Congress itself has been obliged to deal with every one of the groups I have mentioned. My list is not exhaustive. It is illustrative. It can be increased *ad libitum*.

I know that the fashion is to talk of the Hindus forming the majority community. But Hinduism is an elastic indefinable term, and Hindus are not a homogeneous whole like Muslims and Christians. And when one analyses the majority in any provincial legislature it will be found to consist of a combination of the so-called minorities. In other words and in reality so far as India is concerned, there can only be political parties and no majority or minority communities. The cry of the tyranny of the majority is a fictitious cry.

I observe that Janab Jinnah Saheb has said, in reply to Rajenbabu’s letter offering to refer the League’s grievances against the Congress Governments to an arbitration tribunal, that he has “already placed the whole case before the Viceroy and the Governor-General and requested him to take up the matter without delay as he and the Governors of the Provinces have been expressly authorized under the Constitution and are entrusted with the responsibility to protect the rights and the interests of the minorities.

“The matter is now under His Excellency’s consideration, and he is the proper authority to take such action and adopt such measures as would meet our requirements and would restore complete sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Mussalmans in those Provinces where the Congress Ministries are in charge of the administration.”

It is unfortunate that he has rejected Rajenbabu's reasonable proposal. Is it rejection of the proffered hand of friendship? Be that as it may, nobody can have anything to say against the Viceroy investigating and adjudicating upon the charges brought against Congress ministries. Let us hope he will soon conduct the investigation. Whether the Muslims are regarded as minorities or otherwise, their as well as any other community's rights and privileges, religious, social, cultural and political, must be regarded as a sacred trust to be jealously guarded. And the independence of India will make no difference to the protection of those rights. In fact they will be better protected in every way, if only because in the framing of the Charter of Independence by the nation's representatives the Muslims and other minorities, real or so-called, will have an effective voice.

Consider for one moment what can happen if the English were to withdraw all of a sudden and there was no foreign usurper to rule. It may be said that the Punjabis, be they Muslims, Sikhs or others, will overrun India. It is highly likely that the Gurkhas will throw in their lot with the Punjabis. Assume further that non-Punjabi Muslims will make common cause with the Punjabis. Where will the Congressmen composed chiefly of Hindus be? If they are still truly non-violent, they will be left unmolested by the warriors. Congressmen won't want to divide power with the warriors but will refuse to let them exploit their unarmed countrymen. Thus if anybody has cause to keep the British rule for protection from the stronger element, it is the Congressmen and those Hindus and others who are represented by the Congress. The question, therefore, resolves itself into not who is numerically superior but who is stronger. Surely there is only one answer. Those who raise the cry of minority in danger have nothing to fear from the so-called majority which is merely a paper majority and which in any event is ineffective because it is weak in the military sense. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is literally true that the so-called minorities' fear has some bottom only so long as the weak majority has the backing of the British bayonets to enable it to play at democracy. But the British power will, so long as it so chooses, successfully play one against the other calling the parties by whatever names it pleases. And this process need not be dishonest. They may honestly believe that so long as there are rival claims put up, they must remain in India in response to a call from God to hold the balance evenly between them. Only that way lies not Democracy but Fascism, Nazism, Bolshevism and Imperialism, all facets of the doctrine of 'Might is Right'. I would fain hope that this war will change values. It can only do so, if India is recognized as independent and if that India represents unadulterated non-violence on the political field.

Segaon, 16-10-39

A. I. C. C. ARRANGEMENTS

A note on the arrangements made for the members of the A. I. C. C. that met in Wardha recently may be of some use for future meetings. When the idea of having the meeting at Wardha was mooted Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj, Shri Jamnalalji's son, hesitated to take up the responsibility. Shri Jamnalalji was absent in Jaipur, and Shri Kamalnayan feared that he might be unequal to the task. But as it was thought necessary for various reasons that the meeting should be held here, he had a consultation with the local workers and agreed. To make his and the other workers' task easy the wise decision was made to exclude all visitors. Their absence not only made the task of the organizers easy but contributed not a little to the smooth and businesslike conduct of the proceedings of the meeting. The hall of the Navabharat Vidyalaya afforded sufficient accommodation for the meeting and no shamiana was necessary. The buildings of the Navabharat Vidyalaya and Mahila Vidyalaya accommodated the guests and the local institutions—Navabharat Vidyalaya, Mahilashram, Marvadi Hostel, All India Village Industries Association and Nagpur Congress Committee—provided trained volunteers. I am happy to be able to say that their work was greatly appreciated. Some of the members who visited Segaon paid this unsolicited tribute: "We are accustomed to volunteers who stand with their lathis and order about visitors. Here we came across volunteers in the true sense of the term. They have slaved for us, not allowing us to do even the humblest jobs."

The food arrangements were admirable, thanks to the businesslike management of the three men who were in charge—Chiranjilalji, Mogheji and Kashinathji—and Shrimati Lele, Thatte and Madalsabai. The latter looked after the food arrangements themselves, saw that the food-stuffs were clean and of the best quality and were cooked properly, and the girl volunteers served the food with care and courtesy. The organizers have sent me complete details of the expenses, and they are worthy a careful study. Including a thousand volunteers (at the rate of 125 at each meal for four days) 3,500 people in all had their food at the mess. Plain and simple food, prepared to suit all tastes, was provided, and this was at a cost of Rs. 958-1-9. This works out at nearly Re. 0-4-6 per meal. The 3,500 includes not only the volunteers but the girls of the Mahilashram and the labourers too who were fed. Besides these a number of poor people were fed out of the clean food left over at the end of the day. The manager's estimate is that if there are separate mess arrangements for volunteers and if the estimate of the number of diners is correct, each meal should not cost more than Re. 0-3-6. It goes without saying that the cost would be twice as much—and even more—as it does actually amount to elsewhere, if there are no willing

volunteer workers fired with the spirit of loving service.

Segaon, 17-10-39

M. D.

1939 JAYANTI IN RASHTRIYA SHALA, RAJKOT

Gandhiji's birthday celebrations organized by Shri Narandas Gandhi are really khadi celebrations in every sense of the term. I think it may be said of him that he has no love other than khadi, and that if he were to lose everything in this world and retain his wheel and his slivers, he would remain unperturbed. But if the capacity to spin were taken from him I cannot imagine his existing.

This year the yarn produced by the school during the Jayanti programme, i. e. from August 2nd to October 10th, was 4,800,000 yards as compared with 66,000 yards five years ago when the idea of a special programme of spinning during the Jayanti months was first conceived by him and acted upon. This programme has caught on and inspired many other centres to follow suit with the result that in 1939 the total amount of yarn spun during this period is estimated to exceed 4 crore yards.

Dhirajlal and Vithaldas spun two lakhs yards each while Amritlal and Jamnadas Aya gave 1½ and 1 lakh respectively. Narandasbhai himself has contributed 1 lakh and 40 thousand yards, and his son Kanu, in spite of extra heavy work, was able to give his promised 70,000. The sisters in the Rashtriya Shala have not lagged behind the men. Kusumbehn, Manjulabehn, Savitabehn, Vijayabehn have spun 120,000 yards each in addition to their routine work in the school, collecting funds and selling khadi for over a month all over Kathiawad. Several persons have thus spun to the extent of producing 100 to 300 square yards of khadi, which is an enviable performance. Several of the students and workers devoted the holidays to spinning, thereby setting a good example to other boys and girls. They spun 185 hanks of yarn of 25 counts and would have earned 8 as. per day according to the A. I. S. A. rates of wages for spinners.

The exhibition was purely a home one, the yarn and cloth all being home produce. Manjulabehn's effort of spinning enough yarn of 60 counts for 3 saris during the 70 days is an effort worthy of note. The khadi produced this year is of definitely better quality than last year, and in quantity it has increased to Rs. 6,000 worth. There are at present 80 spinners, 10 carders and 8 families of weavers. This figure, as Narandasbhai said, could be multiplied if the public were to understand the inner meaning of khadi and buy up the existing stock. I was told that many of the spinners had also joined in producing extra yarn to the extent of 16 lakhs of yards in addition to the spinning they do for wages. As a reward each sister who had taken part in the yajna was given a sari.

Shri Narandasbhai has been so much encouraged by the response to his scheme for special spinning during the Jayanti days that he has now put forward a new one which has received Gandhiji's approval. Under it every participant is expected from 11th October to spin daily 200 rounds of yarn till the next birthday. A person who spins regularly and whose output of yarn is 200 rounds per day can spin 75,000 yards in the year, which will mean 25 square yards of khadi. It is not an inordinate demand from those who are keen on spinning and love khadi for the sake of the poor. It is to be hoped that many will respond, and that our love of khadi will radiate from us in such a way as to illumine those who are still sceptical about its merits.

An average spinner can turn out 250 yards of yarn of 14 counts in an hour. Thus if 8 persons were to do sacrificial spinning for an hour daily, they would be able to produce roughly, even allowing for 30 days' non-spinning in the year, 200 square yards of khadi in 12 months. At the present price of khadi of this count these 8 persons would be paying wages of 4 as. for an eight hour day of work to a spinner who spins at the same rate. The cloth could be sold at 4 as. per square yard instead of 7 as. which we pay today. This is a direction in which khadi experts may see a possibility of helping khadi during the transition stage. If it is a workable proposition, there is no reason why an all India appeal should not evoke a satisfactory response from the leisured class.

Segaon, 15-10-39

A. K.

FAMINE WORK IN MORVI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Referring to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's visit to Morvi during the Rentia Jayanti celebrations, the Dewan writes as follows:

"His Highness the Maharaja Sahab has been giving for some years Rs. 1,000 every year during the Gandhi Jayanti for the benefit of the Harijans and khadi. Sometimes the amount is sent to you as was done last year, and many times the amount is spent in Morvi for Harijans and for the encouragement of khadi. In 1937 the amount was spent in organizing a tanning class for the Chamars. We employed an expert on a salary of Rs. 100 p. m. and the class cost us over Rs. 2,000. Some people that were trained in the modern methods of tanning are advanced loans without interest, and they have started their tanneries as a home industry. These tanneries now have come to stay in Morvi.

This year we are hard hit by famine. We have organized relief measures on an extensive scale. Shortage of water in wells gave us an opportunity to deepen them. Six calyx drilling machines and ten hand boring sets are daily working. We have used by now over a thousand detonators for blasting in the wells. Loans are advanced to sink new wells which are coming up with unusual rapidity. Cheap grain and grass depots are opened through-

out the State where food and fodder are distributed on cash and credit. Those who cannot find cash are given monthly cash doles, and there are at present about 1,500 persons receiving such doles. Agriculturists are given food and fodder on credit.

Morvi is fortunate in having an extensive area under mangroves, a kind of sea plant. This supplies good fodder for cattle. The State has arranged to distribute free 1,500 maunds of mangroves daily. Villages near the seashore are encouraged to collect their own mangroves, and they are supplied at State cost small boats to collect mangroves.

Assessment is wholly remitted this year, and the agriculturists are helped to grow fodder crops by giving loans for seeds.

Every available source of water is used for irrigation by setting up small pumping plants.

You will be glad to learn that one of the activities of famine relief is to produce khadi. The Famine Department purchases raw cotton, and all operations from carding to weaving are paid for at reasonable rates. The State takes all the khadi that is being produced. It is hoped that this will give the much required employment to a large section of the people—most of them Harijans—at their doors.

This year His Highness has decided to distribute khadi worth Rs. 1,000 to the needy, and owing to scarcity conditions many will need free help of clothing. This will be his usual donation on Gandhi Jayanti. We have realized that collection of a large number of people at one place for famine relief works had spelt disaster in the past. The relief works are, therefore, being organized in such a way that the people have not to leave their homes to go to works.

It will interest you to learn that in the Meghwar and Bhangi colony there is one water tanki with about half a dozen taps. Bhangis and Meghwars would not use the common tanki for taking their water and the State had closed it till their differences were composed. During the period of the existing stress they have made up their differences and now they use the common tanki.

During the year the State has provided two measures for the benefit of the lower ranks of State service which include Harijans—one is to give them loans without interest, and the other is to give female servants the benefit of one month's maternity leave on full pay."

Seeing that generally it falls to my lot to criticize the States, it is a pleasure to be able to record the good work done in Morvi in connection with famine. I congratulate the Maharaja Saheb on the effort that is being put forth to alleviate distress. As to khadi I would like to suggest that if it is to become a permanent insurance against famine, the Maharaja Saheb and the people of Morvi have to use khadi for their personal and domestic use. Morvi grows good cotton, enough for its requirements. Its people can produce all the khadi they need. Those who are too poor to pay the higher price at which khadi must be sold if it is to give an adequate wage to the spinners, should become spinners themselves. Shri Narandas

Gandhi's yearly experiments have shown progressively the immense possibilities in this direction. But these latent virtues of khadi cannot be brought out so long as the Maharaja Saheb and the people of Morvi remain distant patrons instead of becoming lovers and wearers themselves of khadi. It is suicidal economy to buy cheap mill cloth even though the people can easily produce enough khadi in their own homes without much extra effort or outlay of capital.

Segaon, 16-10-39

Bapa Jayanti

Thakkar Bapa, the father of Harijans and all those who are almost like them and classified as semi-civilized races, animists and what not, completes his seventy years on 29th November next. The inmates of Harijan Nivas in Delhi have planned to celebrate the event in a manner that must delight Thakkar Bapa's heart. They want to collect the modest sum of Rs. 7,000 to be presented to Thakkar Bapa on his birthday for the Harijan cause. They want me to bless and advertise the effort. I have written to them accusing them of little faith. Thakkar Bapa is a rare worker. He is unassuming. He wants no praise. His work is his sole satisfaction and recreation. Old age has not slackened his zeal. He is himself an institution. I once suggested that he might take a little rest. Immediately came the answer, 'How can I rest when there is so much to do? My work must be my rest.' He puts to shame every young man around him in the energy he expends upon his life mission. A purse of Rs. 7,000 is an insult to the cause and to him who carries on his broad shoulders its heavy burden. The workers must aim at collecting nothing less than Rs. 70,000 from all India. Even that amount is nothing for the cause and its father. But it is a respectable enough sum to be collected inside a month. How I wish it was possible to collect coppers from Harijans and Bhils. They know him. But the monied and middle class men too know Bapa and love him. I have no doubt that they will subscribe liberally to the fund both for the cause and for the great sevak who represents it. Subscriptions may be sent to (1) Harijan Nivas, Kingsway, Delhi, (2) Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati, or (3) to Segaon via Wardha. Segaon, 16-10-39

M. K. G.

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WHAT HE IS LOOKING FORWARD TO

When Shri Rajagopalachari returned from Delhi the A. P. I. gave currency to a rumour that he was armed with an important document from Government House to be handed over to Gandhiji. One may be excused for indulging these days in such wishful thinking, but I know that C. R. bore no such treasure, in fact he returned empty-handed. One treasure, however, he bore and I can share it with the readers of *Harijan*.

"You know what I am going to do if I have to resign the ministership?" he asked me.

I had no idea. I thought he would go back to his favourite pastime of reading the Valmiki Ramayana and writing brief commentaries on the Upanishads and other scriptural treasures. My next guess was that though he was very happy that at the cost of a few imprisonments he had succeeded in teaching Hindustani to nearly 60,000 South Indian children, he would, in expiation for having imprisoned a few misguided countrymen, take to a serious study of Hindustani himself and be a finished Hindustani scholar. But neither of the guesses was correct.

"I will sit down as a Wardha-system-school teacher," he said with an evident glow of delight. "The idea of teaching through crafts is great, but unless one does it himself one does not give it a fair trial."

"Why not start a training college and train teachers? We have no teachers filled with a passion for the basic system of national education, and you could turn out a number of fine teachers," I ventured to suggest.

"No," he said. "I must qualify as an ideal teacher myself before I start training teachers. Teaching is also a very important craft, and just as we educate through the craft of spinning I should like to educate through the craft of teaching also. A normal school would come into being by and by. What I am keen on is being a teacher myself. It is a pity that Bapu, having given this revolutionary idea to the world, could not put it into effect himself. He should have been free to establish a school himself and give his system a full trial. He would then have been able to perfect the system. But today a number of half-baked people have taken up the thing. They are simply carrying out the letter of his teaching with the result that they copy his mistakes also. The idea is so original that its practice is obviously beset with difficulties, and everyone who has a passion for teaching must make the idea his own and give it a trial after his own fashion and his own mind's bent. That is why I am looking forward to such an opportunity."

C. R. is a lover of things ancient and often quaintly calls himself an antiquated man. As he

was talking he harked back to ancient times and said: "The ancient ashram school was a basic education school after Bapu's fashion. I have no doubt about it. The disciple had to go the *guru samit-pani*—*samidh* (stick) in hand. That is to say he had to be a wood-cutter. He had to go to the forest, take the cows there to graze, and look after them. In fact he had to look after the household and learn house-craft."

"Yes," said I, "there are stories in the Mahabharat which say that this was not only the medium of education but the only education imparted—learning through doing—and literary education or scholarship (or the grace of the goddess Saraswati) came as a kind of reward of the service rendered to the *guru*. There were no fees to be paid and education was free in the highest sense of the term."

"There is no doubt," he said, "Politics absorb so much of our time that little time is left for the essential things of life. We start so many things, but we no sooner begin to give them a trial than we are caught into the vortex."

At the Wardha station a number of Tamil students from the Village Workers' Training School of the A. I. V. I. A. came to give him a send-off. He carried on a lively conversation with them which alas I could not follow, but it was all about village crafts, e.g. paper-making which they were learning—and as the train was about to move he said: "How is it that in many things he does Bapu manages to collect Tamilians about him?"

"It has been like that since South Africa," I said. I wonder if, when he made the remark, he knew that he was the greatest Tamilian of them all!

Segaon, 17-10-39

M. D.

OLD ISSUES

Old issues of '*Harijan*' can be had from us for 3 As. per copy (including postage). MANAGER

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ONE ANNA

AM I A MESSENGER OF GOD ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Muslim friend writes a long letter which pruned down reads as follows :

"The chief difficulty that stands in your way of right thinking is that your heart has so hardened by looking at and interpreting things in the light of your self-assumed principles, that you cannot bring to bear an open mind on anything, howsoever valuable it may be.

If God has not appointed you as his messenger, what you say or teach cannot be claimed to be a word of God. No one would contest the truthfulness of truth and non-violence as teachings of the prophets and principles of very high spiritual value, but their true understanding and application require a soul that is in direct communion with God. Any person who has only polished his soul by suppressing or acting against the desires and cravings of the flesh and the self is not a prophet.

The fact that you stand as a teacher of the world and claim to have diagnosed the disease from which the world is suffering, and proclaim that the truth of your choice and practice and the non-violence of your conviction and application are the only cures for the afflicted world, betrays your utter disregard and misconception of the truth. You admit you make mistakes. Your non-violence is actually a concealed violence as it is not based on actual spiritual life and is not the earnest of true inspiration from God.

As a true believer, and in pursuance of that teaching of Islam which enjoins on every Muslim to convey the truth to every human being, I would request you to clear your mind of all complexes, to place yourself in the position of an ordinary human being who wants to learn and not to teach and to become a real seeker after truth.

If you wish to find out the truth, I would request you to study the Quran and the life of the Prophet Mohamed (Peace of God be upon him) written by Shebli Nowani and M. Sulaiman Nadwi with an open mind.

As for unity among the different communities inhabiting India, it can never come in terms of a single nation. Broad-minded toleration of each other's religion and practices and an agreement based on the recognition of the Muslims as a nation with their own complete code of life and

culture to guide them and an equality of status in political life, shall bring harmony and peace to India."

I have omitted no argument used by the writer.

I have not hardened my heart. I have never claimed to be a messenger of God except in the sense in which all human beings are. I am a mortal as liable to err as any other. Nor have I claimed to be a teacher. But I cannot prevent admirers from calling me a teacher or a Mahatma, as I cannot prevent traducers from calling me all sorts of names and ascribing to me vices to which I am a stranger. I lay both praise and blame at the feet of the Almighty and go my way.

For the information of my correspondent, who is a schoolmaster in a high school, I may say that I have reverently studied the works he mentions and also many other works on Islam. I have more than once read the Quran. My religion enables me, obliges me, to imbibe all that is good in all the great religions of the earth. This does not mean that I must accept the interpretation that my correspondent may put upon the message of the Prophet of Islam or any other Prophet. I must use the limited intelligence that God has given me to interpret the teachings bequeathed to mankind by the Prophets of the world. I am glad to find that my correspondent agrees that truth and non-violence are taught by the holy Quran. Surely it is for him, as for every one of us, to apply these principles to daily life according to the light given to us by God.

The last paragraph in the letter lays down a dangerous doctrine. Why is India not one nation? Was it not one during, say, the Moghul period? Is India composed of two nations? If it is, why only two? Are not Christians a third, Parsis a fourth, and so on? Are the Muslims of China a nation separate from the other Chinese? Are the Muslims of England a different nation from the other English? How are the Muslims of the Punjab different from the Hindus and the Sikhs? Are they not all Punjabis, drinking the same water, breathing the same air and deriving sustenance from the same soil? What is there to prevent them from following their respective religious practices? Are Muslims all the world over a separate nation? Or are the Muslims of India only to be a separate

nation distinct from the others? Is India to be vivisected into two parts, one Muslim and the other non-Muslim? And what is to happen to the handful of Muslims living in the numerous villages where the population is predominantly Hindu, and conversely to the Hindus where, as in the Frontier Province or Sind, they are a handful? The way suggested by the correspondent is the way of strife. Live and let live or mutual forbearance and toleration is the law of life. That is the lesson I have learnt from the Quran, the Bible, the Zend Avesta and the Gita.

Segaon, 21-10-39

C. P. LOCAL BODIES GIVE THE LEAD

A conference of the representatives of the local bodies in the Central Provinces and Berar was held during the last week, and after careful deliberation adopted two resolutions of a far-reaching character. They derive an added significance from the fact that they were adopted in spite of the impending changes in the political situation of the country. They invited Gandhiji to address them before coming to a decision. Gandhiji did so confining himself to a general question put to him by one of the members, viz. How was the Basic Education Scheme calculated to contribute to the economic and political advancement of the country?

"I am glad," said Gandhiji, "that you have asked me this question. I had better answer it by saying that the present system of primary education was devised without any thought of the economic advancement of the country. The State gets no return whatsoever for the money it is spending on primary education. That we get a few administrators like Shuklaji as products of the so-called higher education is no justification for the waste on primary education. It only brings into painful relief the pathetic superstition that we cannot carry on the affairs of India except through men with English degrees or possessing a knowledge of English. Directors of Public Instruction have admitted that the present system of primary education is a colossal waste, that a very small percentage of the pupils reach the higher classes, that there is nothing like permanency in the literacy imparted, and that even as it is, it touches but a small fraction of the vast rural areas. What a small fraction of the C. P. villages, for instance, have even these primary schools? And the few schools that there are in the villages bring no kind of return to them.

"The question that you have asked me, therefore, really does not arise. But the new scheme is claimed to be based on sound economics, for all education will be through the medium of a craft. It is not education plus training in a craft, but it is all education by means of a craft. Therefore a boy who receives education, say, through weaving, will surely and

must be better than a weaver as a mere craftsman. And nobody can say that a weaver is an economic waste. This weaver will know the various tools and the technique of all the processes and will produce better results than a weaver craftsman. The economic results of the system as it has been carried out during the past few months had better be studied in the facts and figures collected by Shrimati Ashadevi. They have gone far beyond our expectations. That is what I mean by self-supporting education. When I used the word 'self-supporting' I did not mean that all the capital expenditure would be defrayed from it, but that at least the salary of the teacher would be found out of the proceeds of the articles made by the pupils. The economic aspect of the basic system of education is thus self-evident.

"Then there is another aspect, viz. that of the national awakening. I wonder if you have read the Kumarappa Committee's report on rural industries. The traditional figure of the average income *per capita* is Rs. 70, but he has proved that the *per capita* income in the C. P. villages does not exceed Rs. 12 to Rs. 14 per year. Spinning and other village industries for basic education have been so selected that they answer village wants. Therefore the boys who receive their education through village crafts must spread their knowledge in their homes. Now you will see that the average income of the villager can be easily doubled by the village crafts being revived. Most of the bickerings in the district boards will also cease if you will become servants of the people and interest yourselves actively in the new system. As I was coming to the meeting I had a letter from a school where the children had earned out of a four hours' spinning for 30 days Rs. 75 odd. If 30 children earned Rs. 75 in a month, you can easily work out how much would be the earning of crores of primary school children in India.

"And imagine the result of the self-confidence and resourcefulness fostered among these children, as also of the consciousness that they are adding to the income of the land and solving the problem of unequal distribution. This would lead to an automatic political awakening. I would expect the children to know everything about the local affairs, about our corruption and how it can be ended. This kind of political education I would wish every one of our children to have. That would surely add a cubit to their stature.

"I think I have more than proved that the system of basic education is sure to promote the economic and political advancement of the country.

"Having said this I would make an appeal to you. Now that you have come here I would ask you to study this system of education and to tell Shuklaji and Aryanayakamji whether you are going away with faith in it or not. I am

sure that if you give it a fair trial in three months' time, you will be able to report that you have revived the schools and put new energy and new life into the children. A seed may take years before it grows into a tree, but the limited results of the educational seed you will sow will be seen in the course of a few months. I have placed the simplest things before the people of India — simplest things calculated to bring about revolutionary changes — e. g. khadi, prohibition, revival of handicrafts, education through crafts. But unless you can get over the intoxication of the existing regime you will not see the simple things.

"Whatever you do, do not deceive yourselves and us. If you do not feel enthused over the system, you will please plainly say so.

"A word about capital expenditure. The capital expenditure that you will incur will be no dead loss like the expenditure on buildings. You will have to expend on tools and stock which will be of productive use for years. The spinning wheels and the looms and the carding bows you will invest in should be useful to numerous batches of students. Industrialization involves heavy capital expenditure and plenty of wear and tear and depreciation. The present scheme involves nothing like it, as indeed nothing like it is required in a well-planned rural economy.

"One last thing. I want you not to be disturbed by the impending changes in our political system. The ministries may go as they came. They came on the understanding that they would have to go at the shortest possible notice. They knew that they would have to march from the secretariat to the prison if the occasion came, and they would do so with a smile on their lips. But your work and your programme need not depend on the ministries. If the work that you have planned is based on solid foundations, it will endure, no matter how many ministries come and go. But it depends on the faith you have in your work. The Congress and its work will endure so long as it remains true to its creed of truth and non-violence. I have criticized the Congress severely and mercilessly exposed its failings, but I also know that it has still got a fair credit balance.

"Above all let me tell you that everything will depend on your faith and your determination. If you have the will, there is sure to be the way. Every difficulty will dissolve, if you make up your minds that this is a scheme that has to be put through. Only the faith has got to be a living faith. Thousands profess to have faith in God, but if they fly in terror at the slightest alarm, their faith is a dead faith, no living faith. A living faith endows one with the requisite knowledge and resources to put one's plan through. I am glad that every one of you claims to have that faith. If that is really so, your province will have set a noble example to other provinces."

The members had a discussion after this for several hours and passed the following resolutions unanimously:

"(1) This Conference of the representatives of the Local Bodies of the Central Provinces and Berar after full consideration approves of the scheme of the Basic National Education as adumbrated by the Zakir Husain Committee, and accepts the Provincial Government's proposal to introduce the same in the schools under the Local Bodies, provided that the Provincial Government agrees to purchase the produce at a price which would be calculated as between the Local Bodies and the Provincial Government on the basis of the cost of material and labour employed thereon, so as not to occasion any loss to the Local Bodies.

(2) Whereas it is necessary to introduce the system of Basic National Education in schools under the Local Bodies in the Central Provinces and Berar, and whereas all the Local Bodies are not in a position to finance the scheme, it is resolved that the Provincial Government should give advances, repayable in annual instalments, to such Local Bodies as require such advances to meet the cost or part of cost of the introduction of the scheme in schools under their control."

This lead given in the field of education should apply no less to other fields where the local bodies have framed programmes of their own.

Segaon, 24-10-39

M. D.

DOOR STILL OPEN

The following was cabled by Gandhiji in reply to a press correspondent representing various European papers, on the 23rd inst.:

In answer to (your) inquiry (I may say) the Congress has demanded no constitutional change during war. Its demand is for declaration that Britain's war aims necessarily include India's independence according to the charter framed by her elected representatives after war. This declaration should be acted up to during war to the utmost extent possible. The minorities question is a bogey. Not that it does not exist, but its proper solution can only come out of the proposed Constituent Assembly. The burden of solving the tangle rests not on Britain but on the Constituent Assembly. According to Indian opinion Hindu-Muslim question is the direct product of British rule. The least the Congress could do was to withdraw the Congress ministers from provincial administrations. Further action will wholly depend upon Britain's handling of the crisis. The Congress has left the door open to Britain to mend the mistake.

Books on Basic Education

	Price	Postage
Basic National Education	0-8	0-3
Educational Reconstruction	1-4	0-3
Varkey-The Wardha Scheme	1-8	0-5
Kripalani—The Latest Fad	1-0	0-2

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H A R I J A N

Oct. 28

1939

CAUSES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The best way of losing a cause is to abuse your opponent and to trade upon his weakness. Whatever may be true of other modes of warfare, in Satyagraha it has been held that the causes for failure are to be sought within. The refusal by the British Government to fulfil the Congress hope that they would make the expected declaration, is solely due to the weaknesses in the Congress organization and Congressmen.

The greatest weakness lies in our want of full appreciation of non-violence and its many implications. All our other weaknesses are to be derived from that one grave defect. Whilst we have fairly observed physical non-violence, our breasts have harboured violence. Hence our non-violence in respect of the Government is a result of our incapacity for effective violence. But therefore we have been betrayed into violence in our dealings with one another. We have quarrelled with one another in committees; sometimes we have even come to blows. We have refused to carry out instructions of the Working Committee. We have formed rival groups wanting to seize power. Hindus and Muslims have come to blows on the slightest pretext. Congressmen must be held partly responsible for the failure to compose communal differences. It is all very well to blame the British Government for our disunity. But that way we prolong the agony. We knew that the policy of Divide and Rule was there in 1920, and yet we made Hindu-Muslim unity part of our constructive programme. We did so because we had expected that, in spite of the Government being in our way, we would achieve unity. What is more we seemed for the time being to have attained it.

These examples of our weaknesses are terrible. They have prevented the Congress from rising to its full height, and reduced our professions of non-violence to a mockery. If my analysis of the causes of our failure is correct, there is the solid consolation that the remedy is dependent not upon any extraneous circumstance but upon ourselves. We must put our own organization in order and make it pure enough and strong enough to command respect, not by inspiring fear among those who impede our march, towards the goal but by the indubitable evidence of our non-violent speech and action.

The Working Committee's resolution, if it is evidence of Congress earnestness in vindicating India's freedom, is also a test of Congressmen's

discipline and non-violence. Though nothing is said in the resolution, the control and management of civil disobedience has been left in my hands at the will of the Committee. Needless to say I have no sanction, never had any, save the willing and knowing obedience of the vast mass of Congressmen, registered and unregistered, to the instructions issued to them through the Committee, or through *Young India* and *Navajivan*, whilst they were published, and now through *Harijan*. When, therefore, I find that my instructions have no running power, Congressmen will find me retiring from the field without ado. But if I am to retain the general control of the struggle, I shall want the strictest adherence to discipline. So far as I can see there is no possibility of civil resistance on a large scale unless Congressmen show perfect discipline and greater appreciation than hitherto of non-violence and truth. There need be none unless we are goaded into it by the authorities.

We are engaged in a life and death struggle. Violence surrounds us. It is a time of great trial for the country. No camouflage will answer our purpose. If Congressmen find that they have no non-violence in them, if they cannot cast out bitterness against the English officials or the countrymen who may oppose the Congress, they must say so openly, discard non-violence and displace the present Working Committee. Such dismissal will be no calamity. But it will be a calamity of the first magnitude to keep the Committee without full faith in them and in their instructions. So far as I can see, there is no independence for India except through the strictest adherence to truth and non-violence. My generalship is of no use whatsoever if I have an army which doubts the efficacy of the weapons with which I arm them. I am as determined a foe of the exploitation of my country as anyone can be. I am as impatient as the hottest Congressman for the complete deliverance of the country from the foreign yoke. But I have no hate for a single Englishman and for that matter for anybody on earth. If I may not help the Allies, I do not wish disaster to them. Though the British Government have grievously disappointed the Congress hope, my hope, I do not seek any gain from their embarrassment.

My attempt and my prayer are and will be for an honourable peace between the belligerent nations in the least possible time. I had nursed the hope that there would be an honourable peace and partnership between Britain and India, and that I might be able to play a humble part in finding a way out of the awful carnage that is disgracing humanity and making life itself a burden. But God had willed it otherwise.

Seagon, 24-10-39

A Correction

In my article last week entitled 'What he is looking forward to' in the first sentence read "U. P." instead of "A. P. I."

M. D.

VIRTUES OF SILENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes Dr. Rajan to Mahadev Desai:

"The other day when I was at Segaoon to see Mahatmaji, I found him observing silence. You know he wrote on a slip of paper to the following effect, referring to his silence: 'This has become a health necessity with me.' These few words have made me ponder over the idea of silence in relation to physical health. As a piece of scientific information it will be good to have a record of his personal experience.

I should like to know as a result of his observing silence

1. Whether there is any visible drop in the blood pressure variation,

2. Whether after a period of silence he feels physically better and is able to put forth greater energy and application to his work, and

3. Whether he feels mental recuperation also *pari pasu* with that of his body while he is observing silence.

To observe silence is indeed a difficult self-imposed restriction. But it is worth while in the interests of physical and mental well-being to make this possible ... You know that I never write or indulge in such speculative writing to a busy person like Gandhiji. You will therefore appreciate as to why I am writing to you. If you think the information which I seek is worth while, I shall be glad if you can publish it in the *Harijan*."

Before I answer the questions let me say that for me silence is no strain and no effort. Indeed I am so tired of arguing and talking that I speak only when I feel I must. Generally, therefore, I am nowadays silent except to visitors who come by appointment and on some business connected with activities with which I am identified. In the Segaoon Ashram I am silent to everybody except in cases of sickness and the like. I observe too that I get easily irritated if members of the Ashram act in a manner contrary to expectation. I find that silence avoids irritation.

Now for the questions.

1. There is a perceptible drop in blood pressure when I observe silence. Medical friends have therefore advised me to take as much silence as I can.

2. There is no doubt whatsoever that after every silence I feel recuperated and have greater energy for work. The output of work during silence is much greater than when I am not silent.

3. The mind enjoys a peace during silence which it does not without it. That is to say, the decision to be silent itself produces a soothing effect on me. It lifts a burden off my mind. My experience tells me that silence soothes the nerves in a manner no drugs can. With me it also induces sleep.

Caution: I have noticed in the jails that prisoners get moody when, deprived of company, they have to observe enforced silence. To produce

the effect I have described, silence has to be liked. No one, therefore, need be silent out of love of imitation or merely for the knowledge that it produces on me the effect described by me. The best thing would be to take silence on medical advice. Needless to say that here I do not refer to the spiritual need and effects of silence.

Segaoon, 22-10-39

CONGRESS DEMAND MISUNDERSTOOD

In response to a request from *The News Chronicle* (London) Gandhiji sent to it the following cable:

I have no doubt whatsoever that the Viceregal statement on behalf of British Government in reply to Congress invitation could not have been made more irritating than it has proved to be. What Congress had asked was not an answer to India's demand for Independence, but it had reminded Britain of neglect to declare whether her war against Herr Hitler to preserve democracy included India. This had no connection with India's readiness to digest Independence. But the Congress demand was evidently misunderstood, and the Viceroy began a sort of Round Table Conference in which one member did not know what the other said to the Viceroy, and as a result of these talks he was instructed to make a statement wholly unrelated to the unprecedented upheaval going on in front of us. If the British Government wanted to measure the strength of the Congress and that of other political organizations, it should have been obvious that the Congress could not satisfy the Government standard. But the Congress had set before itself a higher mission. The Congress wanted to help Britain by giving her the moral support which was its speciality and the only thing it could give. The Congress would not give this unless it was clear that Britain's political morality was wholly sound. I wish British Government would realize that India is not begging for independence. The Congress asked Britain to say that Britain would not resist Independence. The Hindu-Muslim and other difficulties are there beyond dispute. The question is whether Britain will stand aside and let India settle her own difficulties in her own way when the war is over. That is why the Congress has suggested a Constituent Assembly where every community will be fully represented to frame India's constitution. The mischief done is very real. The Working Committee have passed a mild resolution. It still affords scope for repairing the blunder. Will the British public realize that it is a blunder, or will they persist in the hypnotic belief that the India Office can never err and that India must always remain their milch cow? I can only say that the Congress will not rest and will give no rest till the goal is won. Its very existence depends upon its relentless pursuit of the goal which is no less than complete independence of India.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

The Congress Working Committee has passed the following resolution on the Viceregal declaration on the 22nd inst. at Wardha:

The Working Committee are of opinion that the Viceregal statement in answer to the Committee's invitation for a clear declaration of Britain's war aims, particularly in their application to India, is wholly unsatisfactory and calculated to rouse resentment among all those who are anxious to gain, and are intent upon gaining, India's independence. This invitation was made not only on behalf of the people of India, but for millions of people all over the world, who were weary of war and violence, and Fascist and Imperialist systems which exploited nations and peoples and were ultimately the causes of war, and who yearned for a new order of peace and freedom. The Viceregal statement is an unequivocal reiteration of the old imperialistic policy. The Committee regard the mention of the differences among several parties as a screen to hide the true intention of Great Britain. What the Committee had asked for was a declaration of war aims as a test of Britain's *bona fides* regarding India, irrespective of the attitude of opposing parties and groups. The Congress has always stood for the amplest guarantee of the rights of minorities. The freedom the Congress claimed was not for the Congress or any particular group or community, but for the nation and for all communities in India that go to build that nation. The only way to establish this freedom and to ascertain the will of the nation as a whole is through a democratic process which gives full opportunity to all. The Committee must, therefore, regard the Viceroy's statement as in every way unfortunate. In the circumstances, the Committee cannot possibly give any support to Great Britain, for it would amount to an endorsement of the imperialist policy which the Congress has always sought to end. As a first step in this direction the Committee call upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations.

The Committee earnestly appeal to the nation to end all internal controversies in this hour of great crisis and to act unitedly in the cause of India's freedom. The Committee call upon all Congress committees and Congressmen generally to be prepared for all developments and eventualities, and to show restraint of word and deed so that nothing may be said or done which is not in keeping with India's honour or the principles for which the Congress stands. The Committee warn Congressmen against any hasty action in the shape of civil disobedience, political strikes and the like. The Committee will watch the situation and the activities of the British Government in India, and will not hesitate to guide the country to take further steps whenever the necessity for this arises. The

Committee desire to impress upon all Congressmen that a programme of resistance, commensurate with the magnitude of the issue before the country, requires perfect discipline within Congress ranks and the consolidation of the Congress organisation.

The Working Committee realise that the non-violent resistance offered by the Congress in the past has sometimes been mixed with violence. The Committee desire to impress upon all Congressmen that any resistance that may have to be offered must be purged of all violence, and to remind them of the pledges taken to this effect as early as 1921 during the Congress session at Ahmedabad and repeated on many subsequent occasions.

THE VOLUNTEER'S PLEDGE

(As framed by the Ahmedabad Congress)

With God as witness I solemnly declare that,

(1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps.

(2) So long as I remain a member of the Corps, I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent, since I believe that, as India is circumstanced, non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.

(3) I believe in, and shall endeavour always to promote, such unity.

(4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation, and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.

(5) As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability, and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with, and endeavour to render service to, the submerged classes.

(6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers and all the regulations, not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge, prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.

(7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault, or even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment.

(8) In the event of my imprisonment, I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependants.

Books about Gandhiji's Life and Work

S. Radhakrishnan : Mahatma Gandhi	5-10	0-7
C. F. Andrews: Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas	2-7	0-5
J. Doke : M. K. Gandhi	1-0	0-2
Mrs. Polak : Mr. Gandhi the man	2-7	0-3
Romain Rolland: Mahatma Gandhi	1-6	0-6

•Empire or Democracy?

By L. Barnes. Price Rs. 5-3-0 Postage 0-4-0 extra.
Available at Harijan Office—Poona 4

AN IMPORTANT INTERVIEW

[We are indebted to *The Times of India* for the following.]

Too Vague

Requested to give a reply to *The Times of India's* editorial appeal addressed to him, Mr. Gandhi told me in a special interview that no amount of clarification or explanation of the Viceregal statement would make it acceptable so long as the precise demand of the Congress was not met. There was no evidence of a desire or readiness on the part of Great Britain to transfer power to Indians.

The Times of India's appeal related to the scope, authority and function of the conference of India's representatives, proposed to be called at the end of the war.

The journal drew attention to the following words from the Viceroy's statement: "His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future Federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State to which I have just referred, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remained appropriate."

The Times of India interpreted these words to mean that it would be open to the projected conference at the end of the war to consider Dominion Status. It requested Mr. Gandhi and the Congress to appreciate the value of such a conference and, if they had any doubt, to ask for an authoritative clarification of the scope of that conference.

The words quoted by *The Times of India*, thought Mr. Gandhi, were "too vague to admit of clarification; they left everything beautifully indefinite."

What Congress Wants

He added: "What the Congress wants is the clearest possible acceptance of the fact that India is to be treated as an independent nation. For India to become enthusiastic about participation in this war it is necessary to speak to her in the language of precision, admitting of no other meaning."

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said: "Surely what the Congress wants is easy enough to give, if the will is there. I miss the will in the Viceregal declaration.

"And whom is the conference to consist of? Are they to be those to be invited by the Viceroy or the Secretary of State? How can they be called representative in the true sense of the term?"

In order to avoid any doubt, Mr. Gandhi continued, the Congress had suggested a representative assembly of men and women elected on the widest possible franchise. Such an assembly the Congress described by the accepted phraseology, namely, a constituent assembly. "How

can this be objected to by any party which desires freedom for India? Is it right to invite people to say whether they want freedom or not? Should a slave be consulted as to the desirability of his freedom? He might be asked as to the manner thereof. This the constituent assembly can do. It is for that assembly to decide whether it is to be Dominion Status or what. It may be more or less. The people's representatives should have the fullest freedom to decide upon the nature and content of the freedom."

Congress and Minorities

"It is surprising how the minorities are being played against the Congress. Surely the Congress has no quarrel with any of them. The Congress will safeguard the rights of every minority so long as they do not advance claims inconsistent with India's independence. The Muslims, the Scheduled Classes and every other class will be fully represented in the constituent assembly and they will have to decide their own special rights. Even the Princes and the zamindars have nothing to fear if they become, and appear, as representatives of the ryots. Independent India will not tolerate any interests in conflict with the true interests of the masses, whether the latter are known as Muslims, Scheduled Classes, Christians, Parsis, Jews, Sikhs, Brahmins and non-Brahmins or any other."

Hope Dashed to Pieces

"But," said Mr. Gandhi, "I blame neither the Viceroy nor the British War Cabinet. Independence is not to depend upon the British or any one else's mercy. It will come when the people are ready for it. Evidently British statesmen think that the people of India are not ready. The Congress or any other organisation that seeks to represent the millions has to consolidate its strength and resources for the purpose."

Mr. Gandhi said he had hoped that British statesmen, from the bitter experience of European turmoil, had turned over a new leaf; that hope was for the time being dashed to pieces.

A Poor Response

Mr. Gandhi, proceeding, remarked that *The Times of India* should direct its appeal to the Englishmen and ask them to do the right thing by India in keeping with the professed war aims of Britain. He said he was grieved to find that the paper which had till the other day been urging the authorities to make a generous gesture "had suddenly changed its front". Judged by the paper's own past demands, the Viceroy's statement was a poor response. Yet *The Times of India* praised it.

Let England Face Issue

Mr. Gandhi concluded with the reply to the personal reference made to him in *The Times of India* editorial. He denied that he had been inconsistent or that he had deviated from his first statements in which he had expressed his sympathy for England and France. He said he still held the view. But now that the issue has

been raised, he expected England to face the issue and give a satisfactory answer.

His advice to the Congress did not mean that India's support to the Allied cause should be at the expense of her own freedom. He would not be a party to India being tied to the chariot wheel of Britain. His prayer still was not only that Britain and France should win, but also that Germany should not be ruined.

He had no desire to rear India's freedom on the ashes of any of the belligerent Powers, even as he did not want the freedom of the European Powers to be built upon the ruins of India's freedom. *Times of India*, 21-10-39

"OUT AND OUT GANDHI-ITE"

"We have been out and out Gandhi-ites for several years and we do not know what we are to do at this juncture. The Working Committee's resolution has puzzled us," said a friend who is running a rural work centre for some years, and who having come for the A. I. C. C. had come to Segaoon to see Gandhiji.

"But let me know what you mean by out and out Gandhi-ites," said Gandhiji laughing.

"Those who are prepared to follow your principles through thick and thin," answered the friend.

"Well then, let me tell you," said Gandhiji, "I am not one myself, for in my practice I am far from what I have conceived as the ideals of truth and non-violence."

"I quite see what you mean. I simply wanted to say that in our humble way we were trying to do constructive work as shown by you. What are we to do if civil disobedience comes? We voted for the A. I. C. C. resolution because it was the official resolution sponsored by Rajendrababu, Sardar and others. But when we think of non-violence we do not see how we could have voted for it."

"There was nothing against non-violence in voting for the resolution. What you will do is of consequence. And as you will see from the next *Harijan* I am writing for friends like you. You will see the position developed from week to week. But I can sum it up for you. There is no question of civil disobedience for there is no atmosphere for it—at any rate there is no question of civil disobedience in the aggressive sense as we launched in 1930 and 1932. We might have to offer it if all constructive work was made impossible, that is to say, if grave irritation was given by Government. I fear no such thing. At any rate I will not keep 'Gandhi-ites' in the dark. You should make a point of following carefully what I write every week."

"But my difficulty is this. We believe implicitly in developing strength through constructive work which is non-violence in action. But as we are part and parcel of the Congress, they may come

down with a heavy hand on our ashrams, and take possession of them as they did in 1930."

"It will depend on what the Congress will do. Supposing what is unlikely happens and the Congress decides upon a course of aggressive civil disobedience, for which as I have said there is no atmosphere, you will have to isolate your ashram from the Congress, that is to say, you may have to secede from the Congress even at the risk of being labelled as 'cowards'."

"I see, I see," said the friend, slowly taking in the situation. "There is one thing more about which I wanted to ask you. We have quarrels in the course of our day-to-day work in the ashram."

"Therefore, you see, you are far from being out and out Gandhi-ites," said Gandhiji interrupting him.

"No, but we have implicit faith in your teachings, and it is only in that sense that I used that term," said the friend.

"But if in spite of that faith they quarrel, then they have not understood even the A. B. C. of 'Gandhism'. What is faith worth if it is not translated into action?"

"We may not go about parroting truth and non-violence and steering clear of them in daily life. Take the law of gravitation. The discovery of the law led to numerous other discoveries based on that law. Even so unless you go on discovering new applications of the law of non-violence you do not profit by it. You have to reduce it to a science. To say that you have bickerings in the ashram which make smooth work impossible or difficult, is to say that non-violence is not being practised. Don't you go away with the impression that we have no bickerings here in Segaoon. We have them, and that is why I said that I was not 'an out and out Gandhi-ite'. But if I seriously thought that these bickerings would make communal life impossible, I might close down the institution. It is not an improbability. I should not shirk that duty if the idea possessed me. Well, that is only to say that the difficulties are enormous everywhere. Let God guide you and me and us all."

Segaoon, 23-10-39

M. D.

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[ONE ANNA

MY LIFE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following from its Allahabad correspondent appears in *The Bombay Chronicle* :

"Startling revelations have come to light regarding what has been going round the House of Commons about Gandhiji. It is reported that Mr. Edward Thompson, the British historian who visited Allahabad recently, threw some light on the curious mentality prevailing in England. Mr. Thompson, who met some political leaders here, is reported to have told them three things going round the House of Commons regarding Gandhiji :

1. Gandhiji was for unconditional co-operation with the British Government.

2. Gandhiji could still influence the Congress.

3. There were various stories about Gandhiji's sensual life, it being the impression that Gandhiji had ceased to be a saint.

Impressions about Gandhiji's 'sensual life', it appeared to Mr. Thompson, were based on some Marathi papers. He spoke about them, I understand, to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who repudiated them. He spoke about them to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. P. N. Sapru also, who strongly repudiated them.

It appears Mr. Thompson, before leaving England, had seen several members of the House of Commons. Mr. Thompson, before leaving Allahabad, sent a letter to Mr. Greenwood, M. P., on the suggestion of Pandit Nehru pointing out that the stories regarding Gandhiji were absolutely baseless."

Mr. Thompson was good enough to visit Segao. He confirmed the report as substantially correct.

The 'unconditional co-operation' is dealt with in another note.

The country will presently know the influence I have over the Congress.

The third charge needs clearing. Two days ago I received a letter signed by four or five Gujaratis sending me a newspaper whose one mission seems to be to paint me as black as it is possible for any person to be painted. According to its headline it is a paper devoted to 'the organisation of Hindus'. The charges against me are mostly taken from my confessions and distorted from their setting. Among many other charges, the charge of sensuality is most marked. My brahmacharya is said to be a cloak to hide my sensuality. Poor Dr. Sushila Nayar has been dragged before the public gaze for the crime of giving me massage and medicated baths, the two

things for which she is the best qualified among those who surround me. The curious may be informed that there is no privacy about these operations which take over 1½ hours and during which I often go off to sleep but during which I also transact business with Mahadev, Pyarelal or other co-workers.

The charges, to my knowledge, began with my active campaign against untouchability. This was when it was included in the Congress programme and I began to address crowds on the subject and insisted on having Harijans at meetings and in the Ashram. It was then that some Sanatanists, who used to help me and befriend me, broke with me and began a campaign of vilification. Later, a very high-placed Englishman joined the chorus. He picked out my freedom with women and showed up my 'saintliness' as sinfulness. In this chorus there were also one or two well-known Indians. During the Round Table Conference American journals indulged in cruel caricatures of me. Mirabai who used to look after me was the target of their attack. As far as I could understand Mr. Thompson, who knows the gentlemen who have been behind these charges, my letters to Premaben Kantak, who is a member of the Sabarmati Ashram, have also been used to prove my depravity. She is a graduate and worker of proved merit. She used to ask questions relating to brahmacharya and other topics. I sent her full replies. She thought they might be of general use and she published them with my permission. I hold them to be absolutely innocent and pure.

Hitherto I have ignored these charges. But Mr. Thompson's talks about them and the importunity of the Gujarati correspondents, who say the indictment sent by them is but a sample of what is being said about me, impel me to repudiate them. I have no secrets of my own in this life. I have owned my weaknesses. If I were sensually inclined, I would have the courage to make the confession. It was when I developed detestation of sensual connection even with my own wife and had sufficiently tested myself that I took the vow of brahmacharya in 1906, and that for the sake of better dedication to the service of the country. From that day began my open life. I do not remember having ever slept or remained with my own wife or other women with closed doors except for the

occasions referred to in my writings in *Young India* and *Navajivan*. Those were black nights with me. But as I have said repeatedly God has saved me in spite of myself. I claim no credit for any virtue that I may possess. He is for me the Giver of all good and has saved me for His service.

From that day when I began brahmacharya, our freedom began. My wife became a free woman, free from my authority as her lord and master, and I became free from my slavery to my own appetite which she had to satisfy. No other woman had any attraction for me in the same sense that my wife had. I was too loyal to her as husband and too loyal to the vow I had taken before my mother to be slave to any other woman. But the manner in which my brahmacharya came to me irresistibly drew me to woman as the mother of man. She became too sacred for sexual love. And so every woman at once became sister or daughter to me. I had enough women about me at Phoenix. Several of them were my own relations whom I had enticed to South Africa. Others were co-workers' wives or relatives. Among these were the Wests and other Englishmen. The Wests included West, his sister, his wife, and his mother-in-law who had become the Granny of the little settlement.

As has been my wont, I could not keep the new good thing to myself. So I presented brahmacharya for the acceptance of all the settlers. All approved of it. And some took it up and remained true to the ideal. My brahmacharya knew nothing of the orthodox laws governing its observance. I framed my own rules as occasion necessitated. But I have never believed that all contact with woman was to be shunned for the due observance of brahmacharya. That restraint which demands abstention from all contact, no matter how innocent, with the opposite sex is a forced growth, having little or no vital value. Therefore natural contacts for service were never restrained. And I found myself enjoying the confidences of many sisters, European and Indian, in South Africa. And when I invited the Indian sisters in South Africa to join the civil resistance movement, I found myself one of them. I discovered that I was specially fitted to serve womankind. To cut the (for me enthralling) story short, my return to India found me in no time one with India's women. The easy access I had to their hearts was an agreeable revelation to me. Muslim sisters never kept purdah before me here even as they did not in South Africa. I sleep in the Ashram surrounded by women for they feel safe with me in every respect. It should be remembered that there is no privacy in the Segaoon Ashram.

If I were sexually attracted towards women, I have courage enough, even at this time of life, to become a polygamist. I do not believe in free love — secret or open. Free open love I have looked upon as dog's love. Secret love is besides cowardly.

Sanatanist Hindus may abhor my non-violence. I know many of them think that Hindus will become cowards if they remain under my influence. I know of no man having become a coward under my influence. They may decry my non-violence as much as they like. But they ill serve themselves or Hinduism by indulging in palpable lies.

Segaoon, 30-10-39

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

The problem of defending India against a possible foreign invasion has been worrying many of us. This is not surprising. For, although the Congress claims to represent the aspirations and grievances of the millions, a large number of Congressmen individually belong to the upper and middle classes. And, from their point of view, the question of defence takes a form different from what it takes from the point of view of the millions. As regards the millions, they have not enough property to cause any worry to the State. And no armies in the world have ever worried to defend paupers. The same is the case with their lives. And a Government has yet to come into existence, which will worry about the safety of paupers as much as it does about the lives of the rich and middle class people. The masses have really less to fear from invading armies than from the country's own armies. In peace, the country's armies are meant to keep the masses under control. In war, they will disturb their peaceful lives earlier than an invading army. The invaders will aim at reaching big cities. Their aircraft will hardly care to pour their bombs on small hamlets. But in order to prevent the enemy from reaching the cities, an ordinance will require inhabitants of hundreds of villages to empty the villages, to burn their huts, to destroy their standing crops and stores, to poison all the wells and tanks on the way, and to make all routes as far as possible treeless deserts. The people will get hardly any compensation for their losses. It would not be strange if they were also required to render free labour. They will be the first victims of starvation and of the martial law of their own generals. And all this may take place, although, after all, no enemy at all reaches any city.

As matters stand, England and the Princes have, perhaps, greater self-interest in not allowing India to be conquered by a third power than the millions of India have. But the method of defence in which the rulers believe involves hardship first to the ryots and only in an extreme situation to themselves. On the other hand, their very weapons of defence may become instruments of tyranny to the people.

So, adherence to non-violence and the development of organised non-violent heroism amongst both the rich and the poor, and the rejection of armed defence by both, is not only spiritually noble, but it is also in the best interest of the millions. These will be better off in an army

less than in an India armed to the teeth. The Congress would be untrue to them, if it failed to perceive their point of view.

CATCHING

The very fact that this year nearly 4 crores of yards of yarn was spun by various institutions and individuals in the country during the 70 days of the "Gandhi Birthday Celebration", as against 66,000 yards four years ago, shows how the movement for voluntary spinning is spreading. Numerous new institutions joined the celebration this year, and several institutions worked with redoubled zeal and energy. Two instances I cannot forbear mentioning here. Gambhira in the Kheda District (Bombay Province) has a school with 26 students and 3 teachers, 18 of whom belong to the so-called upper castes, and 11 belong to the so-called lower castes including Harijans. The following figures of spinning done during the "Gandhi Month" will give an idea of the progress of the school :

Year	Students	Spinning (yds)	Hours	Count
1937	36	300,000	2 per day	12-15
1938	40	600,000	up to 4 per day	15-25
1939	26	800,000	up to 4 per day	20-35

The highest age of the students was 13. Here are the earnings of 6 children of 13 according to the spinning done by them (It should be remembered that this spinning was done over and above the periods of study, prayer and gardening.) :

Name	Yrds.	Counts	Earning
Sushila	36,265	26	3-5-3
Chhaganbhai	94,665	30	9-5-0
Madhubhai	51,270	35	5-7-11
Bachubhai	60,585	20	5-2-3
Suleman	49,920	21	4-7-8
Somabhai	39,680	20	3-5-0

That is about an institution. There were numerous new spinners among whom prominent mention may be made of Shri Maithilisaran Gupta, one of the best known Hindi poets. He and his family started spinning during the days of the Rajkot fast. He writes in a letter to me :

"I did my first spinning during the days of Bapu's Rajkot fast. You asked me to continue the ritual. I have fulfilled your expectation. It has given me joy. Then we heard of the 70,000 yards to be done during the auspicious 70 days. My brother and his wife joined in the spinning sacrifice. They have kept the yarn and sent the equivalent in money to Narandasbhai. I had a higher ambition. I thought of finishing my spinning a few days in advance and getting it woven to be sent to Bapu. It would have some chance of its being used by Bapu, and it would delight even the weaver's heart that his handiwork had been used by Bapu. It was no easy thing for me to master the art and to find the time for it. But I decided to throw my whole soul into it. I devoted eight to nine hours every day to spinning, and then instead of being a trial it became a passion with me. It is only when anything becomes a passion with me that I can get through it. Thank you very much for having initiated me into the ritual."

This is a new and striking addition to the army of khadi-lovers. There are devoted spinners like Shrimati Avantikabai Gokhale and Shrimati Khadilkar who have sent their offering of cloth to Gandhiji without break, for upwards of ten years. Sitaram Sastry's band of Vinaya Ashram spinners have done exceedingly well. The Major Sangh of Ahmedabad has shown a much greater record than in the past year. I am sure there are many such instances but I have not yet a full list before me.

Segaon, 24-10-39

M. D.

UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Several British friends are puzzled and ask, "Have you really said you will give unconditional support to Great Britain as you are reported to have said?" The origin of this report lies in my very first statement after my talk with the Viceroy. The phrase 'unconditional support' does not occur in that statement. But had the Congress appreciated the position I took up, Congress support would have been unconditional in the sense that the Congress would not have asked for a clarification of Britain's war aims. But the Working Committee could not honestly take up that position. Therefore it passed, as it had every right and justification for passing, the resolution it did. Events have shown the prudence of the course adopted by the Working Committee. But had it waived the demand for the declaration of war aims, the support would have been unconditional. Remember, according to its constitution, the Congress is a non-violent body. Therefore its support would have been purely moral. It has no soldiers to supply, it has no money to give. But it has its good wishes. In my opinion those good wishes would have been more than many battalions. The Congress support would have put the British cause on an unassailable moral basis. It would have made the British case just, beyond measure. All the dependent races of the earth would have felt an indescribable glow of freedom. British moral stock would have shot up high at a bound. That is what the Congress unconditional support would have meant.

But God had willed otherwise. British statesmen had not faith enough in the Congress profession of non-violence. I must confess that the Congress could not pass the test to the satisfaction of a strict though just examiner. Anyway my British friends should have no difficulty in understanding my position. Of course it is open to them to argue that as a war resister I could not even give moral support. I have already said in these columns that I do not hold such a view. It is open to a war resister to judge between two combatants and wish success to the one who has justice on his side. By so judging he is more likely to bring peace between the two than by remaining a mere spectator.

Segaon, 30-10-39

H A R I J A N

Nov. 4

1939

THE NEXT STEP

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have never felt the weight of responsibility as heavily as I do today in connection with the present impasse with the British Government. The resignation of Congress ministries was a necessity. But the next step is by no means clear. Congressmen seem to be expecting a big move. Some correspondents tell me, if I only give the call, there will be an India-wide response such as has never been made before. And they assure me that the people will remain non-violent. Beyond their assurance I have no other proof in support of their statement. I have proof in my own possession to the contrary. These columns have contained some of that proof. I cannot identify myself with any civil disobedience unless I am convinced that Congressmen believe in non-violence with all its implications and will follow implicitly the instructions issued from time to time.

Apart from the uncertainty of the observance of non-violence in Congress ranks is the tremendous fact that the Muslim League looks upon the Congress as the enemy of the Muslims. This makes it well-nigh impossible for the Congress to organise successful non-violent revolution through civil disobedience. It will certainly mean Hindu-Muslim riots. Non-violent technique, therefore, demands the reduction of civil disobedience to the lowest term consistent with national self-respect. The offensive will have to be taken by the British Government. In a situation so delicate and unexampled no individual Congressman or even Congress committee can be allowed to take the law into their own hands. The Working Committee should alone have the right to declare and regulate civil disobedience.

I have undertaken to guide the Working Committee, but my limitations appal me. My physical condition makes it impossible for me to move about as I used to before. I am therefore cut off from all outward contact with the masses. Even the present Congress workers I do not know personally. I never meet them. My correspondence has to be restricted as much as possible. Therefore, unless Congressmen almost instinctively perceive the duty and the necessity of the preliminary inaction I am prescribing, my guidance will be not only useless but it will be harmful. It will create confusion.

I hold the opinion strongly that whilst by their own action the British Government have made it impossible for the Congress to co-operate with them in the prosecution of the war, the Congress must not embarrass them in

its prosecution. I do not desire anarchy in the country. Independence will never come through it. I do not wish for the defeat of the British or, for that matter, of the Germans. The peoples of Europe have been helplessly drawn into the war. But they will soon be awakened from their torpor. This war will not be a war to the finish unless the whole of modern civilisation is to perish. Be that as it may, holding the views I do, I am in no hurry to precipitate civil disobedience. My prescription to Congressmen, for the time being, is to consolidate the organisation by purging it of all weaknesses. I swear by the old constructive programme of communal unity, removal of untouchability, and the charkha. It is quite clear that non-violence is impossible without the first two. If India's villages are to live and prosper, the charkha must become universal. Rural civilisation is impossible without the charkha and all it implies, i. e. revival of village crafts. Thus the charkha is the symbol *par excellence* of non-violence. And it can occupy the whole of the time of all Congressmen. If it makes no appeal to them, either they have no non-violence in them or I do not know the A. B. C. of non-violence. If my love of the charkha is a weakness in me, it is so radical as to make me unfit as a general. The wheel is bound up with my scheme of Swaraj, indeed with life itself. All India should know my credentials on the eve of what can become the last and decisive battle for Swaraj.

Segaon, 30-10-39

GOOD AND BAD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The more I ponder over Sir Samuel Hoare's recent speech in the House of Commons the more puzzled I become. It is both good and bad. But the bad part is so bad that it vitiates the good. His statement that the British Government have shed Imperialism hardly squares with his defence of the promises made to the minorities. He gives up the whole of his case when he brackets the Europeans of India and the Princes with the other minorities. If Europeans who have made no home in India and whose roots are all in Europe are a minority requiring protection, the British soldiers and civilians too who are a hopeless minority require to be protected. In other words, rights acquired by conquest are to remain intact. European interests are an imposition protected by the British bayonet. A free India will claim to examine every European interest on its merit, and that which conflicts with the national interest will go by the board. I turn up *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* and I find the following definition of Imperialism: "extension of British Empire where trade requires protection of the flag". If this is Imperialism, does not Sir Samuel's speech fully protect it? India's ambition is to destroy that Imperialism.

Do not Princes stand much on the same footing as the Europeans? Many, if not most, of them are an imperial creation and sustained for imperial interests. The Princes in no way represent their people. If I published the complaints I receive weekly from the people of the States, I should need to double the size of *Harijan*. They make a woeful tale neither creditable to the Princes nor to their protector the British authority. Does not this British protectorate mean naked imperialism? The Congress is invited to regard the Princes as a minority. British power is the overlord without whom the Princes cannot breathe! They are not free even to see Congressmen, much less to enter into any settlement with them. I do not complain against the Princes for what they are doing in the crisis. They are powerless to do otherwise.

Sir Samuel talks of the Communal Award as a meritorious act of the British Government. I am sorry he mentioned it. I have very bitter memories of the Award which was being hatched during the Round Table Conference time. I am unable to regard it as a proud British achievement. I know how miserably the parties themselves failed. I regard the Award as discreditable for all parties. I say this apart from its merits which do not bear close scrutiny. But the Congress has loyally accepted it because I was party to the request made to the late Mr. Macdonald to arbitrate.

Then his division of India into Congress India and non-Congress India! It would have been better if Sir Samuel had talked of armed India and unarmed India. The Congress represents the unarmed millions, no matter to what caste or creed they belong. Is it right to pit armed India against its unarmed part? It will be hard to find a parallel in history in which unarmed people have represented the urge for freedom, turning the very armlessness into the central means for deliverance. Sir Samuel has informed the world that India's battle for freedom cannot be won till unarmed India has come to terms with armed India including, of course, the British Government. Again, I do not complain. Sir Samuel could not, all of a sudden, alter British tradition and nature. Only it is my painful duty to show how an unbiased Indian has understood his speech. I have no doubt that Sir Samuel has meant what he has said. Only he has said nothing that can quench the parched throats of Congressmen who are thirsting for freedom. The Congress has to live up more closely than ever to its creed and develop the non-violent strength which will disarm armed India and with it armed Britain. If it can do so, it will be the greatest contribution to the peace of the world. For peace won't come out of a clash of arms but out of justice lived and done by unarmed nations in the face of odds.

Seгаon, 30-10-39

Speeches and Writings

By Gandhiji. Price Rs. 4. Postage 9 As. Extra.
Available at *Harijan* Office—Poona 4.

"FOUND WANTING"

I have read Sir Samuel Hoare's speech with the attention it deserves. I appreciate the conciliatory tone behind it. It makes it, therefore, embarrassing for me to produce what may appear to be a jarring note. But even as he speaks from a sense of duty I hope I shall receive the same credit. Has Dominion Status for India any meaning unless it is synonymous with independence? Has the India of his imagination the right to secede from the Commonwealth? I like the declaration that the British have shed imperialistic ambition. Will he allow the people of India to judge for themselves whether in reality that ambition has been shed? If it is, the proof of it should be forthcoming even before India is statutorily declared independent.

When the protection of minorities is pleaded against the declaration required by the Congress, the great pronouncement made by Sir Samuel Hoare sounds unreal. What the Congress has asked is not any sounding of Indian opinion but a declaration of Britain's intention. I have endeavoured to show that there is no such thing as real minorities in India whose rights can be endangered by India becoming independent. With the exception of the Depressed Classes there is no minority which is not able to take care of itself. I observe that Sir Samuel Hoare has mentioned the Europeans also as a minority. The very mention of Europeans, in my opinion, condemns the cry of the interest of minorities. But the protection of minorities, whatever they are, is common cause between the British Government and the Congress. I would like the British Government to remember that there is every prospect of Congress India, to use Sir Samuel's phrase, being a hopeless minority. I like Sir Samuel's division of India into Congress and non-Congress. And if non-Congress India contains not merely the Princes but the people of Princes' India, all the Mussalmans, all those who might be represented by the Hindu Mahasabha and others who refuse to be classified as part of Congress India, it is Congress India which will be in danger of a non-Congress majority. And the Congress has got to make good its position even though it may represent a minority wholly unarmed, partly by outside force but largely by its own will.

I am glad that Sir Samuel Hoare has declared that the present British policy is to be judged in the moral scales suggested by me. I venture to suggest that if Sir Samuel's speech is the last word on behalf of the British Government, British political morality will be found wanting. Sir Samuel has laughed at non-cooperation as a barren doctrine. I am convinced that it is not as barren as he thinks. It has proved its worth in the eyes of millions of Indians and will do so again if the Congress remains truly non-violent, as I hope it will. The Congress decision is an imperative call of duty. It puts both the Congress and the British

Government on their trial. Nothing but good will come out of it if both will play the game.
Segaon, 27-10-39 M. K. G.

Notes

Hindu-Muslim Unity

Hindu-Muslim unity means communal unity. No pact seems to be in front of us. Janab Jinnah Sahab looks to the British Power to safeguard the Muslim rights. Nothing that the Congress can do or concede will satisfy him. For he can always, and naturally from his own standpoint, ask for more than the British can give or guarantee. Therefore there can be no limit to the Muslim League demands. So far as the Congress is concerned, it does not represent all Hindus or all of any single community except in the sense that the Congress represents all because all are believed to desire independence for the country and the Congress is without a rival in fighting for that goal. In fact the Congress is the only national army the country possesses. It is not the less but all the more an army for its being non-violent. It has been the unbroken tradition of the Congress to refuse to represent any but the national interest. It has certainly never represented the Hindus as such. That function is claimed by the Hindu Mahasabha just as that of solely representing Muslim interests is claimed by the Muslim League.

The only course left open to the Congress, therefore, is to state its own communal policy for the guidance of Congressmen, no matter to which community they belong. The Congress should have no quarrel with the League for getting all it can through the British Power. An institution that is fighting that Power will never put itself in the wrong by fighting the Muslims.

Segaon, 30-10-39

Thakkar Bapa and Servants of India Society

A friend who loves the Servants of India Society as himself, in sending his donation of Rs. 10 for the Thakkar Bapa Fund, writes:

"I endorse every word of your praise of Thakkar Bapa. The only suggestion I would venture to make is that his membership of the Servants of India Society might have been mentioned. The Society may not take credit for his meritorious work; but it has kept him there without a demur and indeed taken pride in his great services to humanity."

The rebuke is well merited. Truth to tell I did not even know that I had omitted to mention among Bapa's many merits that he had given up his office of Road Engineer for the Bombay Municipal Corporation to become a Servant of India. He is a loan to the Harijan Sevak Sangh by the Society. The Society needs no advertisement from me. And since I call myself an unofficial self-appointed member of the Society, to mention the latter is, in a way, advertising myself. But I am quite capable of

performing that somewhat delicate task. The reason for omitting the mention was, however, accidental. I work under tremendous pressure. And though it was my intention to connect Bapa with the Society, I evidently failed to carry it out. I hope that this belated reference will bring more funds to the Bapa Purse, which is Harijan Purse. Let the Servants of India too, official and unofficial, set apart some time daily for the collection of the purse. I do not mind their collecting coppers. The real tribute to Bapa will consist in collecting coppers from Harijans and the numerous poor lovers of Harijans. Let no one plead shortness of notice. Let novices know from me, an experienced collector, that funds big or small do not need months to collect. They are collected in a few days if the collection is well organised and the cause worthy. Let them know that the crore for the Tilak Swaraj Fund was collected in one month.

Segaon, 28-10-39

Basic Education

Translation of the message in Hindi sent to the Poona Basic Education Conference:

I hope that the Poona Educational Conference will, in all it does, keep steadily in view the newness of the Nai Talim, rendered in English as Basic Education. Just as we may neither reduce nor increase ingredients in a chemical experiment, so also we may not add to or discard anything from the essentials of the Wardha scheme. The newness of this scheme is that education is to be given through a village craft. The end in view is not to be accomplished by merely adding a village craft to the current syllabus.

Segaon, 28-10-39

M. K. G.

Books about Gandhiji's Life and Work

S. Radhakrishnan : Mahatma Gandhi	5-10	0-7
C. F. Andrews: Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas	2-7	0-5
J. Doke : M. K. Gandhi	1-0	0-2
Mrs. Polak : Mr. Gandhi the man	2-7	0-3
Romain Rolland: Mahatma Gandhi	1-6	0-6

Books on Basic Education

	Price	Postage
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Educational Reconstruction	1-4	0-3
Varkey-The Wardha Scheme	1-8	0-5
Kripalani-The Latest Fad	1-0	0-2

Books on Non-violence

	Rs.	As.	As.
Gandhiji — Hind Swaraj	...	0 4	2
R. Gregg — The Power of Non-violence	...	2 0	4
A. Huxley — Ends and Means	...	5 14	6
" — An Encyclopædia of Pacifism	...	0 6	1
J. H. Hoyland — The Cross Moves East	3	7	3
J. M. Murry — The Necessity of Pacifism	2	7	3
A. Ruth Fry — Victories without Violence	2	10	3

Available at Harijan Office—Poona 4

Empire or Democracy?

By L. Barnes. Price Rs. 5-3-0 Postage 0-4-0 extra.
Available at Harijan Office—Poona 4

THE HOUR OF TRIAL

"If India takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory. Then India will cease to be the pride of my heart. I am wedded to India because I owe my all to her. I believe absolutely that she has a mission for the world. She is not to copy Europe blindly. India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. My life is dedicated to service of India through the religion of non-violence which I believe to be the root of Hinduism."

"The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the *rishis* and saints. It is meant for the common people as well."

With the Working Committee

I quote these words from an article Gandhiji wrote in August 1920, but it looks as though they were uttered today. With that living faith in non-violence as the peculiar contribution of India to the world, he has tried to steer the course of our ship in fair weather and foul. Often enough the sky has been darkened by spray but we have never lost sight of the star. The present storm threatens to obliterate the star from our view, but the pilot has made it his business to warn us day in and day out against losing sight of the star which alone can guide us to the end of the voyage.

At the termination of the Working Committee meeting, therefore, Gandhiji asked the members to consider the question again, and decide once for all what the Congress and Congressmen were going to do. The question affected not only our relations with Government but the relations between community and community. Gandhiji's suggestion was discussed for many hours but no conclusion could be reached. At the next meeting of the Working Committee the question will come up again and a final decision taken. In the meanwhile the members will have had enough time to think over the matter.

With the Gandhi Seva Sangh

The question has been engaging all Gandhiji's time, so much so that he has gone into perpetual silence except with people whom he sees by appointment, and often he wakes up in the early hours of the morning thinking about it. On the 25th morning he woke up at one o'clock and was thinking about what he should say to the members of the executive of the Gandhi Seva Sangh whom he was to meet in the afternoon. So to them he said:

"The problem haunts me. It gives me no rest. I have described in *Harijan* the position of the junior members of the Working Committee. Theirs was a difficult position. They were torn between loyalty to a principle and loyalty to their colleagues. But their eagerness to make their position clear to me was most welcome. It shows that we are all votaries of truth and even

our mental struggles and conflicts arise out of our anxiety to be faithful to it. We had a very fine discussion in the Working Committee yesterday, and we discussed threadbare the position of the members as individuals and as representatives of the Congress and the people. The question with you is different. For you are here in your individual capacity and you have to decide your conduct no matter what Congress or Congressmen may think. The question is thus much simpler for you. Will you adopt an attitude of brotherliness to one who has done your dear ones a grievous injury? Supposing Rajendrababu was attacked would you retaliate or rather stand between Rajendrababu and the assailant and bear cheerfully the blows meant for him? You will do the latter, if you have shed all fear of death and injury to limbs, and all considerations for the domestic ties that bind you. But unless you have nothing but brotherliness for those that despitefully use you, your resolution that you would stand by the principle of non-violence through thick and thin will have no meaning. It would be far better to wind up the Sangh than to have an empty resolution.

"Non-violence is not a cloistered virtue, confined only to the rishi and the cave-dweller. It is capable of being practised by the millions, not with full knowledge of its implications, but because it is the law of our species. It distinguishes man from the brute. But man has not shed the brute in him. He has to strive to do so. This striving applies to the practice of non-violence, not to the belief in it. I cannot strive to believe in a principle; I either believe in it or I do not. And if I believe in it, I must bravely strive to practise it. Ahimsa is an attribute of the brave. Cowardice and ahimsa do not go together any more than water and fire. It is that ahimsa that every member of the Gandhi Seva Sangh has to make a conscious effort to develop in himself.

"We have often thought about this question, but the hour of our trial has arrived today, as much with reference to war as with the struggle for Swaraj and equally with reference to Hindu-Muslim unity. Remember also that your non-violence cannot operate effectively unless you have faith in the spinning wheel. I would ask you to read *Hind Swaraj* with my eyes and see therein the chapter on how to make India non-violent. You cannot build non-violence on a factory civilization, but it can be built on self-contained villages. Even if Hitler was so minded, he could not devastate seven hundred thousand non-violent villages. He would himself become non-violent in the process. Rural economy as I have conceived it eschews exploitation altogether, and exploitation is the essence of violence. You have therefore to be rural-minded before you can be non-violent, and to be rural-minded you have to have faith in the spinning wheel."

Posers

The members slept over this discourse and met Gandhiji again the next day. Numerous questions were troubling them, as they should everyone who is a votary of ahimsa. But out of regard for Gandhiji's time they limited themselves to a few.

"How can a believer in the non-violence of your conception be a minister?"

"I fear he cannot in the present state of things," said Gandhiji. "We have seen that our ministers have had to resort to violence even as the British Government in the pre-autonomy days. It was inevitable perhaps. Had Congressmen been truly non-violent, there would have been no resort to force. But the Congress majorities were not based on unadulterated non-violence. A minister said the other day that although he had not given up an iota of non-violence he could not do without resorting to the minimum of firing. He had resorted to it only to the extent that it was unavoidable. He may have said it then, he may not say it again if I can help it. For if he goes in again, he will have made his position clear and he will represent a House that is predominantly non-violent. In other words, he will take office if he is sure that the people would let him carry on the Government on a non-violent basis."

"But may it not be that whereas a non-violent minister will confine violence to the lowest minimum, one who does not believe in non-violence would observe no such restraint?"

"That belief is a delusion. All those who are using violence today make the same claim. Hitler too would say the same thing. General Dyer was acclaimed as the hero of the hour by the House of Lords because his object was said to be to prevent the spread of mob violence. Soviet Russia believes its violence is a transitional stage to the establishment of an order without violence. In the present state of our belief and practice it may be better to wind up the Sangh leaving each one to grow unfettered."

"But the suggestion is being made," said Kishorelalbhair, "that we may confine the membership to those who are engaged in constructive work."

"That suggestion is good, and we can conceivably convert the Sangh into such a body and then try each of us in our individual capacity to purify ourselves as much as we can. For non-violence is impossible without self-purification. Let us therefore be members of a self-purification association, but no association is necessary for that purpose. Therefore let us try each in our own way to face difficulties and problems as they come and see how far we can go. In Hudli, two years ago, I asked you to help in the elections and in sending the best possible men to the legislatures. I gave advice in the

atmosphere as it existed then. I cannot give you that advice today. In fact the time may have come when it becomes necessary for such of you as believe in the non-violence of the brave to retire from the Congress as I did in 1934."

"How do you think that the masses can practise non-violence, when we know that they are all prone to anger, hate, ill-will? They are known to fight for the most trivial things."

"They are, and yet I think they can practise non-violence for the common good. Do you think the thousands of women that collected contraband salt had ill-will against anyone? They knew that the Congress or Gandhi had asked them to do certain things, and they did those things in faith and hope. To my mind the most perfect demonstration of non-violence was in Champaran. Did the thousands of ryots who rose up in revolt against the agrarian evils harbour the least ill-will against the Government or the planters? Their belief in non-violence was unintelligent, even as the belief in the earth being round with many is unintelligent. But their belief in their leaders was genuine, and that was enough. With those who lead it is another matter. Their belief has got to be intelligent, and they have to live up to all the implications of the belief."

"But then are not the masses the world over like that?"

"They are not, for others have not that background of non-violence."

"But if there was non-violence ingrained in our masses, how should they have come to this state of slavery?"

"There indeed is what I flatter myself is going to be my contribution. I want that non-violence of the weak to become non-violence of the brave. It may be a dream, but I have to strive for its realization."

Segaon, 29-10-39

M. D.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1939

[ONE ANNA

TRAVANCORE AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There was a forced lull in Travancore after the acceptance by the State Congress of my advice to suspend civil disobedience. But things seem to have gone from bad to worse. The inactivity of the State Congress was perhaps mistaken for fatigue or worse. I knew that the State Congress leaders were being held down by me. Their loyalty was great. But when the other day a deputation came to me and asked me whether, in order to avoid civil disobedience, they were to stop even ordinary activity which one knows as political, I told them that even that severe restraint might be part of the people's training. But I also told them that I could not judge for them in such matters. I could not have the data they had. They could not help me in judging the atmosphere in Travancore. Physical presence there was necessary to enable me to judge. No second-hand evidence could be of much assistance, at least not to me. I told them, therefore, that they must judge for themselves, irrespective of my opinion. For I was not prepared to take the risk of curbing even harmless political activity for fear of imaginary consequences. The leaders should, therefore, consider themselves free from any restraint from me.

After the greatest deliberation they took two steps embodied in restrained language. Their resolutions and the press note in reply are printed below.

In my opinion the State Congress had every right to dissociate themselves from the glorification of the Dewan's administration. Even an adversary is entitled to many happy returns of the day. But it is another matter when an attempt is made, as it is said to have been made in the present case, to make political capital out of an innocent event like a birthday. The first resolution is a protest against such political use of the Dewan's birthday.

The second resolution has nothing controversial about it. It is a mere assertion of the right to hold public meetings, etc.

News has now been received that Shri Thanu Pillai, Shri Phillipose and three others were arrested on the 2nd inst., and that the State Congress office was taken possession of by the Travancore Government. Furniture, it is said, was thrown out.

The policy of the Travancore Government is ununderstandable. The repression seems to me to be wholly unjustifiable. It is wrong to put the best and wisest citizens in jail. I know that those who have been arrested are sincere, devoted and able workers.

I can send no better consolation to the Travancore State Congress workers than that those who go to jail should do so joyously and with the determination to serve the whole period of imprisonment. I have no doubt that it is the surest way to Swaraj if those who are imprisoned possess pure hearts.

Segaon, 6-11-39

* *

Resolution on the Dewan's Birthday

The All Travancore State Congress Committee deeply regrets that circumstances have been created in this country to necessitate this resolution relating to the celebration of the Shashti-abdapoorthi (60th birthday) of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan. This Committee would not have concerned itself with any such celebrations if it were a matter solely confined to his friends and well-wishers. But considering the fact that the celebrations are sought to be conducted in the name of the public, and in view of the agencies and methods employed to have these celebrations conducted and the real purpose for which the occasion is being utilised, this Committee as a political body, consistent with its duty to the country, feels bound to openly declare its view regarding this matter.

Celebrations in honour of or at the instance of an officer in authority, especially the head of the administration, are definitely opposed to public policy. The Government of Travancore themselves have made authoritative pronouncements discountenancing such attempts even so recently as May last. Nevertheless efforts are being inspired to celebrate the Shashtiabdapoorthi of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in such a manner as to make it appear to the outside world that his administration is both successful and popular. The Committee feels it its duty to lay bare straightaway the unvarnished truth that the administration of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has been neither successful nor popular.

Sir C. P. has, throughout the period of his administration, been against democracy and, during the recent talks with the State Congress

deputation on constitutional reforms, has not concealed his opposition to the idea of responsible government even as a distant goal. He has been persistent in his resistance to democratic advancement, and has not scrupled to adopt any means within his reach in his endeavour to suppress a genuine popular movement for the establishment of responsible government.

Sir C. P.'s administration has been characterised by the suppression of civil liberties which had long been enjoyed by the people of Travancore. He has effectively muzzled the Press in this country. Organised goondaism at public meetings has disfigured the public life of the country. Even mild criticism of his measures and acts is viewed with obvious disfavour by him, and those who have incurred his displeasure are visited with dire consequences. Thus freedom of the Press, freedom of speech and freedom of association have been throttled by him. Further, it is a regrettable fact that Sir C. P. has been responsible for a growing lack of confidence in the minds of the people in the judicial administration of the State.

His policy of repression has been responsible for the brutal excesses on the part of the police and the military extending even to shooting down of many persons in different parts of the country. Even a legitimate demand for an impartial inquiry into these occurrences has not received any response from him.

The genuine and earnest attempts of the State Congress to bring about a calm and peaceful atmosphere in the State, the indefinite suspension of civil disobedience, the direct approach to the Dewan to settle the matters in controversy between the Government and the people—none of these had the least effect to bring about a change of heart in Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. He has not even attempted to create an atmosphere of peace in the country. Political prisoners are still in jail. Prosecutions started against State Congress workers are still pending. The disabilities imposed as a result of political convictions still continue. Even the consideration of the question of constitutional advancement has been abandoned on the pretext of war. Sir C. P. has thus, in the words of Gandhiji, ill served the people of Travancore. The State has clearly suffered a vital setback in many directions under Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

The occasion of his Shashtiabdapoorthi, nevertheless, is being availed of to glorify his administration and to cover up the wide-spread discontent and dissatisfaction consequent on his administration. Organisations and individuals under obligations to Government in various ways are being suborned for this purpose. Officers of Government such as magistrates, tahsildars, muniffs and police inspectors figure largely in the personnel of the celebration committees, and their influence is being freely exerted to secure contributions and to get up memorials and addresses.

The demoralisation consequent on such interference is self-evident.

This Committee, therefore, emphatically repudiates these efforts purporting to be on behalf of the public. This Committee entirely dissociates itself from and lodges its emphatic protest against all attempts that are being made to celebrate the Shashtiabdapoorthi of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan, in the name of the people of Travancore.

Resolution on General Situation

The Committee considered the situation arising from the discontinuance by the Dewan of the talks between the Government and the representatives of the State Congress, and the press communique issued by the Government on 23rd September in which they say that they will invoke the provisions of the ordinary law and the Defence of Travancore Proclamation to suppress any scheme of constitutional agitation in the country. The Committee condemns the arbitrary manner in which the negotiations have been terminated. The reasons given for such termination are certainly unconvincing. The Committee, therefore, reaffirms its intention to carry on constitutional agitation for the establishment of responsible government in the country. Threats on the part of the Government to suppress even constitutional agitation shall not deter the Committee from pursuing its clear course.

The programme of the State Congress for the immediate future shall be :

1. That the 8th, 16th and 24th of every Malabar month shall be observed as the Civil Liberties Day, Responsible Government Day and Political Prisoners' Day.
2. That the organisation of volunteers and desh sevikas and opening of training centres for them shall be undertaken immediately.
3. That the programme shall be revised from time to time by the Working Committee to suit conditions then existing.

Travancore Government Press Note

In a communique issued on the 23rd September 1939, the Travancore Government pointed out that they cannot permit an organised scheme of agitation at this juncture in view of the present situation and the industrial and economic position of the people who are affected by, the adverse conditions produced by the War in a country so dependent on imports and exports as Travancore. They gave a warning that such a scheme of agitation is bound to give rise to serious repercussions, and the Government who have a duty to protect the law-abiding citizens of the State would be forced to take all necessary steps for maintaining normal conditions.

The Travancore State Congress have now arranged for the holding of public meetings on the 8th, 16th and 24th of every Malabar month, these days being styled as Civil Liberties Day,

Responsible Government Day and Political Prisoners' Day respectively. Volunteer rallies, opening of training camps, and what is called organisation work are also contemplated. It is noted that these demonstrations are timed to begin on the day preceding the commencement of the functions in celebration of the birthday of His Highness the Maharaja.

All persons are hereby warned not to take part in these demonstrations and rallies; and against attempts by means of pamphlets, leaflets, etc., to inflame public opinion and promote agitation and unrest. Persons organising or taking part in such agitation and demonstrations are liable to be dealt with under the Defence of Travancore Proclamation and Rules without further notice.

Huzur Cutcherry,

Trivandrum, 30th October, 1939

CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT

Notes

The Supreme Loyalty

One wonders if the British Government will ever have an idea of the depth of feeling behind the speeches of ministers made on the resolution on India and the War. The Government of India owe it to the British Government to acquaint them of it. There were two or three things that were common to all the speeches—the absence of all thought of embarrassing the British Government; the desire to help them; and the readiness to leave the office held for over two years with a high sense of responsibility, because the country required it. But the Madras Prime Minister's speech was perhaps the most heart-stirring of all. For nearly two hours he spoke with deep and solemn emotion while the House listened to him in silence in which one could hear a pin drop. Almost unconsciously his mind went back to one of the greatest of all Shakespeare's plays, *King Lear*, as he described the conditional nature of the Congress offer for co-operation and compared it with Cordelia's expression of loyalty to her father. I shall let the passage speak for itself!

"The Congress coupled its offer of co-operation to Britain with a claim for a declaration in respect of India's status. Was this right or proper? Would not whole-hearted unconditional help have been better as the Princes and certain communities and classes have rendered? But was it unnatural for the Congress to think of India when going to help England? I am reminded of a story. I should not tell stories on this occasion, but it is a great story from the greatest of England's poets. King Lear divides his realm among his daughters. His first daughter says:

'Sir, I love you more than words can
wield the matter;

Dearer than eyesight, space, and liberty;

Beyond what can be valued, rich or rare.'

That pleases Lear and he gives a large share of the kingdom to her. He then asks the second daughter to speak. She goes one better and declares:

'I profess

Myself an enemy to all other joys

Which the most precious square of sense
possesses,'

and Lear gives her an ample third of his kingdom. But when Cordelia's turn came she simply said, 'Nothing, my lord,' and when Lear persisted in getting her to speak out, she simply said she loved her father

'According to my bond; nor more nor less.'

She could not give *all* her love to him as she had to reserve a part for her husband. Lear was a fool because he became mad and got vexed with the youngest daughter who spoke so naturally and truly, and turned her out. The rest of the story is well known. It is not a mere story. It contains a great and fundamental truth. No one who has read the great tragedy can forget the lesson it contains."

An Inspiring Example

Response to Gandhiji's appeal for a fitting celebration of Thakkar Bapa's seventieth birthday is coming in from various quarters. The response is obviously to the appeal made by Gandhiji, but not entirely due, if I may say so, to the rich tribute paid to Thakkar Bapa by him. For some of those who have responded and associated themselves with the appeal have done so for the inspiration that Bapa's life has meant for them. A light unto himself he has kindled many a light of service and sacrifice. A worker from Gujarat, in sending a contribution of Rs. 10, said that he owed his love of Harijans entirely to Thakkar Bapa. Shri Kishorelalbhai writes in a note in *Sarvodaya* that it was at Thakkar Bapa's instance that he offered his services to Gandhiji, and that his life of self-effacement and clocklike regularity has been a perpetual inspiration to him. And now comes this tribute from Shri A. Vaidyanatha Iyer, which has all its own value:

"I am sending by separate M. O. Rs. 100 for Thakkar Bapa's 70th birthday. I would have liked to give more but for the fact that the recent temple entry movement has drained me almost dry. As you might have known, from October 1938 up to July 1939 I tried to resign thrice from the presidentship of the Tamilnad Harijan Sevak Sangh owing to sheer despair at my inability to help the Harijans; but Thakkar Bapa stood firm, and in April 1939 he pointed out that unless I found a person willing to take up the work I would not be doing my duty, and so I had to take it up again. But for his insistence it (temple entry) could not have been achieved. I had equally strong objection in 1935 when he asked me to take it up; but he came to me between 9 and 10 p. m. and persuaded me to take it up, though I found I was utterly unfit, being scarcely a half-time worker, more engrossed in the day-to-day business of earning money and wasting the same."

A fund in honour of one who has inspired many selfless workers, and to be used for the cause he has made his own, should be over-subscribed.

Segaon, 7-11-39

M. M.

H A R I J A N

Nov. 11

1939

OPINIONS DIFFER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An M. A. of Aligarh writes:

"You have said on many occasions that your study of the Holy Quran has revealed to you that Islam enjoins non-violence upon its followers. You again say that your study of the life of the Holy Prophet confirms you in this belief. Allow me to say that it must be only a sort of 'wishful' reading that you have done. The simple fact is that your philosophy of ahimsa eschews the use of force altogether. Islam, on the contrary, does allow the use of force on certain occasions. Did not the Prophet meet force with force at Badr? I dare not cite any authority because you have refused to accept any interpretation except your own. Yet I hope you will show some respect to what your own hypnotised Maulana Saheb said so long ago as during the first non-cooperation movement. He said in his statement to the court: 'I do not agree with Mahatma Gandhi that the use of force should not be allowed in any case. Because I am a Muslim I believe that the use of force is allowed on the particular occasions specified by Islam.' Again he said in the same statement to the court during his trial: 'Against the non-Muslim Government, Islam prescribes only sword, protracted battle and the cutting of throats.' I am sure Maulana Saheb cannot deny it even today.

So much for non-violence in Islam. As to the question whether the Muslims are a separate nation or not, I would say that the Muslims have been a separate nation ever since the beginning of Islam. They were so when Mohammad bin Kasim first set foot on Indian soil, they were so during the days of the Moghal Empire, they are so even today, and they will remain the same for ever if they are true to their religion. Akbar attempted to evolve not only a common religion but also a common social system, but were not his attempts doomed to failure? The Muslims are a separate nation in the sense that they cannot merge their identity with any other community. But this need not frighten the champions of unity at all. Co-operation in some particular sphere for some particular goal is always possible. Breathing the same air and inhabiting the same land does not make a nation. It is the unity of thought that really matters. It is religion which moulds the mind. A Muslim may be the next-door neighbour of a Sikh. But their view-points, their modes of thought and their modes of life will always differ from each other. The air is the same all round the globe. Is the air of England in any way different from that of India? Physical surroundings affect only the physical features. The mind is not affected by them. Of course, the Christians are also a separate nation, and so are the Parsis. India is a land of nationalities. It will be a red-letter day in the

history of India when the Indian National Congress is transformed into a 'Federation of Indian Nations'.

Yes, the Muslims are a separate nation in China. If the insinuation is that they merged themselves with the other Chinese, then I can only say that they stand as an object-lesson before the whole Islamic world. Islamic brotherhood will be reduced to a mere farce if the same process continues. Islam has definitely laid down that the Muslims should have some distinction even in their dress. Does not Maulana Saheb stand prominent among the members of the Congress Working Committee?"

I have no doubt that this letter represents the present mood of many educated Muslims. I do not propose to enter into any long argument about the interpretation of the Quran. Being a non-Muslim I am at a disadvantage. If I began an argument, the natural retort would be: "How can you, a non-Muslim, interpret Muslim scriptures?" It would serve no purpose to answer back that I have the same reverence for Islam and the other faiths as I have for my own.

I may, however, inform my correspondent that I had before my mind the battle of Badr and similar incidents in the Prophet's life. I was aware of verses in the Quran itself contradicting my interpretation. I suggest, nevertheless, that it is possible that the teaching of a book or a man's life may be different from isolated texts in a book or incidents in a life, however many the latter may be. The Mahabharat is the story of a bloody war. But I have maintained in the teeth of orthodox Hindu opposition that it is a book written to establish the futility of war and violence.

I have no right to speak for the Maulana Saheb. He is well able to take care of himself. I must confess that I have no recollection of the Maulana Saheb having given the evidence quoted. I do not question the veracity of my correspondent. Only that evidence does not affect the opinion I have held for many years about the central teaching of the Holy Quran. Opinions will differ to the end of time. I plead for mutual forbearance.

The proposition laid down by my correspondent about nations is startling. There may be arguable grounds for maintaining that Muslims in India are a separate nation. But I have never heard it said that there are as many nations as there are religions on earth. If there are, it would follow that a man changes his nationality when he changes his faith. According to my correspondent English, Egyptians, Americans, Japanese, etc., are not nations, but Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs, Hindus, Christians, Jews, Buddhists are different nations no matter where born. I am afraid my correspondent occupies very weak ground in maintaining that nations are or should be divided according to their religions. In his zeal to maintain an untenable proposition he has overproved his case.

I must deny that the Muslim dynasties divided India into two nations. Akbar's example is

irrelevant. He aimed at a fusion of religions. It was a dream not to be realised. But the other Muslim emperors and kings surely regarded India as one indivisible whole. That is how I learnt history as a boy.

If we Hindus, Muslims and others are to evolve democracy, we shall do so only by the whole nation speaking its mind through its representatives elected under the broadest franchise possible, and that either through British goodwill or in the teeth of its opposition. The pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government give no promise of British goodwill. British Imperialism is still vigorous and, in spite of Sir Samuel Hoare's declaration to the contrary, it will die hard. The proposal to vivisect India is a contribution to imperialistic growth. For vivisection can only be made by the aid of the British bayonet or through a deadly civil war. I hope the Congress will be party to neither game. British refusal to make the required declaration of Britain's war aims about India has perhaps come as a blessing in disguise. It removes the Congress out of the way to enable the Muslim League to make its choice, unfettered by the Congress administration in eight provinces, as to whether it will keep the British yoke by vivisecting India or whether it will fight for the independence of an undivided India. I hope that the League does not want to vivisect India. I hope that my correspondent does not represent a large body of Muslim opinion in India. Presently the talks between Janab Jinnah Saheb and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will be resumed. Let us hope that they will result in producing a basis for a lasting solution of the communal tangle.

Seagaon, 7-11-39

BAPA JAYANTI

Shri Amritlal Thakkar, popularly and affectionately known as Thakkar Bapa among his numerous friends and admirers, is reaching his three score years and ten on 29th November, 1939. His whole life has been one of service and dedication, particularly in the cause of the backward tribes and the depressed and suppressed classes. It has been proposed to celebrate the happy occasion by presenting him with a purse of Rs. 70,000 on 29th November as a birthday gift by those who admire his work. I hope all interested in the cause of Harijan uplift will contribute generously towards this fund, which will be in charge of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi.

New Delhi, 2-11-39

RAJENDRA PRASAD

THE CONGRESSMAN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Congressman seems to have become a distinct species. The various groups who make up the Congress organisation have one thing in common. They are nationalists to the core. They will die for India's independence as they are living for it. They have made nationalism part of their religion, whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Christians or any other.

Now the Congress contains, besides those who need no other label but that of being Congressmen, Socialists, Communists, Kisan Sabhaites, Trade Unionists, Congress Nationalists, Royists, Ex-terrorists, the so-called Gandhi-ites, etc. I have not intentionally omitted any group. Some of these have sub-divisions. The Forward Bloc is an amalgam. Its other name is Leftists. As the Congress movement spreads, it may throw up other groups. But all of them have one thing in common: a burning passion for freedom and readiness to die for it.

It is true that the vast majority of Congressmen are Hindus. But they stand apart from other Hindus as we have found in the South during the campaign for temple entry. The Sanatanists, who I think and hope are a handful have fought the reformers who are mostly Congressmen, and have denounced the latter as traitors to their religion. The Hindu Mahasabha is becoming a protest against the Congress. Some of its members use about the Congress language calculated to create contempt for it. They regard Hindus who belong to the Congress as enemies of Hinduism. The Muslims who belong to the Congress are almost outcastes.

That the Congressman stands for complete independence, for bold social reform, for broad tolerance, has a brilliant record for suffering and sacrifice, is a matter for legitimate satisfaction. The formation of different groups in a mass organisation like the Congress is inevitable and may be a distinct sign of progress and life. But if it is so, why are there communal quarrels, why do the Mahasabhaites distrust Congress Hindus, why do not men and women belonging to all faiths flock to the Congress banner, and, last but not least, is it all well with the groups themselves which I have mentioned?

Let us examine their condition. Are they centripetal or centrifugal? Do they strengthen the organisation or do they weaken it? Are they not bidding for power? Do they not distrust one another? Do they submit to discipline?

I am not able to give a flattering answer to all these questions. I am afraid that these groups contain in themselves the seeds of the decay of the Congress. The cause that accounts for weakness within Congress ranks is also the cause that accounts for the Congress failure to draw all communities to its ranks.

That cause is absence of a living faith in non-violence in thought, word and deed.

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Now, therefore, is the time for every one of us to test the efficacy or otherwise of non-violence. A false step by the Congress at this stage of its career is bound to retard the country's progress towards its goal. Strange as it may appear to Congressmen, I make bold to suggest that the one way to disarm communal suspicion is not to offer civil disobedience in terms of Swaraj. The prospect that is about to face the country is that of the British Government in alliance with the so-called minorities arrayed against the Congress single-handed. Civil disobedience against this combination is a contradiction in terms. It would not even be civil war. It would be criminal war.

If Congressmen, whether labelled or unlabelled, do not subscribe to non-violence as I have been developing it in these columns, and do not appreciate the instructions issued by Rajendra Babu and the advice I have tendered in *Harijan*, they should signify in writing their discontent to Rajendra Babu and tell him what they would like him to do and, if he cannot comply with their wishes, what they would themselves do. It must be clear to every Congressman that this is no time for divided counsels, indecision, or half-hearted obedience to instructions. For decisive action the whole Congress has to move forward in confidence and with one mind.

On the train to Delhi, 31-10-39

EVEN HITLER MAY TEACH

II

As I have said in the previous article, the first thing to be borne in mind about the economic recovery policy of Germany is its "planned" nature in the sense of its being a "tangled network of State control, regulation and interference", maintained more or less by a "rule by decrees". But on the other hand there is this fact that few of the decrees are resented inasmuch as there is little exploitation for individual ends, a high standard of living is assured, housing conditions are steadily improving, and there is always a successful appeal to popular psychology. No effort was spared to din it into the heads of the people that "the Plan would mean sacrifices. The worker must put on one side his immediate hopes for a higher standard of living, the business world their desire for more freedom of action, and everybody their wish for lower taxation."

We have seen the measures for the improvement of agriculture and for the encouragement of a high type of farming, and we have also seen the measures for making the country self-sufficient in the matter of food and raw materials. No doubt in the wiping out of unemployment rearmament measures have played a large part. Thus a decree was issued on June 28, 1938, "empowering the State to call upon any citizen in the country to perform work of urgent national importance". "Under this decree hundreds of thousands of men were drafted from

their normal occupations, e. g. as builders in Berlin and elsewhere or as road-makers to work on new fortifications." But the greatest emphasis was laid on increased production of consumption goods alongside of what we may call "armament" goods. Thus the men employed in consumption goods in mid-1932 were 2,778,000, whereas in mid-1937 they were 3,906,000. Both in the production of consumption goods and other goods "the German policy is to become self-sufficing in those foodstuffs and raw materials for which she has an inelastic demand, or which, if they were cut off in the case of war, or as a means of political or economic pressure in time of peace, would bring disaster to the State..... So far as raw materials are concerned, the policy is directed to changing the raw-material basis of industry as far as possible from products which are scarce inside Germany, or which have to be imported, to products which can be obtained within the German borders or from contiguous countries with which she is not likely to be engaged in war. Thus plastic materials take the place of iron and other metals; the output of aluminium, magnesium and low grade iron ores is being greatly expanded; synthetic rubber replaces natural products, and staple fibre cotton and wool."

Then there is the policy of decentralisation of industry and population in Germany. The many-storied tenement buildings of the industrial age before 1933 are considered a monstrosity, and it is sought to replace these by small industrial towns scattered over the country-side. "The ideal before them is that each worker should live in his own house with a garden or allotment; and special facilities in many different forms are being made available to enable him to buy his house by payments spread over a long term of years.... All over Germany regional and town planning has been developed to a high degree along very efficient lines. There is a Central Planning Board in Berlin, a Reich Institute, linked up with all the universities, for conducting research into problems of planning and regional planning authorities in every State of the Reich.... An immense amount of activity is going on in this field; it represents one of the less known but most constructive aspects of modern Germany, and is one that may well provide valuable lessons for other countries."

Some of the features of the German Labour Policy are worth noting. The German Labour Front has replaced the trade unions which are all dissolved. This is in no way subject to the Ministry of Labour, but an independent organisation of the National Socialist Party. Its functions as set out in the Decree of 1934 are: "The aim of the German Labour Front is the formation of a real community of achievement amongst the whole German people. It must seek to ensure that every individual can take his place in the economic life of the nation in that mental and physical condition which will make for his greatest achievement, and thereby secure

the greatest gain to the community as a whole... The Labour Front must seek to preserve industrial peace by inculcating in employers an understanding of the legitimate claim of the employees and in the employees an understanding of the situation and the possibilities of the business in which they are working." It devotes many millions of marks annually to the relief of its poor and distressed members, and has a section called "beauty of work" which addresses itself to making the living and working conditions in every way ideal. This department 'persuaded' the employers in 1936-37 to use nothing less than 300 million Reichmarks on improvement of the factory premises. 'Model businesses' get special prizes fixed for the purpose, and in 1938 "as many as 84,000 businesses competed for this honour, and they were able to prove that they had expended voluntarily 786 million Reichmarks (nearly £ 40 millions) in welfare schemes, housing, etc., on behalf of their employees. One hundred and two firms in all gained this distinction."

(To be continued)

M. D.

UNFAIR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The London *Times* editorial seems to me to be unfair. The minorities question has invariably been brought up whenever the question of India's freedom has come to the fore. To represent the Congress and its demand as totalitarian is to misrepresent facts. This misrepresentation is not less serious because it is unconscious. The Congress has deliberately discarded the use of force. It has no military backing or tradition. It has from its inception believed in communal unity. It seeks to represent non-Hindus as well as Hindus. It has had Parsis, Muslims and Christians leading it. It has gone out of its way to placate all communities. It could not do otherwise as its only sanction was constitutional agitation till it forged non-cooperation and civil disobedience as an addition to constitutional agitation and as an effective substitute for violence. Communal differences have been used by the British Government to thwart India's aspiration. That the process is likely to have been unconscious does not make it less mischievous. That the Congress has no desire for loaves and fishes must be crystal clear from wholesale resignations of Congress ministries. The Congress will never be party to communal quarrels. It will rather stand aside and wander in the wilderness and wait for a better day. Even now the ugly spectacle of playing off the League against the Congress seems to be going on. I had expected that the stupendous European crisis would bring better perception to British statesmen.

The mention of the Princes in this connection is particularly unfair. They owe their existence to the Paramount Power and have no status independent of it. Strange as the assertion may appear, they can do nothing good or big with-

out the consent, tacit or implied, of the Paramount Power. They represent nobody but themselves. To invite the Congress to settle with the Princes is the same as inviting it to settle with the Paramount Power.

The Times wants the Congress record of dealings with Muslims and Depressed Classes during the last two years. All that I can say is, 'Let Governors of provinces speak.' That the Muslim League and some Depressed Class leaders complain is nothing strange. Some discontent is inevitable in democracy. The Congress has made a handsome and sporting offer. Let a Constituent Assembly of elected representatives frame a constitution for future government of India subject to safeguards for protection of rights of minorities to their satisfaction. Will British statesmen play the game?

Seagon, 6-11-39

A Useful Suggestion

An esteemed friend told me some days back that certain varieties of handmade paper were found to be liable to be eaten by vermin somewhat earlier than mill paper. Though this is not the general complaint and old handmade paper used for account books has been found to be very durable, I wrote to the Manager, Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur, and asked for his suggestion as to how the paper should be rendered as vermin-proof as possible. It should be noted in this connection that not even the best foreign paper has been found to be absolutely proof against vermin and silverfish, and the Imperial Records Office, Calcutta, is reported to have been waging an incessant and by no means successful war against silverfish, and to have referred the matter to scientists in England. Nevertheless all possible effort has to be made to give handmade paper as much immunity from this kind of attack as possible. Here, then, is the reply I have received from Shri Charu Bhushan Chowdhury, Shri Satish Babu's co-worker at Sodepur, where some of the best varieties of handmade paper are being prepared and researches and experiments are carried out:

"In order to make the paper vermin-proof a little copper sulphate should be used with the sizing material. We generally mix the sizing material in the diluted pulp before lifting the paper; whereas the custom everywhere is that sizing material is applied after lifting and drying the paper. We here save a good deal of labour and time, as we are mixing the sizing material with the diluted pulp in which there are some chemicals such as alum which does the preventive work of keeping the vermin aloof from attacking the paper. Now if the sizing material is applied afterwards, as is generally done, if it is used after lifting and drying the paper, a small quantity—say about one drachm—of copper sulphate may be mixed with about one gallon of sizing material, just so much as to give a blue tint. If the sizing material is made of glue, alum, to the extent of 15 per cent of the weight of dry glue, should be mixed with the paper with the sizing solution of glue. In order to protect the finished paper from attack of rats and insects, occasionally a very light solution of copper sulphate may be sprayed on the paper."

Let the paper producers, if they will, try this recipe and see how far it leads to a saving in labour and renders the paper safer against the attack of vermin.

C. S.

END THE GAME OF SEESAW

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have read with respectful attention His Excellency the Viceroy's broadcast and his introductory remarks on the correspondence between himself and Shri Rajendra Prasad and Jinnah Sahab released by His Excellency. I welcome His Excellency's refusal to accept defeat and his determination to solve what seems to have become insoluble. I share to the fullest extent His Excellency's anxiety to reach a solution. Without, therefore, waiting for the Congress reaction to these two declarations and purely for the sake of assisting the common cause, I would like to suggest that no solution is possible unless an acceptable declaration of war aims about India is forthcoming. The pronouncements hitherto made, whether here or in Great Britain, are after the old style, suspected and discredited by freedom-loving India. If Imperialism is dead, there must be a clear break with the past. Language suited to the new era has to be used. If the time has not yet come for the acceptance of this fundamental truth, I would urge that further effort at reaching a solution should be suspended. In this connection I would remind British statesmen that what is wanted is a declaration of Britain's intention regarding her Indian policy irrespective of India's wishes. A slave-holder, who has decided to abolish slavery, does not consult his slaves whether they desire freedom or not.

Once a declaration to free India from bondage, not in stages but at once, is made, an interim solution will be found to be easy. Protection of rights of minorities will then become simple. The game of seesaw will cease. The minorities are entitled to protection, not in stages but to the fullest extent and in one single step. No charter of freedom will be worth looking at which does not ensure the same measure of freedom for the minorities as for the majority. The minorities will be full-fledged partners in the framing of the constitution. How that can be attained will depend upon the wisdom of the representatives charged with the sacred duty of preparing the constitution. Britain has hitherto held power—this is inevitable in any system of imperialism—by playing the minorities against the so-called majority and has thus made an agreed solution among the component parts well-nigh impossible. The burden of finding a formula for the protection of minorities should be thrown on the parties themselves. So long as Britain considers it her mission to bear this burden, so long will she continue to feel the necessity of

holding India as a dependency. And patriots impatient for deliverance will fight, non-violently if I can guide them and violently if I fail and perish in the attempt. God's curse of war, I had hoped and still hope, would be turned into a blessing by Britain realising that the one thing needful for her to justify and hasten the end of this war was to free a great and ancient country like India from her yoke.

Believing as I do in the Viceroy's sincerity I would urge fellow-workers not to lose patience. There can be no civil resistance so long as, first, the Viceroy is exploring the possibilities of a settlement, secondly, the Muslim League blocks the way, and, thirdly, there is indiscipline and disunity in Congress ranks.

The second condition should not offend Muslim friends. So long as there is no workable arrangement with the Muslim League, civil resistance must involve resistance against the League. No Congressman can be party to it. I observe that my note in *Harijan* has shocked Jinnah Sahab. I am sorry for it. But at this stage I would not defend myself. I do not want to mar in any way the negotiations between him and Pandit Nehru which I hope will be resumed soon and pray will lead to communal peace.

Since making the above statement I have read the report of the further statement of the Secretary of State in the House of Lords yesterday. It leaves the main position unchanged.

Segaon, 8-11-39

Bapa Purse Collections

(Received at Segaon and *Harijan* Office—Poona.)

Shri Mathuradas	Rs. 1
" Jatashanker, Jani	10
" M. S. Desai	5
Anonymous	10
Shri A. Vaidyanatha Iyer	100
" Mulraj Mehrotra	5
" N. M. Bhavsar	15
" Anand Hingorani	25
" Rajkumari Amrit Kaur	70
" Ramji Bhagwan	2
" Acharya V. P. Limaye	100

Rs. 343

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HARIJAN

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[ONE ANNA

IS CONGRESS A HINDU ORGANISATION?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Evidently we have not heard the last of Lord Zetland's charge that the National Congress is an organisation representing Hindus and therefore national only in name but in reality communal. There cannot be a grosser libel on the Congress than this. From its inception it has been national. Its originator was an Englishman. The late A. O. Hume was long its Secretary. It has always had one or two Muslim Secretaries. It has had Muslim, English, Christian and Parsi Presidents. Dadabhai was, till he became invalided, the soul of the Congress. His was the guiding hand and the directing brain in everything. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was the uncrowned King of the Bombay Presidency. He was the maker of Presidents both of the Congress and of the Bombay Corporation. Badruddin Tyabji was for years a decisive factor in the deliberations of the Congress. Who does not know that whilst Hakim Sahab Ajmal Khan was alive nothing could be done by the Congress if it had not his *imprimatur*? Dr. Ansari was for years Joint General Secretary. The readers know the influence that the Ali Brothers exercised over the Congress during the Khilafat days. Today the Working Committee does not move without Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's co-operation and wise guidance. His is the decisive voice on Hindu-Muslim questions. Through its whole history now running into the second half of a century the Congress has ever striven to represent the whole of India in a manner no other organisation has done. Every victory scored by the Congress has benefited all communities.

"If such is really the case, why has the Congress usurped the function that belongs to the All India Hindu Mahasabha?" ask some angry correspondents. *The Tribune* has also pointed out what has appeared to the Editor the illogicality of the Congress. The illogicality has to be admitted. But neither life nor institutions are governed by logic. Obviously the Congress felt the necessity of a communal adjustment for the political advancement of the country, and the Congress-League Pact of 1916 was born. Ever since that time the Congress has made communal unity a plank in the Congress programme. Though the function should logically belong to communal organisations, a mass organisation

like the Congress cannot look on if communities quarrel and when in the national interest a solution becomes necessary. Thus the Congress could not shirk what came to it as a clear call to duty. The Congress is and should be the organisation to take a purely nationalistic and impartial view on communal questions. Whatever may be said to the contrary, I maintain that the Congress embodies the hope and aspirations of India. It can conclude no pact with any person if it does not represent the whole of India in so far as her political aspirations are concerned. Its traditions unfit it to represent Hindus as against Muslims or *vice versa*. It is fit to represent the common interest of all sons of Hindustan. I can see nothing wrong in the Congress trying to arrange pacts with men or their organisations for the furtherance of common interest. Needless to say they must be all mutually helpful, never contradictory. It is a difficult task no doubt. But if people and organisations extend their goodwill to the Congress, the task is not beyond its scope or capacity. It does not inspire that all-round trust today. It may therefore have to wait for that day. If some other organisation does it, Congressmen will welcome it.

Segaon, 13-11-39

SHRI M. N. ROY'S LETTER

My dear Gandhiji,

From the very beginning, I was of the opinion that it would have been not only honourable and dignified, but politically useful, for the Congress to adopt the policy originally recommended by you. I mean, the policy which has been called "unconditional co-operation". Since then, you have clearly defined what that policy would exactly mean. It would be moral support for the professed war aims of England, while there would be no active co-operation nor any active resistance. The attitude could be more correctly defined as that of benevolent neutrality. In my letter to the Congress President, written on October 19, I recommended neutrality on the part of the Congress, should the useless armed hostilities continue in Europe, disregarding an appeal for peace to be issued in behalf of the Congress and personally by yourself.

The present policy of the Congress practically amounts to neutrality, to some extent. But I am of the opinion that it was not necessary

to have the Congress Ministries resign at this stage. I expressed that opinion in my letter to the Congress President. In the same letter I explained how, remaining in office, Congressmen would not be necessarily obliged to co-operate willingly and actively in warlike preparations. I also pointed out how, on the contrary, the Congress Ministries could serve the very useful purpose of defending the maximum possible civil liberties against the operation of the Defence of India Act. By taking up the attitude of neutrality, in so far as armed hostilities or warlike preparations are concerned, the Congress would not find itself in the present deadlock, and could go ahead with the work for securing the freedom of India under whatever protection the Congress Ministries could offer. Launching upon the alternative policy of getting involved in an interminable controversy with the British Government, which can never be expected to give a positive reply to the Congress demand for the recognition of India as an independent nation, the Working Committee is being driven in the direction of a struggle for which, you are so decidedly of the opinion, the country is not prepared. This is not only an anomalous but a dangerous position. It could have been avoided, and it should have been avoided, if the Working Committee acted according to your original advice, even if they would not be influenced by the opinion of modest Congressmen like myself.

The above brief statement regarding the views of the particular group in behalf of which I am speaking, should satisfy your questions. This particular group obviously does not represent any centrifugal tendency. It is a group of loyal Congressmen who earnestly wish to strengthen the organisation to which they belong. When it criticises the policy of the present leadership and suggests the necessity of an alternative leadership, thereby meaning a change of the policy, not necessarily the personnel, it should not be accused of "bidding for power". I am decidedly of the opinion that the Congress will be seriously weakened, it will be in the danger of disintegration and demoralisation, if its members are deprived of the right of such honest criticism and even of revolt against a leadership when they feel that the organisation is not being properly led according to its relevant principles.

You admit that "the formation of different groups in a mass organisation like the Congress is inevitable, and may be a distinct sign of progress and life." Yet, you are "afraid that these groups contain in themselves the seeds of the decay of the Congress." This obvious contradiction can be explained only by the assumption that you have satisfied yourself that all is not "well with the groups". I do not know what is your source of information, nor do I hold any brief for the other groups, although I do not see any reason to doubt their *bona fides*. However, speaking for one particular group, I have no difficulty in giving straightforward replies to your questions,

and in reassuring you that you need not be afraid, in so far as this group is concerned. As regards our attitude towards discipline, we have publicly disagreed with the prevailing conception among certain Congressmen in high quarters; but while expressing our honest convictions freely, in practice we have always submitted ourselves to the discipline of the organisation to which we belong. Both the Congress President and the Secretary of the A. I. C. C. will bear testimony to this fact.

As regards your question, what this particular group would like the Working Committee to do, I need not give any answer because already I have written to the Congress President *in extenso*. As regards the latter part of the same question, what would we do ourselves if the Congress President cannot comply with our wishes, the answer of this particular group is, while retaining the democratic right of agitating to convert the majority to our views, we shall abide by the decisions of the Congress. We have expressed our disapproval of oppositional groups inside the Congress acting in their own way whenever the decision of the majority goes against them. We have dissociated ourselves from the proposition of some opposition groups to organise war-resistance irrespective of the decision of the Congress.

I believe, this much will relieve you of any anxiety that you may have about the intents and purposes of this particular group. Now I turn to the question which, in your opinion, is the crucial.

I must confess that I have been rather perplexed by your insistence on tracing the root of every evil to the "absence of a living faith in non-violence in thought, word and deed". With the highest respect for your idealism, and admiration for the ideal of non-violence itself, I cannot help feeling that your insistence on absolute non-violence is not a practical proposition. An ideal cannot be realised before the pre-conditions thereof are created. I also have an ideal, perhaps it is more modest than that of non-violence. My ideal is the establishment of a social order in which human beings will be free from the present limitations to their progress in every department of life. In one word, that ideal is called Socialism. But it would be a foolishly impractical proposition for me to insist that from today everybody must be a Socialist in thought, word and deed. Much ground is to be covered before the ideal can be attained. In doing that we may not be always strictly acting according to the ideal; but in so far as every step in that direction brings us nearer to our ideal, we remain faithful to it. However, you may not be convinced by these arguments of logical or theoretical nature. Having regard for your view about the relation between the end and the means, I shall not press the point any more.

As a practical politician, I cannot take up the

same attitude towards non-violence as you do. The Congress being primarily a political organisation, all its policies and activities should be determined by political considerations. That is my firm opinion, and I have never made any secret of it. I am also of the opinion that this sceptical attitude towards a moral proposition which, however noble it may be by itself, is obviously irrelevant to our political purpose, does not in any way disqualify me to be a member of the Congress. If alarming signs of the Congress weakening are to be detected on all sides, the danger is not to be found in the honestly critical attitude of tried fighters for freedom like myself, but in the spirit of intolerance and dogmatism spreading throughout the country on your authority. People, having not the least in common with you, altogether incapable of ever sharing your "living faith", known far and wide to be always acting to the contrary, go about as the self-appointed conscience-keepers of all Congressmen, and have instituted throughout the Congress organisation a veritable system of moral inquisition. This pretence of morality on the part of the hypocrite is simply intolerable. As Congressmen, we are always ready to obey the instructions of all constitutionally competent authorities, although the sense of discipline cannot make us less jealous about our democratic right, which is to express our disagreement boldly and to endeavour to make the leaders take notice of the rank and file opinion, and to see that the Congress policy conforms to the will of the entire organisation and is determined according to the realities of the situation and necessities of the country.

Groups existing inside the Congress with this spirit can never do any harm to the organisation; on the contrary, as you yourself say, they "may be a distinct sign of progress and life". The basis of the unity of the Congress must be its political programme. So long as Congressmen are united with that purpose, their views on other questions should not be subjected to any uniform standard. If the political programme of the Congress is subordinated to other considerations, if the loyalty of Congressmen is to be judged not by their devotion to that ideal and the determination to fight for it but by the profession of irrelevant faiths, then the Congress will be in the danger of disintegration. This dangerous tendency is asserting itself throughout the Congress organisation. Hence the weakness that you fear and detect.

As far as the members of this particular group are concerned, they will never do anything to weaken the Congress, although they reserve the right to disagree with, and oppose the introduction of, doctrines and ideas having no bearing upon the political programme of the Congress. We regard the doctrine of non-violence as developed by you as such. Therefore, we have always criticised it, and we are definitely

of the opinion that your insistence upon the impractical proposition of every Congressman having a "living faith in non-violence in thought, word and deed" does more harm than good to the Congress, because it puts a premium on consummate hypocrisy. Congressmen are driven to hypocritical professions, not because they are morally depraved, but because you ask them to do the impossibility of transcending the limitations of their physical being. It is easier to pretend perfection than to have the courage to plead inability.

Finally, I must sound a note of warning. It will be an evil day for the Congress, if honest and determined fighters for freedom are asked to choose between the obligatory acceptance of a creed they do not believe in, and the freedom to leave the Congress. We shall never forfeit our intellectual independence, nor shall we voluntarily leave the organisation created by the masses of the Indian people. If, for no other fault than the courage of our conviction and our devotion to the cause of Indian freedom, we shall ever be driven out of the Congress, then the responsibility of weakening and destroying this organisation will belong to others.

I have spoken frankly,—with a heavy heart. I have made rather disagreeable and even bitter experience since I returned to this country with no other object than to place my services at the disposal of the great organisation leading our struggle for freedom. I have been looked upon with suspicion, treated as an outcaste, although I have the poor satisfaction of seeing some of my modest contributions going home, often much too belated and indirectly. I have spoken frankly, because I am speaking to a seeker of truth. Truth is not always beautiful, nor is the beautiful always true. Our country is passing through very fateful moments of its history. Today its future is in the hand of the Congress. The leaders of the Congress, therefore, should be always conscious of this grave responsibility which can never be successfully discharged except with the aid of collective intelligence of the entire organisation and a realistic view of the ugly truths of the situation. I and those Congressmen associated with me only want to help the Congress leaders discharge their responsibility. Blind obedience is not enough for that. We claim the right of approaching every problem according to our own lights, and offer our solutions, naturally hoping that they will be accepted when all other alternatives are found lacking. I presume you will appreciate the legitimacy as well as the honesty of this attitude, and do not doubt our motives.

Respectfully yours

M. N. Roy

Dehradun, 7-11-39

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H A R I J A N

Nov. 18

1939

POLITICS V. MORALS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In response to my suggestion in my article on the Congressman Shri M. N. Roy has sent a long letter not to Dr. Rajendra Prasad but to me. He asks for a public discussion of the points raised by him. Omitting the prefatory paragraphs which have no interest for the reader, the letter is reproduced elsewhere.

To take the ministerial resignations first, I feel sure that they have added to the prestige of the Congress. The Working Committee would no doubt have done better to have accepted my proposal, only if it could have assimilated non-violence with all the implications suggested by me. But the members of the Working Committee were too conscious of their duty to accept my proposal mechanically and without heart belief. The Working Committee's resolution was, therefore, the only true course for the Working Committee to adopt. Having done so, resignations were the logical result.

It would have been unbecoming to have retained office for the doubtful advantage of guarding civil liberty. If they were ministers of autonomous States, they could never have been ignored as they were about the war. Having been ignored, they would have been given satisfaction, when the attention of the British Government was drawn by the Working Committee to the grievous omission and when they were told how they could repair the mischief and retain India's co-operation in the prosecution of the war. The least that the ministers could do, therefore, was to resign if only to show the hollowness of autonomy. To remain in office after the discovery of their impotence would have been to court ignominy. To retain office for the protection of civil liberty would have been to mistake the wood for the tree. And Shri Roy may feel quite sure that the weakened ministers would have been poor guardians of civil liberty. The Governors would have set aside their decisions and caught hold of those whom they would have chosen to imprison. The ministers had taken office principally to advance Independence. When they failed, they were bound to forego every other advantage however great in itself. And they can never go back to their offices so long as the demand of the Congress remains unsatisfied.

Civil disobedience is by no means the next inevitable forward step. It depends upon a variety of circumstances some of which I have already mentioned. Inaction is often the most effective action in the strategy of war — more so when the war is non-violent.

Now for the crucial point. Non-violence is the central fact of the civil disobedience technique. It was in 1920 that the Congress hooked its politics deliberately to fundamental morals and vital social reform. It came to the conclusion that Swaraj could not be won without non-violence and certain definite social reform, viz. prohibition and removal of untouchability. It also put the charkha at the centre of its economic programme. Indeed it eschewed the then known political programme, i. e. the parliamentary. Hence the introduction of morals into Congress politics was not and is not irrelevant to the Congress fight for freedom. It is its core. There were a few grumblers then. But the vast majority welcomed the programme as the Congress had never done in the whole of its brilliant history. That programme justified itself by giving rise to a mass awakening on a phenomenal scale. By it the Congress gained an importance it had never before enjoyed. Shri Roy would not expect me at this stage to repeat here the argument that led to the enthusiastic acceptance of the programme. He should turn to the pages of *Young India* if he would know the pros and cons of the subject. The Congress became a mass democratic organisation from the time of acceptance of the programme, and it framed a democratic constitution which stands to this day without much material and fundamental alteration.

The Congress has a double function. It is a democratic organisation in peace time. It becomes a non-violent army in war time. In its second capacity it has no voting power. Its will is expressed by its general whoever he may be. Every unit has to tender him willing obedience in thought, word and deed. Yes, even in thought, since the fight is non-violent.

.. Shri Roy and other Congressmen do not need to be told that I am not in the habit of losing co-workers. I go a long way with them in winning their affection and retaining it. But there does come a limit beyond which my compromise does not and cannot and should not go. No compromise is worth the name which endangers chances of success.

Segaon, 14-11-39

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UNNECESSARY ALARM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Writing on my statement on the Viceregal preface to the correspondence between the Viceroy and Shri Rajendra Prasad and Jinnah Saheb, an esteemed co-worker says:

"I have read with some surprise and distress your statement in today's papers which makes any further action by us dependent on a settlement with the Muslim League and on the Viceroy continuing his efforts at parleying. I should imagine that this attitude makes any settlement either with the British Government or the Muslim League most difficult."

This sentiment is probably shared by many Congressmen. I must therefore try to dispel the fear. In my opinion suspension of civil disobedience is inherent in both the cases. We may not precipitate civil disobedience whilst the Viceroy is making an effort to placate parties. The suspension cannot be indefinite or even prolonged. We may not put ourselves in the wrong. Suspension for the sake of the Viceroy is an aid to settlement.

As to the Muslim League, it seems to me to be self-evident that, whilst we are quarrelling among ourselves, we cannot resort to civil disobedience on any large scale. This is obvious. Moreover we cannot come to a true settlement by hiding the truth from ourselves or others. I refuse to believe that Muslims can possibly hold up for any length of time the progress of the country which is as much theirs as others'. I see no harm in making the admission that, if the crores of Muslims do not desire freedom, they can at least for a time prevent it for the others, unless the latter are prepared to fight the former. I have eliminated that possibility so far as the Congress is concerned. The admission of the obvious is a gesture of goodwill towards the Muslim League. It throws also the onus on the League of blocking the country's progress. The admission should improve the prospect of a settlement.

It is worth while noticing the use of the word 'action' in the remarks quoted by me. What I have contemplated is merely suspension of civil disobedience in the event of the two contingencies mentioned by me, not of every variety of action. The Congress is not a static organisation. It is ever moving. Whilst I cannot anticipate events, I have no doubt that the Congress will find means other than civil disobedience, within its self-imposed limits, of dealing with the crisis. I must repeat that we shall harm the cause by being impatient. I daily receive letters from men and women telling me that they are ready for the word and they will give a good account of themselves, and that I need have no fear of an outbreak of violence. To all these I would say that, if they are sincere in their professions, patient waiting will add to their strength and ensure success.

Segaon, 13-11-39

EVEN HITLER MAY TEACH

III

There are prizes and competitive examinations for skilled work in various occupations, and there is a vast travel organisation for enabling the German workers to get cheap holidays. The Labour Front owns a large fleet of steamers and provides sea-trips and mountain excursions. Six million persons availed themselves of these facilities in 1936.

"Every business employing more than twenty people has a confidential council consisting of from two to ten members of the staff and the employer," and its function is to improve mutual relations and to act as an intermediary between the employer and the employed. Then there is the institution of the courts of Social Honour empowered to try cases where either a worker or an employer has offended against "social honour",—abusing by the employer of his position in the firm, maliciously exploiting workers, insulting or abusing them being considered a breach of "social honour". The court can warn, reprimand, and fine up to 100,000 Reichmarks.

How far the German worker is satisfied with his lot and status it is difficult to say, but there is enough psychological appeal to keep him contented. "When Herr Hitler, echoing Frederick the Great (who said: I am the first servant of my State), said, '*I am the first worker (Arbeiter) in my State,*' he was making a very profound appeal to the imagination of the masses. The chief national holiday, May 1, is Labour Day, and across most of the banners in the processions are written the words: '*Honour work and esteem the worker.*'"

There are other striking features which may be copied by every country. There is the compulsion on all young men, in addition to military service, to spend half a year doing hard work with pickaxe and spade; the inculcation in them of the principle that "work is not only a means of earning money, but is the moral basis of national life"; there is the pressure on employers of the large firms to eat their lunch with their employees at the factory canteen; every attempt is made to increase the self-esteem of the worker, the Labour Front having developed a strong pro-worker bias; "a great deal is done to discover and to encourage and foster native ability, wherever it is found."

There is above all the great principle of the State recognition of the right to work, with which goes the duty to work, the State exercising the right to lay down conditions under which a man shall work.

We will not go into the question whether Germany can maintain full employment after rearmament comes to an end, for we have considered the whole recovery policy apart from the "rearmament" part of it. But the author says that the economy is sufficiently well planned to find reserves of investment in the

shape of housing, canal-making, engineering industries, road-building and so on, and that there are "strong *prima facie* grounds for believing that Germany's economic well-being is not vitally bound up with rearmament." And though National Socialism is nationalist, it is socialist within the limits of its own interpretation." While the official teaching of the *Hitler Jugend* is directed towards fostering racial and nationalist sentiment in a high degree, it emphasises scarcely less strongly the "socialist aims of the regime — e. g. the subordination of private interests to those of the community, the notion of private property as merely being held in trust for the benefit of the nation as a whole, the paramount importance of the rise in the standard of living as the ultimate objective of the economic system, and so on."

Wedded as we are to non-violence in economics no less than in politics, Hitler has nothing to teach us so far as raising of the plane of our national life is concerned. Non-violence is a plane, than which it is not possible to conceive one higher. But Hitler has, as we have seen, many a lesson to teach us so far as planning and organising are concerned. Our non-violence may remain confined to mere talk, if we have not Hitler's drive for planning and doing. Non-violence must not mean laziness, slovenliness and shoddiness.

Segaon, 15-10-39

M. D.

HORIZONTAL v. VERTICAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Prof. J. C. Kumarappa has contributed a thought-provoking article to the *Gram Udyog Patrika* for September. I take from it the following extracts with slight unimportant alterations:

"According to the conception of the economic organisation on which the A. I. V. I. A. is based, the villager is taken as the centre around whom the universe revolves. What contributes to his welfare is primary and everything else is secondary. Whatever the merits of a plan may be, if it fails to give employment and thereby direct a due share of the wealth produced towards the villager, it will stand condemned. The result or end of economic activity is wealth production for consumption by the producers. Wealth is usually produced by the intelligent use of the means of production and the application or employment of human talent or power. Planning, in the first instance, consists in the rational co-ordination of these three factors. We may express this mathematically thus:

$$W = E + M$$

Here W stands for wealth, E for employment of human talent, and M for means in the shape of tools, equipment or capital. In this equation, keeping W constant, if M is large, E will have to be small, and vice versa, that is E and M vary inversely. Therefore, in planning, our first step will have to be the ascertaining of the availability of E and M.

In Great Britain, at the time of the Industrial Revolution, when capitalism was 'planned' without

a fanfare of trumpets, there was a glut of M due to fortuitous circumstances such as the loot from India. Therefore the system evolved used more capital and less labour.

In the New World, on the other hand, there was a scarcity of E as the people were few, so they had to increase the only factor capable of increase, i. e. M, by borrowing capital.

So we see that in the cases of both Great Britain and the United States of America the unconscious Planning resulted in Capitalism, in the former case due to capital being large, and in the latter case to labour being scarce. We cannot adopt their method without scrutinising the factors available to us.

When we look around our country we find E in abundance while M is very scarce, and therefore, if our planning is to be effective, we have to lay our foundation stone on labour and not on capital.

Again, the function of large scale industry is not clearly understood. Most people seem to think that all will be well as long as we produce large quantities of standardised goods. They cannot see that the method of large scale production can only be employed as a handmaiden of the cottage and village industries, the former supplying the basic needs of the latter on a service basis. Again, if we may have mathematical symbols, we may compare the economic relationship between these two methods of production to that between the State and citizen in the political or social sphere as

Centralised : Decentralised :: State : Citizen.

Properly conceived the State should serve the citizen. The citizen may work for his profit but not so the State. Similarly, the decentralised units may work for profit but not so the centralised units. Just as the State cannot be allowed to compete with the citizen, so also the centralised industries should not be allowed to enter the field of production of decentralised industries. If this line of demarcation is not kept clearly in view, it will spell disaster.

It does not do to plan vertically, i. e. emphasising the functions and thus making them into separate industries, e. g. banking, insurance, etc., which is the way of capitalism. The other way is to take the industries horizontally and study their processes and apply the functional aid at suitable points. The plan of work of the All India Spinners' Association is a good example of a horizontal system of planning, while a spinning mill is an example of vertical planning. There can be no compromise between these two methods.

I fear that if we proceed to plan without a keen appreciation of the two foregoing factors, we shall only be substituting brown capitalism for the white variety we are so familiar with. Who shall say whether our second state will not be worse than the first?"

On the train to Simla, 24-9-39

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Notes

Award or Decision ?

Protests against an innocent sentence in my article 'Good and Bad' (*Harijan*: 4-11-39) are being showered upon me from all sides. The writers pay me an unintended compliment for accuracy when they detect and severely criticise, a hasty inaccuracy in my writings. I admit that what I have described as an award was after all not an award but a decision of the British Government. And if it was not an award, there could be no question of my being party to it. But apart from that my "being party" requires an explanation. I was signatory to no application to the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. But having refused to sign the reference that was placed before me, I wrote to the deceased Prime Minister to the effect that whatever all parties agreed to in the matter of communal adjustment would be accepted by the Congress. That project, however, fell through and there was no award but a decision given by the British Government in the absence of an agreed reference. A lapse of memory on my part cannot alter facts. But I am sorry for the trouble so many correspondents have been put to owing to my inaccuracy. Beyond however expressing my sorrow, I am afraid I shall not be able to mend my ways. Working under double pressure the slip like the one that has angered so many correspondents is likely to recur. But would-be correspondents will find me always ready to correct inaccuracies whenever they occur. And let my critics remember that of the neutral formula of the Congress too, for which they have suddenly developed a liking, I was the author. They may also feel assured that if the time came during my lifetime for an agreed revision of the decision, which has many glaring defects, they will find me among the workers helping to evolve an equitable adjustment. What I will not do is to make an appeal to the British Government to revise it over the heads of the parties affected. It stands till the parties agree to purge it of its absurdities.

Segaon, 14-11-39

M. K. G.

Separate Nations or One Family ?

The fissiparous tendency has been the bane of India all along, and the latest—and let us hope the last—victims to this tendency are those Muslim friends who declare that the Muslims are a separate nation, different and distinct from all the rest of them, Hindus, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians and others.

But this emphasising of differences and ignoring of the common humanity of which all of us are sharers, is diametrically opposed to the teaching of the Prophet (on whom be Peace). Thus a *hadis* runs as follows:

"The whole world is the family of God. Therefore he alone is good in His eyes who accords kind treatment to all His creatures alike."

And a peace-maker in the Prophet's view was a better Muslim than he who fans the fire of strife, for he said:

"Shall I not inform you of a better act than fasting, alms and prayers? Making peace between one another; enmity and malice tear up rewards by the roots."

One of his commandments runs thus:

"Assist any person oppressed, whether Muslim or Non-Muslim."

V. G. D.

THE INDIAN VILLAGE

The Ruin of the Handicrafts

Shri J. C. Kumarappa has been interesting himself in the villagers and their condition for some ten years or more, but not until he came into living contact with the villagers during the present year, as Chairman of the Industrial Survey Committee appointed by the C. P. Government, could he make the startling discovery that the average *per capita* annual income of a villager did not exceed Rs. 12. Shrimati Hemaprabha Devi, the wife of Shri Satishchandra Dasgupta, who has been a tower of strength to him in all his work for the rehabilitation of the villager, is now touring the Bengal villages with a view to reviving the cottage industries there, and her experience too is revealing. She has not worked out the average income—it was not her purpose—but economically the villages she has been visiting are on a par with the villages visited by Shri Kumarappa. Here is a village to which she has lost her heart, as it affords peculiar facilities for work. Gajaria is a village in Mymensingh district. It is beautifully situated. The bulk of the population are Chamars—80 families of shoemakers all told. There are no other Hindus.

"This," she writes, "is a much cleaner village than many others inhabited by Chamars I have seen. In fact it is so clean that we can stay in the village without any discomfort. Not only their houses and roads are clean, their living is also clean. But all are illiterate. That is the only difference between them and the *bhadralogs*. We are running a little school here. The children learnt takli in fifteen days and are showing steady progress. I met and talked to the women. They are all ready to spin and make their own clothes. Eight or nine students from here are receiving training at Sodepur. The villagers are prepared to give us ten bighas of land if we have a dead-cattle-hide institute here, and also a factory for sandals and shoes. Today there is hardly any work for them.

Next I went to a village with ghanis. All the oilmen are Mussalmans. They are all in a very bad way. Half of the ghanis are idle. I went to the pewter market. There are pewter utensil makers, but few are made as there is no demand, and enamel and aluminium ware has taken the place of them. There was a time when every shop had its list of purchasers who placed regular orders with them, but today there is no trace of those purchasers. Then I come to the jute-growers. All kinds of articles used to be woven out of jute yarn, but all those crafts are gone and the jute-grower simply grows for the millowner in Calcutta whose steam launch I see carrying away a load of jute as I am writing this.

Another village. There are two communities only among its inhabitants. Both of them are sunk in poverty. There is no subsidiary occupation. They depend entirely on agriculture for their scanty living. They do not get even enough rice to eat. Around them is a jungle infested with tigers, and none dare go out of their homes for fear of them."

The description of another village in Nowakhali District throws a flood of light on the Hindu-Muslim problem. This village Karaiya Bazar is a predominantly Muslim village (90 per cent being Mussalmans). This is a colony of spinners. Shrimati Hemaprabha Devi talked to them at length about the necessity of wearing khadi. As they were talking a number of fisherwomen came to see her. The menfolk catch the fish and the womenfolk hawk it and weave nets when at home. As she began to talk to them about spinning one of the women said: "There are so many spinners, but how little they earn!" Shrimati Hemaprabha Devi said: "That is because you do not wear the khadi produced out of their yarn, nor weave your nets out of it." Last year during the Id there had been a Hindu-Muslim riot here. Shrimati Hemaprabha Devi walked to the Mussalman quarters through mud and bush and jungle, in company with one or two local Muslim lads. Talk with Hindus and Muslims convinced her that some outside influence was responsible for the riots. One of the Muslims said: "There was no question of our being afraid of the few Hindus who stay here. But it was all the doing of a few *badmashes*." the result of a false rumour, while *namaz* prayers were being offered, that Muslims in a neighbouring village were being done to death! Shrimati Hemaprabha Devi met a number of Muslims and found that, far from there being any Hindu-Muslim animosity, there was a good deal of fraternity between them, as the Hindu weavers and the Muslim spinners are both steeped in poverty. Long talks convinced them that khadi was a uniting link between them and that, if they all made up their minds to wear khadi, the problems of poverty, marketing of khadi, and Hindu-Muslim ill-feeling would all be solved simultaneously.

The Life-giving Wheel

We take now the following picture given by Shri Hanmantrao Kaujalgi of a village in Hyderabad (Deccan) to illustrate the potentiality of khadi. I summarise from *Sarvodaya* the story of a Harijan spinner given by him. Village Podur has many fine yarn spinners and their yarn has still a market, for the fishermen prefer fine yarn to weave their nets from. Sanjamma was 83 years old when Shri Kaujalgi visited the village in 1934. She had given up spinning at the time of the visit, and when questioned she said: "I am now near death's door and I have nothing now to do with spinning or for that matter anything else."

The reason why she had given it up was really that the wage offered little attraction. But Shri Kaujalgi coaxed her to take up the wheel again and left a rupee as earnest money for the yarn she would spin. She was not inclined to accept it, but her grandson seized it. Eight months after Shri Kaujalgi went to the village to find Sanjamma at her wheel. He had taken his Yeravda Chakra (box charkha) to compare the outturn with that on the old orthodox wheel there. He sat down with Sanjamma and asked her to see how her wheel compared with his. She tauntingly said: "Mine is a poor affair before your new polished spinning wheel, but see how it beats yours." At the end of an hour Shri Kaujalgi had done on his wheel 350 yards of 20 counts, and Sanjamma had done 300 yards of 60 counts, even and strong and beautiful to behold. In order to give a fillip to fine-yarn spinning Shri Kaujalgi announced a prize of a sari to everyone who spun during the year 200 hanks of 1,800 yards each. Sanjamma was 86 when Shri Kaujalgi visited Podur in 1937. She had won her prize of a sari during the previous year. He asked her why she was not wearing the prize sari, as she had a tattered one on. She said: "That I am keeping for the next year!" So Sanjamma who thought she was waiting for the messenger of death in 1934 is looking forward to a few more years of profitable spinning! For three years she has been winning her prizes for fine spinning which gives her an average income of Rs. 25 a year. In 1938 she earned Rs. 36. She cannot now stand up except with great difficulty. Most of her time is, therefore, spent in sitting at the wheel or in taking care of the grandchildren. The wheel may well be said to have added to Sanjamma's years, having provided her with a zest for life, and she may finish her century.

Segaon, 7-11-39

M. D.

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[ONE ANNA

RAJKOT REFORMS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Having once offended, however unwittingly, against the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot and Durbarshri Virawala, I have restrained myself against saying anything by way of criticism of the Durbar's doings in that State. But duty to the people of Rajkot who have shown exemplary discipline demands a word from me on the reforms just announced. They expect me to give my opinion on them. It pains me to have to say that they have undone what the late Thakore Saheb had done. The adult franchise which it was the late Thakore Saheb's boon lasting 15 years has been revoked, and it has been reduced to the possession of property qualifications and a stiff residential test. The elected President gives place to the Dewan as permanent President. The original Sabha which was wholly composed of elected representatives is to contain 40 elected members against 20 nominated. The elected members will be sub-divided into minorities. The so-called majority will thus become really a minority. The natural course of reforms is progressive increase of popular control. Here without the slightest justification popular control has been materially reduced. The original Sabha had wide powers of legislation. These have been curtailed.

There was a definite announcement that the privy purse was to be fixed. The reforms ignore the announcement. The notification of December 26th last was to transfer to the people 'the widest powers possible'. My reading of them leads me to the conclusion that not only have the powers already possessed by the people been taken away but they have been limited as much as possible. In one word, the Thakore Saheb's, i. e. the Dewan's, will is to be the Supreme Law in Rajkot.

I am sorry to have to write these lines. I do not know whether these reforms are the last act of the tragedy for which my violence is responsible. A fast is a remedy to be applied only by an expert. It interrupts the even course of a movement for better. The slightest touch of violence damages it. I have admitted that my appeal to the Viceroy against the acts of the Thakore Saheb whilst the fast was pending was violence and vitiated the fast. I had thought that I had paid the penalty by repentance, and that the happy relations established

between the Thakore Saheb and Durbarshri Virawala and me would open a new and bright chapter for the people of Rajkot. The *darbar* held in my honour after my public repentance seemed to have set the seal on the good that the repentance had done. I see I was mistaken. Men's natures are not changed in a moment. I apologise to the people of Rajkot.

But I do not repent of my repentance. I am quite sure that what was morally right was also politically right. My repentance saved the people of Rajkot from a worse fate. It averted a communal clash. I am quite sure that in the end the people of Rajkot will come to their own. Meanwhile the evil, that the reforms in my opinion are, must be allowed to work itself out. Those citizens of Rajkot who have any sense of self-respect must abstain from co-operation in working them. They will, if they take my advice, watch, wait, pray and literally spin. They will find that they will be also spinners of real liberty in Rajkot in the non-violent way which is the only true way.

Allahabad, 20-11-39

Notes

Kamala Nehru Memorial

On the 19th instant I had the privilege of laying the foundation stone of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital in Allahabad before a large gathering. This hospital will be not only a fitting remembrance of the memory of a true devotee of her country and a woman of great spiritual beauty, it will be a redemption of the promise made to her by me that I would do what lay in my power to see that the work for which she had made herself responsible was carried on even after her death. She was going to Europe in search of health. The visit proved to be a search of death. As she was going she had invited me, if I could, either to join her for a brief talk during part of her journey to Bombay or to see her in Bombay. I went to Bombay. During the time that I was able to give her she asked me, if she died in Europe, to try to see that the hospital which Jawaharlal had commenced in Swaraj Bhavan and which she had laboured to keep alive was put on a permanent footing. I told her I would do what I could. That promise was partly the foundation for the appeal, to which I had

become party, for funds for the Memorial. Owing to circumstances beyond my control I was not able to take much active part in collecting the funds. The appeal was made for five lacs and only half the amount has come in. At the ceremony of foundation laying, I made an appeal to the large audience composed of the wealthy as also the poor to share the burden of making up the deficit. By judicious organisation it ought to be easy to make the collection for a cause so worthy and for a memory so sacred. Able doctors of all-India reputation like Jivraj Mehta and Bidhan Chandra Roy are among the trustees. They have made themselves responsible for the proper construction, organisation and management of the hospital. I hope that not only will the deficit be soon made up but the doctors will have no difficulty in securing a suitable staff for the efficient management of the hospital.

A Reminder

Narandas Gandhi tells me that I should remind the readers that all those who want to take part in the spinning yajna against the rentia jayanti should send in their names at once. The yajna took effect from the 11th October last. Those who have not yet sent in their names are already behindhand. But better late than never. Those who are behindhand can make up by spinning more than the stipulated quantity till they have made up for the past neglect. Narandas Gandhi has specialised in this class of khadi work. He loves figures at which he is quick. To keep an exact record of names and addresses of sacrificial spinners and register their output does not tire him. On the contrary he delights in this work. He believes in method. He thinks that the mere keeping of such registers systematises the work of which a register is kept, and stimulates workers. If a fairly large number will spin for sacrifice, they can help in bringing about a material reduction in the price of khadi. The scheme is rich with possibilities. I hope, therefore, that it will meet with the response it deserves.

A Good Suggestion

A khadi-lover says:

"Now that the Ministers have resigned in what are called Congress provinces, will they not be most usefully employed if they will make it a point to sell khadi by hawking or otherwise? Khadi is in the centre of the Congress programme. Thousands of Congressmen can occupy themselves with it as with no other. Will you not put my humble suggestion before the ex-Ministers in particular and all Congressmen in general? In every province there is a surplus stock. Spinning is consequently being cut down. It should not be so."

I endorse every word of what the khadi-lover suggests. Congressmen should make it their duty to see that all surplus khadi is sold without delay.

Allahabad, 20-11-39

M. K. G.

DESTRUCTION OF THE GHANI

(By G. Sitaram Sastry)

Proddatur is a small town of 25,000 souls in the Cuddapah district, Andhradesh. It was once famous for the paddy chakki, the country ghani and vegetable indigo. These have, however, been destroyed by the rice mill, the power oil mill and synthetic indigo respectively. Unemployment among the educated pales into insignificance before the problem of unemployment among the uneducated, which is a stupendous one, calling for immediate attention and solution.

The destruction of the ghani has been completed during the course of twenty years. The stages through which it has been brought about, the unemployment it has created, and the misery it has wrought in the homes of the poor and needy, deserve to be carefully studied.

Before the year 1910, there were 250 ghanis working in the town, employing 8 carpenters and 500 women and 250 men as unskilled labour. The daily labourers numbered 758; their pay bill was Rs. 152-7-0; the oil extracted came to 750 mds.; the output of oil cakes was 1,000 mds.; each woman was paid as. 2½, each man as. 4½ per day, and the carpenter's wages were as. 8 per day. The oil seeds used were known as kusuma. A colourless, odourless oil was produced which was used as ghee by the poorest people and adulterated with ghee for the use of the middle classes.

From 1920 onwards, the groundnut came into the market and drove out the kusuma. The ghanis increased in number to 400 and there was all-round improvement. The labourers increased to 1,220 (800 women, 400 men and 20 carpenters); the pay bill rose to Rs. 310, the daily wage went up to as. 3 per woman and as. 6 per man; while the output was 700 mds. of groundnut oil and 930 mds. of groundnut cake.

The kusuma seed was split up in the stone chakki and the groundnut shell was removed by the wooden chakki. The former was made near Bellary and the latter in Proddatur itself. The making of these chakkis provided additional employment to stone-cutters, wood-cutters and carpenters. These ghanis were turned by cattle, one ghani requiring 2 bullocks. Each ghani was owned by a family and not only provided food, clothing and shelter for them but also left a small surplus in their hands. The outlay was Rs. 40 for the ghani, Rs. 100 for the pair of bullocks, and Rs. 100 as working capital.

Then in 1920 came the Karachi-made oil press and held the field till 1935. The presses increased to 15 in number and gave employment to 120 women, 180 men and 4 carpenters; the pay bill was Rs. 152 because the wages had increased to as. 5 per woman and as. 10 per man. The output was 450 mds. of oil and 600 mds. of cake. Each press cost Rs. 800 and required a working capital of Rs. 6,000.

In 1936 came the expeller; there are 7 working at present in 3 mills, giving work to 60 women and 160 men; the pay bill is Rs. 66-4-0, the output of oil is 1,500 mds. and of cake 2,000 mds. Each factory costs Rs. 30,000 and requires Rs. 30,000 as working capital. The wage for a woman is as, 3 and that for a man as. 5½ a day. The carpenter has disappeared. The press and the expeller employ more men than women while the reverse was the case with the ghani. The power-driven machinery requires greater energy and concentration and has affected the workers' health.

The present output of oil and cake and the present wage rate may be taken as the standard and the work and wages in the earlier stages may be brought up to the same level for purposes of comparison and contrast. The following table gives the figures in detail:

Name of machine	Capital required	Quantity of Cake and Oil	Women	Men	Carpenters	Total	Daily wages of labour
7 expellers	Rs. 2,10,000	1500 mds.	60	160	..	220	Rs. 66/4
50 presses	Rs. 3,40,000	2000 mds.	400	600	13	1013	Rs. 287/12
857 ghanis	Rs. 2,05,680	" "	1714	857	43	2614	Rs. 637/7/6
500 "	Rs. 1,20,000	" "	1000	500	16	1516	Rs. 367/6

It will be seen from these figures that kusuma seeds are more easily pressed than groundnut; for producing the same quantity of oil and cake, the kusuma requires 500 ghanis while the groundnut requires 857. The other figures vary proportionately. But even with the groundnut it should be noted that 857 ghanis employ 2,614 workers, while the 50 presses employ only 1,013 or less than 2/5ths of the labourers, and the expellers have driven from the field all but 220 people or 1/13th of the original number. What, then, befalls the remaining 2,394 people? What about the 1,714 bullocks, dumb cattle that shared in the toil and profit of their masters? What about the 857 ghani-owners with their families? What about the makers of chakkis and their accessories? In all about 7,000 people and 1,700 cattle have been displaced. The capital

investment in the case of expellers is almost the same as in the case of ghanis, while the presses require 66 per cent more investment.

Local production by the masses has given place to centralised mass production by the mills, and the poor with their families have gone to the wall. Their case is forgotten; no alternative calling has been provided for them; they are starving on the meagre yield of the already overburdened industry of agriculture.

How long will this ruinous industrialisation continue to work havoc among the speechless starvelings of this ancient land, who are unable to defend themselves against the onslaughts of mill competition?

THE MAIN ISSUE

The following is the text of a statement cabled to *The News Chronicle*, London, by Gandhiji on the 14th inst.:

"I observe that the main issue between Britain and India is being confused in the British Press. Does Britain intend to recognise India as an independent nation or must India remain Britain's dependency? This question has not been raised by the Congress to gain an advantage over Britain, but to enable the people of India to decide how they should behave during the world crisis. The issue thus becomes purely moral for, owing to her material and military control of India, Britain is able to regulate the Indian and British garrison and drain India's wealth at her will. Eight provinces out of eleven have said in emphatic language that they cannot participate in the war, if it does not mean, among other things, India's complete freedom. All other issues are subordinate. The question of minorities is purely a domestic one for the majority and the minorities to settle themselves. The proposed Constituent Assembly is the only body that can evolve a proper and lasting solution. Any other can only be a make-shift carrying no popular sanction. To fling the minorities question in India's face is to, confuse issues. To raise the question of the Princes is still more untenable. They are part of the Paramount Power. It is painful to think that British statesmen do not so much as mention the millions of people of the States. Have they no voice in their own government? Are they to remain serfs, which they are, though they are dragged into the war? No wonder Herr Hitler has challenged the British Government to prove her sincerity by recognising India as a free nation. Whatever may be his intention in issuing the challenge, it cannot be denied that it is pertinent. Anyway, let the British public know that the Congress demand is unequivocal and capable of being satisfied if there is the will to shed imperialism. The Working Committee meets on the 19th instant at Allahabad to consider the next step. There should be no misunderstanding, therefore, about the issue. If there is to be a fight between Britain and the Congress, the world should know clearly what it is to be for."

"So we can attack Lord Zetland's speech. We can call them international robbers and say there is nothing to choose between their imperialism and fascism."

"Oh, yes."

"That won't get us into trouble?"

"Not certainly with *me*," said Gandhiji with a hearty laugh.

"Then I come to the next point," said the friend, forgetting that he was going beyond the line of defensive action. "Now that there is an irresponsible executive why should we pay taxes? Some of our Kisan Sabha friends find the position anomalous. Can't we refuse to pay taxes?"

"That would be civil disobedience. How can you start non-payment of taxes on a mass scale?"

"No, I do not mean on a mass scale."

"Then it will not be non-payment of taxes. It has no meaning except on a mass scale."

"Why not one or two men in a single village refuse to pay taxes as a kind of protest? It will be a test case."

"You may try it, but it will be sheer madness, I tell you. And you may be sure no one will listen to you. No, you must not run away with your feelings. I assure you I am capable of saying to the people, 'Those who are prepared to suffer to the uttermost may refuse to pay.' But that will not be today. The time may come some day — let us hope in my lifetime."

Centripetal or Centrifugal?

Gandhiji in his article 'The Congressman' had asked whether the different groups in the Congress were centripetal or centrifugal, and said that the groups contained in themselves the seeds of decay of the Congress. The friend thought that Gandhiji had been rather unfair to them. The demonstrations of the 9th of July did not, in his opinion, indicate a centrifugal tendency. He at any rate had said to his friends that he should prefer to resign his membership if he could not follow the Congress. "But," he asked, "is there any harm in doing what the Congress does not ban?"

Not to be easily beaten, Gandhiji said, "Everything is banned that the Congress does not advise to be done."

"But if a man feels so strongly about it and wants an escape, how is he to find it?"

"By leaving the Congress — which is the only right thing."

"You have asked us to rest content with the constructive programme. Now there are full-blooded people amongst us. They want to do something — something which may not be civil disobedience, but which may lead irresistibly towards it."

"That surely is constructive programme. It is surely for the general to decide what that is to be. 'Every man shall walk five miles a day,' says he, or 'Everyone shall go and help in emptying a tank, and then march.' If you believe in

observing discipline, don't you think everyone should do this?"

"But we do not know what exactly is to come ultimately."

"You may therefore say that my language is not precise. You would have me say, 'Ply the charkha for so many hours and, if so many people do it for so many hours, we will have civil disobedience?' I am quite prepared to say so."

"We do not say that the negotiations should not continue and the peace efforts should be relaxed, but we should keep ourselves ready."

"I am also ready to issue instructions to say that these are my minimum requirements, and that only those can join the non-violent army who satisfy them."

"I am glad you will do it. When you declared that the Working Committee had left the whole thing in your hands, at any rate as regards civil disobedience, we were all very happy, you put heart into us, and we gained a feeling of self-confidence. If now you think there is no harm, why should not the Working Committee organise a sort of Preparation Committee or give all power to you to prepare for all eventualities?"

"I will see what happens in Allahabad."

For the Sake of Unity

"Lastly," said the friend, "let me ask you one thing. If there is such need for unity, why should there be such persecution of the Leftists?"

"Persecution is a wrong word. There is none, and the ban can be removed provided there is the assurance of heart obedience being yielded."

"Why don't you assume it?"

"We cannot, as there are apostates in the ranks. And the worst that can happen is that we go on expelling people until, say, I am left alone. Then I should resign and declare that I am defeated. But joking apart, don't you think whoever wants the ban to be removed should say, provided he means it, 'I must not keep away, I will tender my apology'? And he will be immediately taken."

The friend was not prepared to accept this, for him, drastic kind of advice. He made it also clear that the rebellion would have been more violent, had it not been for the fact that Gandhiji was with the Working Committee in their decision. "It took their breath away when they saw that you also approved of the action of the Working Committee. They have a deep regard for you — not based on reason but personal affection. And for you they will do anything. If you can get the ban removed, they will be all very happy."

"Then what I suggest is that you should write a letter to Rajendrababu explaining everything and making the suggestion."

"I will see what can be done. All I would appeal to you to realise is that there should be no question of prestige with the Working Committee."

"There is no question of prestige, it is a question of discipline."

"The Congress, I think, has been given greater discipline than any army in the world. Against how few people have you had to take action?" It was something for the friend to have made this admission, for a moment ago when he was pleading for the removal of the ban against workers he had said there were numerous people who had been suffering under the ban!

"But," said Gandhiji, "I wish I could take the same view as you. I have brought into being so many organisations here and in South Africa, and I am not able to say that the Congress compares favourably with them. Wherever the organisations have done well, it was because the members have yielded willing obedience. Whereas here we have had violent disobedience."

The friend did not agree and was inclined for further argument. But the time was running against him. "Well," said Gandhiji to him, "take away one thought with you and say how many Congressmen have carried out the khadi clause."

Nothing daunted, the friend tried to make out that in *his* province at any rate there were few culprits among Congressmen.

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating," said Gandhiji. "There is a tremendous surplus of khadi everywhere. Why should your province not finish all the stocks lying unsold?"

Segaon, 17-11-39

M. D.

NO INQUIRY !

About two months ago Gandhiji wrote in these columns on the policy of ruthlessness pursued in the Limbdi State (Kathiawad), the persecution of the Banias, looting of their houses and shops, and appealed to the Thakore Saheb of Limbdi to appoint an impartial inquiry into the allegations and to pacify the discontented people. The Thakore Saheb, who knows Gandhiji very well, did not condescend to make any response, but Gandhiji received a letter signed by some of the loyalists in the State denying the allegations and asserting that the agitation for responsible government was a trumpery one set up by "certain Banias who wanted to monopolise power and to pollute our religion" — the loyalist signatories being all Sanatanist Hindus — "and who, when they found that the people were not with them, resorted to *hijrat* and boycott and tried to coerce us and the State into submission and promoted feelings of revenge against us. They have thus to make up not with the State but with us." On this I wrote to them saying that they should not expect Gandhiji to take in all that they had said, and suggesting either of the two courses: (1) They or the State should be prepared to welcome Gandhiji or his representative to Limbdi and to satisfy him of the truth of their statements; or (2) The State

should appoint an independent and impartial inquiry into the allegations of terrorism made by the leaders of the popular agitation. To this I have received the following reply :

"Every one of the people here believes that all that we have written to you is true, and we therefore see no reason for an inquiry. There is such harmony between the people and the State that there is already a scheme of reforms being framed in accordance with the aspirations of the people, some popular institutions have been already established, and in the circumstances no one here desires that any outsider should interfere in our affairs, and we therefore would not like to trouble Gandhiji or his representative to come here. The people have already been given the power, to a large extent, to redress the grievances of *hijrat*is and others. They should, therefore, apply to the Shaher Sabha Committee. In questions which we have not the power to dispose of they should apply directly to the State or through us, and as soon as they give up their feelings of revenge against us we shall treat them as our younger brethren and give them all help."

The letter is signed by the Chairman of the Shaher Sabha Managing Committee.

Limbdi State, let it be remembered, is not confined to the town of Limbdi but has a number of villages, of which several agriculturists have left the State along with the Bania residents of Limbdi. The Shaher Sabha is, even as its name indicates, a committee of residents of the town of Limbdi and does not even make a pretence of representing the villagers. How can anyone be expected to accept the claim of the Chairman to speak on behalf of the people of Limbdi? And as for the inquiry, all that the loyalist signatories say is truth and nothing but the truth! In the meantime we have received several reports of people wanting to go back to the State having been ordered to pay and having paid heavy fines for having dared to leave the State!

These little States have learnt from their masters the policy of 'divide and rule' to perfection. In Rajkot the Muslims and Bhayats were used to suppress a popular agitation. Limbdi has pressed into aid the Sanatanists to crush the Jain Banias and the peasants. In the meantime the agitation for responsible government and for the rule of law is going on in some form or other everywhere and can but gain in intensity with the passage of time. Will the Princes see the sign of the times and yield, or will they prefer to rush inevitably on to their doom?

On the train to Allahabad, 18-11-39 M. D.

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ONE RACE

In refreshing contrast to the cry of Muslims being a separate nation was Jinnah Saheb's broadcast on the Id day. He made a fervent appeal for "harmony within our household, within our community and within our country with all its variety of religions and creeds," he talked of "our leaders, both Muslims and Hindus," and also described obstinacy as "the negation of that spirit of love and toleration which should fall upon us on this Id day." For the very foundation of communal harmony is based on the realisation that we belong to one country, that the leaders belonging to one community are no less the respected leaders of the other communities, and above all on the realisation that we have a common destiny. To take this point one step further, there is also the necessity of realising the fundamental truth of equal respect for *all* religions. It is the idea of superiority of one religion over another that breeds the idea of a separate nation, and the moment we decide to cultivate equal respect for *all* religions we begin to feel as one race, as one human family. Dr. Max Muller whose enduring contribution was the Sacred Books of the East—in which he included the sacred books of Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam—enunciated this fundamental truth, some 60 years ago, with remarkable clarity.

"To the patient reader," he said, "these same books will open a new view of the history of the human race, of that one race to which we all belong, with all the fibres of our flesh, with all the fears and hopes of our soul. We cannot separate ourselves from those who believed in these sacred books. There is no specific difference between ourselves and the Brahmans, the Budhists, the Zoroastrians and Taosze. Our powers of perceiving, of reasoning, and of believing may be more highly developed, but we cannot claim the possession of any verifying power or of any power of belief which they did not possess as well. Shall we say then that they were forsaken of God while we are His chosen people? God forbid! There is much, no doubt, in their sacred books which we should tolerate no longer, though we must not forget that there are portions in our own sacred books, too, which many of us would wish to be absent...But that is not the question. The question is, whether there is or whether there is not, hidden in every one of the sacred books, something that could lift up the human heart from this earth to a higher world, something that could make men feel the omnipresence of a Higher Power, something that could make him shrink from evil and incline to good, something to sustain him in the short-journey through life, with its bright moments of happiness and its long hours of terrible distress there is no lesson which at the present time seems more important than to learn that in every religion there are precious grains, that

we must draw in *every* religion a broad distinction between what is essential and what is not, between the eternal and the temporary, between the divine and the human; and that though the non-essential may fill volumes the essential can often be comprehended in a few words, but words on which 'hang all the law and the prophets.'"

Though uttered sixty years ago these words would seem to be never truer than they are today.

On the train to Allahabad, 18-11-39 M. D.

Bapa Jayanti Collections
(Received at Harijan office)

Shri Shantikumar N. Morarjee	Rs. 101
Dr. R. N. Datar	25
Shri Prabhat Kumar Banerjee	5
Anonymous	100
Anonymous	100
Anonymous	10
Shri Kirchand Shivilal Kothari	2
Smt. Kaumudi P. Sheth	2
Shri Khimji	2
Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande	25
Previously acknowledged	138

510

The figure of the collections received at the Head Office of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi, stood at Rs. 9,832 on the 23rd inst. The amounts acknowledged above added to this make the total Rs. 10,204.

A. I. S. A. Juvenile Branch

As desired by some members it has been decided to restart the Juvenile Branch of membership of the Association. The rules for juvenile membership are as follows:

1. The age of the person should be below 18 years.
2. The person should be a habitual wearer of khadi.
3. He or she should give one thousand yards of uniform and well-twisted self-spun yarn every month as his or her subscription.

The juvenile members will have no right of voting at the meeting of general members of the Association or in the election of three Trustees to the Board of Trustees of the Association every year.

Those wishing to enrol as members under the above category are requested to write for application form for membership to the Hon. Secretary, All India Spinners' Association, Mirzapur, Ahmedabad.

S. G. BANKER

Hon. Secretary, A. I. S. A.

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HARIJAN

Ten Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

VOL. VII, No. 43]

POONA — SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1939

[ONE ANNA

THE PITY OF IT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is taken from a letter by a wise and learned Englishman to an English friend who has forwarded it to me :

"Gandhiji seems to me to have completely departed from his original position which was that he would not tolerate any bargaining with the British Government to which in this war he was prepared to give complete support. He seems to me now to have veered round completely to the Congress extreme position, namely that unless complete and unconditional independence is promised to India now they will not co-operate in any way with the Government but where they are in power will resign thus to dissociate themselves completely from the Government which has declared that India is at war with Germany. This seems to me to be sheer bargaining, the exploiting of British need to secure not only Dominion Status which has been promised in clear and unmistakable terms but absolute independence. Further, I find it hard to reconcile Congress assertion that it contemplates no constitution which does not carry with it the protection of real minorities to their satisfaction and the complete failure of the Congress to come to an understanding with the Muslim League. Surely this failure gives little encouragement to the Muslims to believe and trust the Congress with the supreme power that Indian independence would give them."

As I have stated before I have not departed a tittle from my original position which was taken, as I then said, because I was an out-and-out believer in non-violence. In offering my sympathy (I did not use the word 'support') I had the same end in view that the Congress has. I put my position before the Working Committee. It could not honestly adopt it. Desiring Independence, it could not take up any other attitude. The Congress position was as good from its own, as mine from my, premises. The Congress had a perfect right to know British intentions, if the British Government desired its help in the prosecution of the war. As a subject nation India, if she was resolved upon securing her liberty, could not be expected willingly to help the dominant nation without knowing where she stood. If India was violently inclined and had the strength, she would be bound to take advantage of

Britain's difficulty and declare her independence and defend it with arms if she was resisted. And she would have commanded the admiration of the world including Britain for seizing the opportunity. But the Congress has chosen the better way—the way of non-violence, however diluted it is. I own too that India is not ready for armed revolt. But this is no matter of credit either for Britain or for India. India is too weak for armed revolt. Britain's connection has made her weaker. Her disarmament is a black chapter in British history.

God has blessed me with the mission to place non-violence before the nation for adoption. For better or for worse the Congress has adopted it, and for the past nineteen years the Congress, admittedly the most popular and powerful organisation, has consistently and to the best of its ability tried to act up to it. Hence the sting of forced disarmament has not been felt as it would have been otherwise. It is futile to guess what it would have done if it had not accepted non-violence as its chief means for the attainment of Swaraj. The Congress has allowed itself to be judged from the non-violent standpoint. It is possible to question the propriety of the Congress attitude only from that standpoint. Judged according to the ordinary standard the Congress stands fully justified in the attitude it has taken.

I hope the learned critic does not wish to suggest that as the Congress did not accept my position I should have dissociated myself entirely from the Congress and refused to guide it. My association enables the Congress to pursue the technique of corporate non-violent action.

The writer seems to cavil at the demand for Independence as distinguished from Dominion Status. Surely India cannot be satisfied with anything less if she is to rank as a free nation. I had thought that Dominion Status according to the Statute of Westminster was equivalent to Independence. The expression Dominion Status has a special connotation. It refers to a commonwealth of Whites who are themselves pillars of imperialism engaged in exploiting the non-European races whom they regard as uncivilised. India free will be no party to such exploitation. But there is nothing to prevent free India from entering into an alliance with Britain for the protection of the freedom of all whether black, brown or white. Therefore, if

Dominion Status is less than Independence, India cannot be satisfied with less. If it is synonymous with Independence, then India has to choose how she would describe her status.

The critic then condemns the Congress for not coming to terms with the Muslim League. It is a pity that even responsible Englishmen will not take the trouble to study questions which they judge freely. The Congress has never given up the effort to solve the communal question. It is even now engaged in the difficult task. But it is wrong to use Congress inability to reach a solution for keeping India from her destined goal. British officials including Viceroy have admitted that they have ruled by following the policy of 'divide and rule'. The British established themselves by taking advantage of our internal quarrels and have remained by keeping them alive. It is unnecessary for my argument to prove that the policy is being followed deliberately.

The British have made themselves believe that they are ruling because of our quarrels, and that they will gladly retire when we have ceased to quarrel. Thus they are moving in a vicious circle. The British rule must be permanent if the adjustment of the communal quarrel is a condition precedent to India becoming independent. It is a purely domestic problem which we are bound to solve if we are to live at peace with one another. May I remind the critic and those who argue like him that only a short while ago it was said that, if the British withdrew, Hindus would be left to the mercy of the virile races from the north, that not a virgin would be safe or a monied man retain his wealth. Now Princes and Muslims, who are able enough to protect themselves against the unarmed millions whom the Congress claims specially to represent, are sought to be protected by the British bayonet against the latter!!! Be that as it may, the Congress must pursue its even course. It must work for communal unity in spite of odds against it. It is a plank in its programme. It is part of the non-violent technique.

Another English critic has put the problem in a truer way. He says among many other things: "British people feel that Great Britain needs to carry the Muslim world with her at this time of immense struggle." I have no difficulty in sympathising with this position. Only let us clear the issues. Great Britain cannot afford to risk defeat for the sake of doing justice. This is just what an overwhelming number of Indians feel. The Congress, before it can offer ungrudging support to Britain, wants to feel sure that hers is an absolutely just cause. The recent events have created a grave doubt about it. Absolute protection of the rights of minorities is a greater concern of the Congress than it ever can be of Great Britain. The Congress dare not seek and cannot get justice, if it is not prepared to do it itself. To be above

suspicion is the only way open to non-violent organisations. But British policy may make a just solution impossible at the present moment.

Segaon, 28-11-39

Bapa Purse Collections

(Received at Segaon Ashram)

Shri Motiram Bhatt	1
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" Shankar Trivedi	5
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SWARAJ THROUGH WOMEN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Now that the Working Committee has accepted spinning as an indispensable condition of civil disobedience, the women of India have a rare opportunity of serving the country. The salt campaign brought out tens of thousands from their seclusion and showed that they could serve the country on equal terms with men. It gave the village woman a dignity which she had never enjoyed before. The restoration of spinning to its central place in India's peaceful campaign for deliverance from the Imperial yoke gives her women a special status. In spinning they have a natural advantage over men.

Since the beginning of time there has been a division of labour between men and women. Adam wove and Eve spun. The distinction persists to the present day. Men spinners are an exception. In the Punjab when during 1920-21 I asked men to spin, they used to tell me that men considered spinning to be beneath their dignity and that it was solely women's occupation. Men nowadays do not object on the ground of dignity. There are thousands who spin for sacrifice. It was when men took up spinning from a patriotic motive that spinning was reduced to a science and inventions as great as in any other field were made. Nevertheless experience shows that spinning will remain woman's speciality. I believe there is a good reason behind the experience. Spinning is essentially a slow and

comparatively silent process. Woman is the embodiment of sacrifice and therefore non-violence. Her occupations must therefore be, as they are, more conducive to peace than war. That she is now being dragged down for purposes of violent war is no credit to modern civilization. I have no doubt that violence so ill becomes woman that presently she will rebel against the violation of her fundamental nature. I feel that man too will repent of his folly. Equality of the sexes does not mean equality of occupations. There may be no legal bar against a woman hunting or wielding a lance. But she instinctively recoils from a function that belongs to man. Nature has created sexes as complements of each other. Their functions are defined as are their forms.

But a proof of the different functions of the sexes is unnecessary for my purpose. The fact stands, at any rate in India, that millions of women regard spinning as their natural occupation. The Working Committee's resolution automatically shifts the burden from men to women and gives to them an opportunity of showing their mettle. I would love to find that my future army contained a vast preponderance of women over men. If the fight came, I should then approach it with much greater confidence than if men predominated. I would dread the latter's violence. Women would be my guarantee against such an outbreak.

Segaon, 27-11-39

AN INTERESTING STUDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Shankerlal Banker has sent me the following figures:

Daily production 38,400 sq. yds., about 11,000 lbs.

Mill		Khadi	
Cost	Rs. 5,843	Cost	Rs. 20,575
[at 8.5 as. per lb. (3½ sq. yds.)]		[at 30 as. per lb. (3½ sq. yds.)]	
Note. Cotton including 16% wastage	4 as.	Note. Cotton	4 as.
All inclusive charges Spinning	2 as.	Spinning and Carding wages	15 as.
All inclusive charges Weaving	2.5 as.	Weaving wages	8 as.
		Washing, etc.	1 a.
		Establishment charges	2 as.
	Total 8.5 as.		Total 30 as.
	<i>Details</i>		<i>Cost</i>
Cotton including 16% wastage	Rs. 2,750	Cotton	Rs. 2,750
All inclusive charges Spinning	Rs. 1,375	Spinning and Carding wages	Rs. 10,313
" " " Weaving	Rs. 1,718	Weaving wages	Rs. 5,500
	Rs. 5,843	Washing wages, etc.	Rs. 687
		Establishment charges	Rs. 1,375
Wage at 2 as. per lb.	Rs. 1,375		Rs. 20,575
Interest on Rs. 23.1 lacs at 3% for one day	Rs. 190	Wages	Rs. 16,500
		Interest on Rs. 13.5 lacs	Rs. 111

$$\text{Ratio in the case of wages} = \frac{K16,500}{M1,375} = 12K : 1M.$$

$$\text{Ratio in the case of interest} = \frac{M190}{K111} = 1K : 1.7M$$

This is a most revealing study. The cost of converting one lb. of cotton into calico in a mill is 8.5 as., whereas that of converting it into khadi is 30 as. In the one case the spinner and the weaver get between them 45 as.; in the

other, i.e. khadi, they get 24 as. Which is better to buy — khadi though it seems dear, or the calico though it seems cheap?

On the train to Simla, 24-9-39

HARIJAN

1939

BAFFLING SITUATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Jawaharlal, born democrat as he is, had arranged for a free talk between the Executive Council of the U. P. C. C. and me. We had three such talks. I had expected that the talks would result in a parting of the ways. Among the Congressmen whom I was facing there were some who had laughed at the charkha and non-violence. But to my utter astonishment I found them reconciled to both. It is a baffling situation both for Congressmen and me.

I do not know whether I am wise in bearing the heavy responsibility of leading Congressmen who only the other day had no faith in me. Are they not paying too great a price for my leadership in a battle? If they render obedience without faith, is it good for them or me? Can I lead them to success? If I was not good enough in peace, how can I be good in war? There was no peace. The Congress is at war with Great Britain till Independence is won. War had never ceased; only civil disobedience had been suspended for better and greater preparation. Congressmen who did not obey instructions during the preparatory period were surely not fit soldiers on active duty. And yet I could not distrust the responsible men who faced me in Allahabad. What is true of them is true of the other Congressmen in the other provinces. And so I am shouldering the burden.

Let me then think aloud. I hope that Congressmen will make it a point to read *Harijan* as if it was a weekly bulletin containing instructions for them.

To the impatient Congressmen I say: I see no immediate prospect of declaring civil disobedience. There can be no civil disobedience for the sake of embarrassing Great Britain. It will come when it becomes clearly inevitable. Probably it will come by the goading of the official world. I do not doubt the honesty of the Viceroy or that of the Secretary of State. At the same time I have no doubt whatsoever that they are in error because they cannot get out of the old rut to which they are used. We must give them time to collect themselves. We must do real propaganda by way of educating the public both here and abroad. We cannot all of a sudden dispel the surrounding misunderstandings, not merely on the part of the British people but of our own countrymen. There is no mistaking the fact that many non-Congress Muslims honestly think that the Congress ministers did not pay enough heed to Muslim complaints. Congressmen wedded to non-violence have to

give special heed to the complaints of non-Congress Muslims. It is no use saying that they are frivolous. I know myself that many complaints have been frivolous. But we have to be patient and courteous enough to take them seriously and endeavour to show clearly that they are frivolous. I do not wish to suggest that pains were not taken to deal with them. I am just now concerned with the phenomenon that the complaints persist. We must, therefore, give time to demonstrating that there has been anything in the complaints. In the course of further investigation we discover errors, we must make amends. We must prove to the Muslim countrymen and to the world that the Congress does not want independence at the sacrifice of a single legitimate interest, be it Muslim or other. We may leave no stone unturned to carry the minorities with us. This meticulous care for the rights of the least among us is the *sine qua non* of non-violence.

If it is true, as it is, that for the British Government to plead want of communal unity as a bar to independence is wrong, it is equally true that this discord is, nevertheless, a serious handicap in our march towards Swaraj. If we had the Muslim League and others with us, our demand would become irresistible.

So much for the external difficulties. Not till we have given sufficient time to their solution, can we possibly think of civil disobedience.

The internal weakness is no less great. I see a vital connection between the charkha and non-violence. Even as certain minimum qualifications are indispensable in a soldier in arms, so are certain other and even opposite qualifications indispensable in a non-violent soldier, i.e. a satyagrahi. One of these latter is adequate skill in spinning and its anterior processes. A satyagrahi occupies himself in productive work. There is no easier and better productive work for millions than spinning. What is more, it has been an integral part of the non-violent programme since its commencement. Civilisation based on non-violence must be different from that organised for violence. Let not Congressmen trifle with this fundamental fact. I repeat what I have said a thousand times that, if millions spun for Swaraj and in the spirit of non-violence, there will probably be no necessity for civil disobedience. It will be a constructive effort such as the world has not witnessed before. It is the surest method of converting the 'enemy'.

The Working Committee desired to appoint me as its sole representative to carry on negotiations that may be necessary and to conduct the campaign of civil disobedience if they failed. It was a burden I could not carry. Being boxed up in Segaoon, I have no direct touch with the people. I have no confidence, I should have none, in my unaided judgment requiring an accurate firsthand knowledge of many facts. I could only act with the constant guidance and

direction of the Working Committee. I shall carry on no negotiations to finality. I should be pleased if I was relieved of the burden. But I shall not shrink from any responsibility, so long as I carry the confidence and affection of the Working Committee and Congressmen in general and so long as I feel that I have the requisite qualifications.

Segaon, 28-11-39

SINDH RIOTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have been following the riots in Sindh with painful interest. Many people delude themselves with the belief that I possess powers to remedy all wrongs. I wish I had them, though I am not sure that such possession will be an unmixed blessing. I should make people helpless if I made an indiscriminate use of such powers. And they would be of no use, if I might not use them freely. As it is, I use what powers I have to the fullest extent. Thank God, they are too limited to be harmful. My chief work, however, is to teach people to help themselves.

Here is a pathetic wire from Shikarpur:

"Riots, loot, incendiarism. Sukkur district villages Hindus mercilessly butchered, women and girls raped and kidnapped. Hindu life, property unsafe. Situation most critical. Government policy not firm. Pray send inquiry committee immediately to see situation personally. — President Hindu General Panchayat."

It is the third of its kind from Sindh. I took no notice of the first two mainly because I was preoccupied in Allahabad and I had no concrete consolation to offer. The Shikarpur Panchayat has come to the wrong person for help. For I am myself helpless. The Congress has not yet sufficiently advanced in non-violence to deal with riots and the like. It must develop it enough to deal with such situations if it is to retain its prestige. I suggested 'peace brigades', but the suggestion proved premature if not unworkable. No doubt the Sindh Government should be able to protect life and property of the people within their jurisdiction. Evidently the matter has gone beyond their control. Sindh is nominally autonomous and to that extent less able to protect life and property than the preceding Government. For it has never had previous training in the policing or the military arts. I have shown in previous writings that the Central Government is impotent to prevent loss of life, property and worse during riots. It is able to check their spread and punish the wrongdoers when it wishes. It is organised solely for the protection of imperial trade and therefore for the maintenance of peace in so far as it is necessary for the safety of that trade. Hence it is ill equipped for real protection of the people. Such protection involves the training of the people in the art of self-defence and securing their co-operation in quelling riots, etc. This would be putting imperial rule in jeopardy.

Now the only effective way in which I can help the Sindhis is to show them the way of

non-violence. But that cannot be learnt in a day. The other way is the way the world has followed hitherto, i. e. armed defence of life and property. God helps only those who help themselves. The Sindhis are no exception. They must learn the art of defending themselves against robbers, raiders and the like. If they do not feel safe and are too weak to defend themselves, they should leave the place which has proved too inhospitable to live in.

Segaon, 28-11-39

THE TASK BEFORE US

The Criterion

Though there was enough work for the Working Committee meeting, Pt. Jawaharlal had invited Gandhiji to meet as many of the principal workers in the U. P. as could be got together. Talks with them covered a wide range of subjects. But there was enough discussion of a general character on the lines of the discussion of which I gave an account in the last issue. I summarise this for the readers of *Harijan*.

Q. You seem to be placing an exaggerated emphasis on non-violence today. Surely you will not suggest that we were more ready or more non-violent in 1920-21 and in 1930? Or will you say that your standard has now gone up?

A. Both. There was not then so much violence as is to be seen on the surface today. And my standard too has gone up. I was not so rigid in my conditions then as I am now. If you accept my generalship, you have to accept not only my conditions but my judgment as to whether we are ready or not. It is quite likely that there is really no difference between the conditions of those days and of today; but it is equally true that I did not know then that I was walking on a mine, today I am haunted by that consciousness and I cannot help it.

Rigid Condition

Q. Is there not a fear that, if we do not strike the nail while it is hot, we may never be able to do so at all? There is that psychology of readiness among the people. If we do not seize the opportunity, their enthusiasm may be damped and their readiness may vanish. The best thing, therefore, today is for you to suggest a programme whereby we may prepare the field and yet keep up the spirit of the people.

A. I have always been impatient of this kind of language. I cannot understand a readiness which would vanish if it was not availed of at once. That is no readiness at all. Ready is he who is ready at all times and all places — whenever and wherever he is called. The only meaning of readiness is readiness to carry out the command of the general. To use military language, we should be so prepared as to make war unnecessary. What is essential is the attainment of Independence, not the time and the ways and means of civil disobedience. I expect from you enough

faith and discipline to instinctively await and obey your general's word. Don't expect me to say anything more. Do not expect me to reveal how, if ever, I shall launch civil disobedience. I have nothing up my sleeve, and I will have no knowledge until the last moment. I am not made that way. I knew nothing of the Salt March until practically the moment it was decided upon. This I know that God has rarely made me repeat history and He may not do so this time. There is one thing, however. I may, for reasons you may not reveal to me, be unfit as a general. In that case you must give me up, and I shall not in the least be sorry for it.

"Now for the last point in your question. You want a programme which may be directly connected with civil disobedience. If you will not laugh at me, I will unhesitatingly say, it is the programme of universal spinning. Listening to the alarms and advice of the doctors I had given it up for some time. I began it in response to Narandas Gandhi's call, and I do not think I shall ever give it up, until of course my hands are paralysed. So I would say that the more you spin the better soldiers you will be. If that is my conviction, why should I be ashamed of declaring it? There cannot be two parts in my advice, one of which you may accept and the other you may reject. My condition is a vital one. It is likely that there may not be the necessary intellectual conviction, but it will follow faith as a necessary consequence. I say this because I have acted in that spirit. I have marched miles upon miles, through bush and briar and along unbeaten tracks, acting on the word of command, during the Zulu Rebellion.

"But as I have said the whole thing may strike you as chimerical or quixotic. In that case you have but to give up my leadership. I have led for twenty years, and it may be well for me to rest on my oars. It is possible that you may be able to evolve some new technique of satyagraha. In that case the moment I am convinced I shall be ready to follow you. Whatever you do, do not accept my leadership with a mental reservation. You will by doing so betray both me and the country. If I get your co-operation, it must be full and hearty. I have argued the thing for twenty years; I can advance no fresh argument now.

Q. We have proceeded on an altogether different ideology.

A. Well, there's the rub. That is why I am repeating again and again my suggestion of a change in the leadership.

Q. But if the charkha is with some of us a symbol of your leadership and nothing more?

A. No, it must be a symbol of non-violence and a specific condition of preparation for a non-violent struggle. I would suggest even a better course — a course I suggested in 1934. Banish spinning and khadi from the Congress

programme, so that I automatically drop out. If you do so, the mistake will not be yours but mine. For it is my duty to convince you that there is a vital connection between the charkha and non-violence.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

It was agreed that when a large section of the population was opposed to a direct programme it could not be launched in the teeth of their opposition. Part of the constructive work, it therefore followed, must be the building up of that unity. Apart from the various bones of contention about which a detailed programme will be taken up at the next meeting of the Working Committee, there was the eternal question of communal riots, no matter what their occasion or cause. 'What was the duty of the Congressmen when there was a riot going on?' was one of the questions.

'To die in quelling it,' said Gandhiji. 'We had one Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi in 1931, and have had none to copy his example since. So many die during the riots, but they do not offer of themselves willing sacrifices. Those who do not accept this programme should leave me.'

Q. But must we allow them to hold up the movement assuming that there will be Hindu-Muslim riots?

A. They cannot indefinitely do so. I have enough faith in Mussalmans to hope that they would rebel against being an obstacle in the way of independence. There is enough love of freedom and democracy in them to make them ashamed of that state of things.

The Minimum Preparation

Q. In view of the little time at our disposal, could you tell us what you would regard as the minimum preparation necessary from the point of view of spinning?

A. Why little time? Is it essential that we should start the movement in three months or six months? Let it take six years. What is essential is the preparation. I would ask you to get rid of impatience. The test for me is not a formal spinning by you all for half an hour or even an hour a day in order to satisfy me or to secure my leadership, but the universalisation of spinning so that there may be no mill cloth — indigenous or foreign — in your province. If I feel that we have made rapid strides in that direction, I shall be satisfied. You boast of several hundred thousand Congress members. If all of these took up the programme and became voluntary workers on behalf of the A. I. S. A., there would be no mill cloth in the province. It should be part of your daily life. Just as an Afridi cannot do without his rifle, even so every one of you non-violent soldiers should not be able to do without your spinning. And all this, not because this old man wants it, but because you want independence. When you realise this you will not come to me with questions like the one you have asked.

Segaon, 28-11-1939

M. D.

Notes

Why Not Hindu Mahasabha?

A correspondent writes:

"I have read your comments on the speech delivered by Lord Zetland in the Lords' Debate on India in which he declared the Congress to be a Hindu organisation. I cannot help saying that the attitude of the Congress itself is partly responsible for the mistake into which Lord Zetland has fallen. If the Congress is a national organisation, as it undoubtedly is, with what propriety did it enter into a discussion with the Muslim League alone, which is a purely communal organisation, for solving the communal question generally and the Hindu-Muslim question particularly? The Congress ought to have remained neutral and permitted Jinnah Sahab to negotiate with Shri Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, or, if it was not practicable, to convene a conference of the representatives of the several communal organisations in the country and to play the role of umpire at such a conference. Any attempt on the part of the Congress leaders to have direct and exclusive talks with the leaders of a single community with a view to the solution of Hindu-Muslim problem was bound to give a handle to the opponents of the Congress, of which they could not be expected to be slow to take full advantage. In my opinion this step on the part of the Congress has lowered the status of the Congress as a national organisation."

I have already admitted the force of the correspondent's argument. I have also shown how the Congress could not shirk a duty devolving upon it. I must dissent from the view that the status of the Congress has been lowered by its attempt to solve a difficult national problem. I invite all well-wishers to refrain from doing anything to hinder the progress of the talks that are about to take place between Jinnah Sahab and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Communal Decision Again

I gladly publish the following from Shri Radhakant Malaviya:

"In your article 'Hindu-Muslim Unity' you have stated, '...I have very bitter memories of the Award which was being hatched during the Round Table Conference.....I regard the Award as discreditable for all parties, but the Congress has loyally accepted it because I was party to the request made to the late Mr. MacDonald to arbitrate.' Is it that, as immediately after your return from the Round Table Conference you were imprisoned, you are not aware of the subsequent developments in connection with the negotiations for the settlement of the communal question? The Communal Decision by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald is dated 17th August 1932. That there was not to be an award but a decision by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was made clear by His Excellency the Viceroy on 24th February 1932. The proceedings of the Consultative Committee of the Round Table Conference held at the Viceroy's House at Delhi on 22nd and 24th February 1932 should be looked into.

There in the proceedings you will find that in the Committee meeting held on 22nd February 1932 Mr. (now Sir) Zafarullah Khan stated, '...that the difficulty could only be solved by a decision by the British Government itself.....Your Excellency might well press upon the British Government the necessity of pronouncing an immediate decision upon those questions....' Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan stated, '...I have urged your Excellency to ask the Prime Minister to give us a decision.' Again, in the meeting held on 24th February, Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan stated, 'The Muslim delegation never mentioned the word "arbitration". We have said all along that it is for His Majesty's Government to give a decision. Of course we have never asked for arbitration.' Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: 'What was said was that the Prime Minister would give a decision.' Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan again stated, '.....Prime Minister (he) will give a decision.....We are not asking for His arbitration; we request the decision of his Majesty's Government.' Sardar Ujjal Singh stated, '.....In the Minorities Sub-committee the Prime Minister undertook to decide that question if all the communities submitted it to him for arbitration. That was entirely a different thing. Some members did send him letters on behalf of their respective communities, but the offer was not accepted by all.....There is no question of arbitration now.' At the end His Excellency the Viceroy as Chairman stated, 'I am advised that at that time the Prime Minister made an offer as Chairman of the Committee, but that was not accepted.'

If you think it proper, you may publish this in an early issue of *Harijan* so that the wrong impression which has been created by your above remarks may be removed."

I have admitted my lapse of memory. It does one good to record the facts which Shri Radhakant has narrated. They cannot be altered by any error I may have committed. It is fortunate that my error does not in any way weaken the force of my complaint against Sir Samuel Hoare.

When Is Picketing Peaceful?

A correspondent writes:

"I find that here in Bombay this weapon of 'peaceful picketing' is being misused on the ground that peaceful picketing, with whatsoever just or unjust object it may be resorted to, is no offence. The aggrieved party against whom such picketing is aimed at, fails to get any protection either from the police or law. For instance, A happens to be a shop-keeper. B an employee of A, having no legal claim against A, threatens A with picketing his shop in case A does not accede to B's demands and actually, with the help of C and D posing as 'leaders', starts picketing A's shop and misleads A's customers, with a view to dissuading them from patronising A's shop. Would such picketing, even though there be no actual physical force used, be termed 'peaceful'?"

I cannot speak about the legality of such picketing, but I can say that such picketing cannot be called peaceful, i. e. non-violent. All picketing without indubitably just cause is violent

even though no physical force is used. Picketing without such cause becomes a nuisance and interferes with the exercise of private right. Generally no picketing should be resorted to by individuals unless it is promoted by a responsible organisation. Picketing like civil disobedience has its well-defined limits without a strict observance of which it becomes illegitimate and reprehensible.

Segaon, 27-11-39

M. K. G.

The Old Prophecy

Shrimati Gosiben Captain, member of the Managing Board of the A. I. V. I. A., made a forceful plea for the charkha and the cottage industries as a basis of the new non-violent world order, in her speech at the opening of the khadi exhibition at Mathura. She said:

"This great war in Europe has made mankind pause and ask themselves the question whether man will be the master of the machine or the machine will be the master of man. It is hateful to think that man has turned his God-given gift of invention or creation by the hand to fashioning terrible machines of destruction to maim and destroy women and children and his own brethren. Europe within the last 150 years has produced the machine civilisation which has become the standard for the world. Gandhiji long before this war and even the last war saw that, if humanity forgot the dignity, the joy and the beauty of creation, and the discipline of co-ordinating the vision of the inward eye with the work of the hands, mankind will go to rack and ruin like a ship without a rudder or without a port in view. The machine civilisation has produced luxuries and instruments of terror calculated to make subject nations and slave nations of peaceful people. But the same civilisation has by a strange nemesis recoiled on Europe itself. India has set before herself a goal of freedom which enslaves or exploits no other nation and which means India living in peace with other nations. Our country, though broken and fallen, still passionately clings to things of the spirit and has not forgotten that first things come first. Our towns may have forgotten that truth, but our villages are still in possession of it and, thanks to our great leader, such as were in fear of losing their souls have recovered it. It is for you villagers to carry out the teaching of the Mahatma whom you hold dear, and to place our country back again on the sure foundation of not a factory civilisation but a peace civilisation, so that the weapons of destruction by which India is held and the machines whereby it is held in bondage may contract rust, and the prophecy of old be fulfilled — 'the swords shall be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks.'"

The South African Example

The communal differences are drawn like a herring across the path by the opponents of freedom. Are the differences here sharper than were the differences between the Boers and the Englishmen in South Africa? Even among the Boers themselves there were internecine quarrels. The Boers of the Cape did not want war; Steyn,

the President of the Free State, was for an amicable settlement at the early stage of the war; there were traitors even within their own camp. And yet when the negotiations came all the four States, including the English Colonies of the Cape and Natal, stood together. General Smuts, says his biographer, "tackled the English die-hards in Johannesburg itself and begged them to spread conciliation. 'Forget the things that divided us in the past. Work for the good of all.' He tackled the Dutch die-hards with equal vigour and even begged those who had fought for the Republic to shake hands with those who had fought for the English. 'We need,' he said, 'co-operation, trust, and the formation of one great South African nation. We want to see only one person, the South African, the citizen of the Transvaal and of South Africa.' 'Yea,' he said on one occasion, 'when on the bloody battlefield I saw the Dutchmen and Englishmen dead my old ideal came back. Those men who had been killed together should have stood together and fought side by side for one great cause — a great South Africa.'"

It was because General Smuts approached the task in this faith that he got Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to plead with the Britishers to give South Africa self-government "at once, without safeguards or conditions, without bartering and niggling; with a fine open gesture."

Segaon, 28-11-39

M. D.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

The following resolution was passed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Allahabad last week:

The Working Committee have noted with pleasure the response of the country to the policy enunciated by them regarding the war in Europe and its repercussions in India. This policy, based on numerous declarations of the Congress, was laid down in a statement issued by the Committee on September 14, and subsequent events have amply justified its wisdom and expediency. The course of the war and the policy pursued by the British and French Governments, in particular the declarations made on behalf of the British Government regarding India, seem to demonstrate that the present war, like the World War of 1914-18, is being carried on for imperialist ends, and British Imperialism is to remain entrenched in India. With such a war and with this policy the Congress cannot associate itself, and it cannot countenance the exploitation of India's resources to this end.

The Working Committee's unequivocal demand was for a declaration of war aims in regard to Democracy and Imperialism and, in particular, how these aims were going to be applied to India. These aims could only be considered worthy, if they included the elimination of Imperialism and the treatment of India as an independent nation whose policy would be

guided in accordance with the wishes of her people. The answer to this demand has been entirely unsatisfactory, and an attempt has been made on behalf of the British Government to create misunderstandings and to befog the main and moral issue. In justification of this refusal to make a declaration in terms of the Working Committee's resolution, communal pleas have been advanced and the rights of the Minorities and of the Princes pleaded as barriers to India's freedom.

The Committee wish to declare with all emphasis that no communal considerations arise in meeting the demand of the Congress and the Minorities, whatever their other differences might be, do not oppose India's right to freedom and independence. The Princes are represented by, and are emblems of, the Paramount Power in India. In the end, it will be the people of the Indian States who will determine what part they will take in a free India, though the British Government have consistently ignored their wishes in the matter which vitally affects them. In any event, the wishes of those who may oppose India's independence are, and must be, irrelevant to the declaration of the British Government's intentions. The Committee can only interpret this attempt to avoid a statement of their war aims and Indian freedom by taking shelter under irrelevant issues, as a desire to maintain their Imperialist domination in India in alliance with reactionary elements in the country.

The Congress has looked upon the war crisis and the problems it raises as essentially a moral issue, and has not sought to profit by it in any spirit of bargaining. The moral and dominant issue of war aims and India's freedom have to be settled satisfactorily before any other subsidiary question can be considered.

In no event can the Congress accept responsibility of the Government, even in the transitional period, without real power being given to popular representatives. The Working Committee, therefore, approve of and endorse the reply dated November 4, 1939, sent by the Congress President to the Viceroy.

The Committee wish to declare again that recognition of India's independence and the right of her people to frame their constitution through a Constituent Assembly is essential in order to remove the taint of Imperialism from Britain's policy and to enable the Congress to consider further co-operation. They hold that the Constituent Assembly is the only democratic method of determining the constitution of a free country, and no one who believes in democracy and freedom can possibly take exception to it. The Working Committee believe, too, that the Constituent Assembly alone is the adequate instrument for solving communal and other difficulties. This, however, does not mean that the Working Committee will relax their efforts for arriving at a solution of the communal problem. This Assembly can frame a constitution in which the rights of

accepted Minorities would be protected to their satisfaction and, in the event of some matters relating to minority rights not being mutually agreed to, they can be referred to arbitration. The Constituent Assembly should be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, the existing separate electorates being retained for such Minorities as desire them. The number of these members in the Assembly should reflect their numerical strength.

The declarations made on behalf of the British Government, being inadequate, have compelled the Congress to dissociate itself from British policy and war efforts, and, as a first step in non-cooperation, to bring about the resignations of all the Congress Governments in the Provinces. That policy of non-cooperation continues and must continue unless the British Government revises its policy and accepts the Congress contention.

The Working Committee would remind Congressmen that it is inherent in every form of satyagraha that no effort is spared to achieve an honourable settlement with the opponent. While a satyagrahi is ever ready for a non-violent fight, if it has to come, he never relaxes his efforts for peace and always works for its attainment. The Working Committee will, therefore, continue to explore the means of arriving at an honourable settlement, even though the British Government have banged the door in the face of the Congress. The Committee must, however, resist, by the non-violent methods of the Congress, all attempts to coerce the people of India along paths which are not of their choice and everything that is against the dignity and freedom of India.

The Working Committee appreciate and express their pleasure at the readiness exhibited by Congressmen for launching civil disobedience, should this become necessary. But civil disobedience requires the same strict discipline as an army organised for an armed conflict. The army is helpless unless it possesses its weapons of destruction and knows how to use them; so also an army of non-violent soldiers is ineffective unless it understands and possesses the essentials of non-violence.

The Working Committee desire to make it clear that the true test of preparedness for civil disobedience lies in Congressmen themselves spinning and promoting the cause of khadi to the exclusion of mill cloth, and deeming it their duty to establish harmony between the communities by personal acts of service to those other than members of their own community, and individual Hindu Congressmen seeking an occasion for fraternising with the Harijans as often as possible. The Congress organisations and Congressmen should, therefore, prepare for future action by promoting this programme. They should explain to the people the message and policy and implications of the Constituent Assembly which is the crux of the Congress programme for the future.

BAPA JAYANTI IN BOMBAY

Only a genuinely humble man like Thakkar Bapa could have survived the overwhelming tribute of appreciation for his services paid to him on the twenty-ninth in the city of Bombay. The purse to be given to him, which his associates had fixed at Rs. 7,000 and Gandhiji raised to 70,000, was greatly oversubscribed, thanks to the generous donations of many of the principal Hindu citizens of Bombay. But if the amount of one lakh seventeen thousand odd included big donations in four figures by the wealthy, it also included small donations from people from all parts of the country and those in smallest copper coins by hundreds of Bhils of Gujarat and scavengers of Bombay. Cheques were coming in whilst the meeting was proceeding, and the actual total is not yet available. But as Shri C. Rajagopalachari, who presided, said money is no measure of Thakkar Bapa's services. He has filled seventy years of life — years, months, days — with work which has borne fruit in the uplifted lives of millions of the downtrodden. Gandhiji sent a message which was as significant as it was brief: "I should have been present at the seventieth birthday celebration of Thakkar Bapa, but I am physically unfit for such functions. It is my heartfelt hope that he may live a hundred years. Bapa was born only to serve the downtrodden, whether they be Untouchables or Bhils, Santhals or Khasis. Even the appreciation of his service means some little service of these downtrodden. His services have carried India considerably forward towards the goal."

The tributes paid were unique in their richness and variety. Shri Hridaynath Kunzru came all the way from Allahabad proudly to take part in the function in honour of one of his colleagues, and the veteran reformer Shri Karve came from Poona. Shri Kher used words from the Gita describing attributes of a bhakta and applied them all to Thakkar Bapa; and Shri Karve said that though, being a decade older and earlier in the field than Thakkar Bapa, he may have given him a tip or two, he in turn had learnt many lessons from him. Shri Elwin called him an angel who attends to things, a guru who had inspired many chelas among whom he counted himself an unworthy one, a worker brimming over with humour and all-embracing desire to help the lowliest and the lost. But the finest tribute, if I may say so, was paid by Shri Jhinabhai Rathod, a Harijan at present a sweeper under the Bombay Corporation. He recounted the story of his early contact with Thakkar Bapa and the whole story of the movement for removal of the blot on Hinduism, in his quaint, unlearned way which had a charm, naturalness and directness all its own; and he hailed Thakkar Bapa as the deliverer of millions of the downtrodden.

As I have said it would not be possible for

an ordinary man to survive these overwhelming tributes. But even these and more could not have overwhelmed Thakkar Bapa, who in his utter humility and self-effacement has looked for appreciation from no mortal man but from God in whose work he regards himself as a humble labourer, and whilst he thanked everyone for the affection they had showered on him, he made an appeal to them to extend active sympathy still further by befriending the aborigines who were in even a worse plight than the Harijans. "Even unto this last" would seem to sum up the message of his fruitful life.

Bombay, 29-11-39

M. D.

'We Are All Brothers'

The evil genius of man takes a special delight in turning every noble thing to the meanest uses. Thus men have traded upon religion, and even committed every imaginable crime in its holy name, so much so that religion stinks in one's nostrils, and a man like Guru Nanak is led to declare that he is neither a Hindu nor a Musalman.

When teachers of two different faiths or sects meet, each tries to magnify his own doctrine at the expense of the doctrine of the other. They appoint an umpire and each seeks from him a certificate of victory (*jayapatra*). This has been the tradition of India down to our own times from the days of Maharaja Ashoka, to whose warning that 'a man, who extols his own sect while disparaging the sects of others with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect' — our people have turned a deaf ear. All honour, therefore, to the Chinese among whom, when the Abbe' Huc made his famous journey three generations ago, he found that when strangers met politeness required that each should ask his neighbour, 'To what sublime religion do you belong?' The first might be a Confucian, the second a Taoist, the third a disciple of the Buddha. Each would then begin to commend the religion not his own, and they would conclude by saying, 'Religions are many, reason is one, we are all brothers.'

As Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter tells us in his *Comparative Religion* (Williams and Norgate), it was the maxim of Lu Shun Yong, a distinguished Buddhist, that the teaching of sects is not different. The large-hearted man regards them as embodying the same truths. The narrowminded man observes only their differences.

V. G. D.

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[ONE ANNA

WHAT IT MEANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Those who believe that India can be freed and her freedom retained only through non-violence, will surely believe that non-violence on a mass scale can only be observed by the masses being usefully and knowingly occupied for the sake of the country. What is that one thing which all can do easily without any capital worth the name and which in itself is calculated to soothe the nervous system? The answer will unequivocally be hand-spinning and its anterior processes. And it is indigenous to the soil. Millions can easily learn it, and its output is always current coin. If there were no mills, yarn would be as much valued as, say, ghee. Famine of yarn would be as much felt as that of staples. If the people have the will, they can produce their cloth without much labour.

In the States of Europe where war is a recognised institution, adult males are conscripted for military service for a given number of years. In a country that wants to defend itself and regulate its life without war preparation, people have to be conscripted for productive national service. If a country's vital requirements are produced through a centralised industry, it will find it necessary to guard them even as a capitalist guards his treasures. A country whose culture is based on non-violence will find it necessary to have every home as much self-contained as possible. Indian society was at one time unknowingly constituted on a non-violent basis. The home life, i. e. the village, was undisturbed by the periodical visitations from barbarous hordes. Mayne has shown that India's villages were a congeries of republics. In them there were no ladies and gentlemen, or all were.

Unless this argument is accepted by the Congressmen, I hold it to be impossible to establish non-violence that will be proof against temptation and that will stand true no matter how heavy the odds may be against it. Without such non-violence the country cannot put up a fight in which there is no going back and there is no defeat. The Congress will never prove its non-violent intention before Britishers and the world.

The Congress non-violence is intended as well in respect of the rulers, as of all those who fear, distrust or despise the great institution. I

have no doubt that want of this broad non-violence is responsible for our failure to reach communal unity. The fact is that Congressmen have not demonstrated that living non-violence in their dealings even among themselves. And I cannot resist the conviction that the deficiency of our non-violence can be measured by the deficiency in our khadi programme. Our belief in either has been half-hearted. I plead for full-hearted belief in both. And the Congress will be so invulnerable that it is highly likely that it will not have to go through the fire of civil resistance in order to win India's freedom.

With this background, let Congressmen carefully study the table (printed elsewhere in this issue) prepared for me by Shri Krishnadas Gandhi who is among the few khadi experts who have made a careful study of khadi in all its aspects. The figures are an interesting study for khadi-lovers. They are tentative and based on Krishnadas's experience. They will vary for inferior grades of cotton. But they are good enough as a workable index. Those who do not wish to take the trouble of studying the whole table should look at count 14 only. They will see that a self-spinner's khadi will cost him a little less than 3 as. per sq. yard. I have contemplated at least half an hour's spinning per day by every Congressman. Even a novice should easily spin 100 yards in 30 minutes. Many spin 200 yards with ease during that time. Supposing the self-spinner needs 20 yards per year, he will need to spin at the most for one hour per day. Thus one-fifth of the whole population would need to spin at the most for five hours per day for enough yarn to clothe the whole of India at the rate of 20 yards per head. The present average is said to be 15 yards per head. With greater efficiency the working hours can be considerably reduced. I hold that such distributed production of khadi requires minimum of effort and expenditure. It means voluntary co-operation on a scale never witnessed anywhere in modern times. Given the required will, the proposition is perfectly feasible. Anyway I expect every Congressman to put up his best effort to spin intelligently as much as he can and organise khadi sales among his neighbours; and this he should do in the belief that he is taking his due share in the preparation of the country for Independence.

Segaon, 4-12-39

KHADI FIGURES

Count	Threads per inch	Square yds. of cloth per 100 yds. of yarn	Square yds. of cloth for 360 days at 100 yds. of yarn per day	YARN			AS PER SQUARE YARD							Cost			Self-spun and self-oarled cloth as. p.
				Yards	Hanks	Weight in Tolas	Cotton as. p.	Carding as. p.	Spinning as. p.	Weaving as. p.	Unbleached cloth as. p.	Self-spun cloth as. p.					
10	38	$\frac{1}{36}$	12	3040	$3\frac{2}{16}$	$14\frac{1}{2}$	$1-10\frac{1}{2}$	$0-8\frac{1}{2}$	2-6	1-5	6-6	4-0	3-3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3-3 $\frac{1}{2}$			
12	40	$\frac{1}{32}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$	3200	$3\frac{2}{8}$	$12\frac{1}{2}$	$1-6\frac{3}{4}$	$0-7\frac{1}{2}$	2-10	1-6	$6-6\frac{1}{4}$	$3-8\frac{1}{4}$	$3-0\frac{3}{4}$	$3-0\frac{3}{4}$			
14	42	$\frac{1}{24}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$	3360	$3\frac{1}{16}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$	1-5	$0-6\frac{3}{4}$	3-1	$1-6\frac{1}{2}$	$6-7\frac{1}{4}$	$3-6\frac{1}{4}$	$2-11\frac{1}{2}$	$2-11\frac{1}{2}$			
16	45	1	10	3600	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{5}{8}$	1-4	0-6	$3-5\frac{1}{2}$	1-8	$6-11\frac{1}{2}$	3-6	3-0	3-0			
20	50	$\frac{1}{26}$	9	4000	$4\frac{1}{16}$	$9\frac{3}{8}$	*1-5	$0-8\frac{1}{2}$	$3-9\frac{1}{2}$	1-10	7-9	$3-11\frac{1}{2}$	3-3	3-3			

* Calculated on a higher quality of cotton.

- N. B. (1) General requirements being fulfilled by cloth of 8 to 20 counts, their mean, i. e. 12 counts, has been taken as the basis of our calculations below.
- (2) Each square yard of cloth made out of sacrificial yarn will cost as. 3-8 $\frac{1}{4}$ p.
- (3) This yarn at the rate of 100 yards per day will produce 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ square yards of cloth a year, i. e. $\frac{3}{4}$ of his requirements calculated at 15 square yards.
- (4) Making allowance for children, invalids and otherwise disabled persons, the number of able-bodied spinners may safely be taken as 40 per cent of the total population. (This of course is a conservative estimate. The correct figure would be nearer 60 per cent than 40 per cent.) Hence $\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{3}{4} = \frac{9}{16}$ or near one-third of the total requirement of cloth will be produced by self-spinning and the remaining two-thirds will have to be made up by spinning on wages. The cost of a square yard of khadi will thus amount to approximately 5 as. 8 p.

KRISHNADAS GANDHI

"THE ONLY WAY"

[The following speech by Shri C. Rajagopalachari, delivered in Madras on 15th November, contains an excellent exposition of the Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly. M. D.]

It is taken for granted that what the Congress wants is that the Congress and the League should be represented in the Constituent Assembly. This is a grave misconception. What the Congress has urged is not that either the Congress or the League or both or any other political organisation should be represented, but that a duly constituted electorate should send members to the Constituent Assembly, and that these should be charged with the duty and entrusted with the power to frame a final draft so that no party organisations or individuals at large may thereafter raise any objections or propose modifications. If an electorate duly representing all the peoples of India approve of the draft constitution, no self-constituted representatives can thereafter have the right to make counter-proposals and keep the issue alive. It may be taken for granted that in sending duly elected representatives to the Constituent Assembly the principle of separate electorates for such communities as desire it would be applied.

There is the problem of the method of reaching agreed conclusions. There is particularly the question of how to deal with dissenting minorities, since it may be taken for granted that absolute unanimity cannot be reached. The Congress wishes to proceed on the basis that a majority decision of the representatives of any particular community should be taken as the considered view of that community. As for relative evaluation, Mahatmaji has already stated clearly that the Congress stands for the position that safeguards for the protection of the legitimate interests of minorities should be such as would be satisfactory to the particular minority community. Otherwise we should be landed once again on British coercion.

As regards the States, it is a mistake to imagine that they are on a par with the minority communities. The States are today Governments, not peoples, for the Governments are unrelated to the people of those States. They should be dealt with on no better footing than as unrepresentative provincial Governments. They cannot claim the status of minorities and demand an agreement basis. They should be taken as represented by what is called the Paramount Power which is protecting them, and which is the same as the British Government. The latter may bargain for them. Reason should be the deciding factor as regards the requirements of the States and not feelings and apprehensions, nor therefore counting of heads, as in the case of minority communities. If the people of the States take the place of the rulers, the position may be different.

The immediate approach to the deadlock is generally believed to be negotiations between

the Congress and the League. The tactic of the British Government is to bring this about. Of course many want this in sincerity. And there are people always busy with this. But the lesson that has been forced on us by experience of two decades is that unless the British Government first accepts the procedure of pledging themselves to accept agreed decisions, and that they will no longer play the part of encouraging deliberately or otherwise now one and now the other, there can be no successful negotiations between the Congress and the League or any other organisation. It appears fairly clear that it is only when it is realised by the contending communities that nothing can be got out of the British, but only out of one another, that the majorities and minorities will come to decisions and agreements on the plane of reason, commonsense and love of motherland. This is what Mahatmaji has been insisting upon, without which condition precedent, he says, the "seesaw" process is likely to go on. He has not backed the slogan of the Constituent Assembly for the love of a grandiloquent phrase. He has come to it, as indeed Pandit Jawaharlal came to it originally, only because of the bitter experience of the futility of attempting to solve things otherwise. They have found that the presence of a third power actively bargaining for each in turn, and suggesting or offering just a bit more, each time when reason threatened to prevail, is a fatal circumstance that postpones our destined goal of freedom, and there is no alternative to civil war but an assembly of duly elected representatives of the people to persuade all to follow the dictates of inherent goodwill and reason and decide on that basis. Experience and not extremism — wisdom, not sloganism — has made Gandhiji so insistent on a duly constituted Constituent Assembly in place of either Congress or League. The objection to a duly constituted representative assembly instead of the irregular arrangement that has been for convenience and decency called Round Table procedure, comes mostly from groups and individuals whose opinion of their own importance or their ambition differs materially from the prevailing public estimate. The Round Table is too irresponsible to be of any use when we feel we have talked enough and must come to final decisions binding on all.

There is one subject on which the British for obvious reasons of propriety are not candid enough. They are unwilling to refer directly to the question of their own concrete interests in India, which in the present temper of nationalism they should be permitted to be reasonably anxious about. Instead of seeking a balance of power between warring communities to protect British interests, it is for the British to state what those interests are and what is the sort of protection they claim for them. It is no use confusing the issue with the theory of Trust or

(Continued on p. 372)

H A R I J A N

Dec. 9

1939

IN GOD'S GOOD HANDS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Dear Friend,

I am unknown to you personally, but my wife and I came very near to being your host and hostess when you visited the Greenfield Mill at Darwen, Lancashire, in 1931. I think I was the first to express the hope that you might be willing to meet personally our cotton operatives during your stay in England that year, a period of distress through widespread unemployment in Lancashire; and this was conveyed to you through my friend C. F. Andrews. Just before the time for the visit arrived, however, we left our Darwen home and our work as welfare supervisors at the Greenfield factory, to start a new life in charge of the Quaker International Centre in Berlin; and you were entertained by our friends and successors, Charles and Harriet Haworth.

Through 5½ years' residence in Germany with our family of four young children, we have come to know and to love very many people in that country, and have also watched and shared at first hand all the tragic developments, moral and political, of this time. We were, however, already well acquainted with Germany and her people through the Quaker relief work for starving children after the last war, in which we had been privileged to take part.

I read with deep interest and inspiration, in the early days of this war, a few lines written by you in *Harijan*, which have been a great help and comfort to me in these troubled times. They are as follows: 'I personally would not purchase my own country's freedom by violence, even if such a thing were possible.....My faith that what is gained by the sword will also be lost by the sword, is imperishable.' I have been encouraged, after mentioning my thoughts to my friend Agatha Harrison, to write and tell you what I have had so much in mind during these first distressful weeks of war. She has kindly let me see something of what you have written on the subject of the war situation, which helped me to understand your attitude towards it, but still leaves me under the sense of a deep concern which I now ask permission to lay before you.

I meet so often nowadays even fine and convinced friends of peace who, in view of the brutal suppression of independence in countries like Czechoslovakia and Poland, feel themselves in a moral dilemma; who take the view that when such things happen war is inevitable and even right for their country, in the attempt to restore what has been lost—though as individuals they would probably dissociate themselves from it. I have wondered whether this is not the moment when such an acknowledged spiritual prophet and leader as you are, might give a clarion call to the whole world, pointing to another way

than the senseless gamble and destruction of war; another way, not merely for the settling of disputes but, far more important, for resistance to evil and even for the attainment of political aims. The war method, as we experienced in 1914-1918, seems inevitably to vitiate its own ends, however good these may be at the outset; whereas the moral means of non-violence and redemptive love do but strengthen and purify the aims, in so far as these are based on moral right and justice. This you have taught us. It seems to me that a lead from one with your spiritual authority along the lines of a better way than war to help the stricken and oppressed, whether individuals or nations, might come with redeeming power to many who find themselves in the distress of a moral dilemma at the present time, and release spiritual energies which, because of this dilemma, are lamed and useless, or are prostituted in the attempt to supply uplift and inspiration for the pursuit of a holy war for civilisation, freedom—or for the mere negative aim of destroying Hitlerism by successful rivalry in its own methods.

I have no moral right to judge—sadly the contrary—but I know that you appreciate frankness, and I therefore venture to confess myself puzzled that, so far from seizing this opportunity to proclaim the better way in which you have been such a magnificent pioneer, you appear (I feel sure I am mistaken or misunderstand) to be thinking mainly of what political advantage for the cause of independence in India can be gained from the war situation. One almost has the impression that the opportunity which war presents is welcomed, and that support for the Allies in the attempt to gain their ends through war would be gladly given if an adequate bargain were forthcoming.

I have no special knowledge of Indian affairs, but, relying on the judgment of my best friends who have close association with the best opinion in India, I am eager for the realisation of their hopes and yours; but I would hope for this as the outcome of a liberal movement of mind in our own people and Government as part of a generous desire and determination for a new and better world instead of one filled with aggression and imperialist domination—rather than as a bargain by imperialist Britain without any change of mind, primarily for the purpose of obtaining the material support of India in winning the war.

My heart cries to you out of its distress and despair, caused by the war. I have seen so much that is good in the German people, the self-giving idealism of its youth, whom I love, as well as the evil with which I am so intimately acquainted through trying to help the victims. I have been in a Nazi prison, and have believed that through my suffering there has been shown to me a nobler way to help the splendid young men of Germany and of my own country, than the way we are about to employ, of driving millions of them to slaughter one another. I believe that many people throughout the world are longing to see the way out of this evil into which we are slowly slipping deeper and deeper, until it may soon be too late.

Perhaps you alone can help us. I write to you in deep concern to beg you to consider whether it may not be laid upon you to do so.

With deep esteem and love,

49, Parliament Hill, Your friend sincerely,
London N. W. 3 CORDER CATCHPOOL"

I know that this letter reflects the attitude of many Englishmen who look to me for showing the better way. Sir Radhakrishnan's collection of tributes on my completing seventy years has deepened the hope of thousands of peace-lovers. But I know what a poor instrument I am for the fulfilment of that hope. Admirers have given me credit I do not deserve. I am not able to testify that India furnishes the world with a good example of non-violence of the strong and therefore as a substitute for armed resistance against an aggressor. India undoubtedly has shown the efficacy of passive non-violence as a weapon of the weak. But useful as it is as a substitute of terrorism, I claim no newness or merit for it. It is no contribution to the peace movement.

It is no wonder that my identification with the Congress demand appears to contradict my previous writing quoted by my correspondent. There is, however, no contradiction. Even now as then I would not gain Independence at the cost of non-violence. The critic might retort that, if the British Government made the required declaration, I would be helping the Allies and thereby taking part in violence. The retort would be reasonable but for the fact that the additional help that Britain would gain from the Congress would be purely moral. The Congress would contribute neither men nor money. The moral influence would be used on the side of peace. I have already said in these columns that my non-violence does recognise different species of violence — defensive and offensive. It is true that in the long run the difference is obliterated, but the initial merit persists. A non-violent person is bound, when the occasion arises, to say which side is just. Thus I wished success to the Abyssinians, the Spaniards, the Czechs, the Chinese and the Poles, though in each case I wished that they could have offered non-violent resistance. In the present case, if the Congress could justify the British case on the high ground professed by Mr. Chamberlain, India declared free would throw in her whole moral weight on the side of peace. The part I am playing is, in my opinion, strictly non-violent. There is no spirit of bargaining behind the Congress demand which itself is wholly moral. There is no desire to embarrass the Government. There is to be no precipitate Civil Disobedience. Care is being taken to meet every just objection to the Congress demand and to smooth every difficulty in the way of Great Britain making the requisite declaration. The greatest strain is being put upon impatient Congressmen spoiling for a fight though non-violent. I myself want to be able to play an

effective part in bringing peace nearer. I might be able to do so if India becomes in fact an independent ally of Britain, though the legal process is delayed till the war is ended.

But who am I? I have no strength save what God gives me. I have no authority over my countrymen save the purely moral. If He holds me to be a pure instrument for the spread of non-violence in the place of the awful violence now ruling the earth, He will give me the strength and show me the way. My greatest weapon is mute prayer. The cause of peace is, therefore, in God's good hands. Nothing can happen but by His will expressed in His eternal, changeless Law which is He. We neither know Him nor His Law save through the glass darkly. But the faint glimpse of the Law is sufficient to fill me with joy, hope, and faith in the future.

Segaon, 5-12-39

CHRISTIANS' DUTY

It was good to read Mr. Templin's open letter to the Viceroy the other day. It is a fine document expressing in unequivocal terms what should be the attitude of the true follower of Christ to the present world situation. It makes, as is natural, special reference to India. But inasmuch as it denounces imperialism and declares that India's aspiration for freedom is right and just, and that her being dragged into a war against her will and out of harmony with her inner soul is a sin against her, it cannot but have had a cold reception in certain quarters.

Indeed, one understands from *The Hindustan Times* that because Mr. Templin, as President of the Drafting Committee, signed a recent declaration by Christians repudiating the Viceroyal declaration which included Christians among the minorities in India, he has been hauled over the coals by "the High Command of the Church in India" and been accused of having broken the pledge which American missionaries have to sign before coming to India. They are reputed to have asked him to leave India. Mr. Templin will doubtless fight his own battle. The stand he has taken is unquestionably right in the eyes of all those who love justice and freedom. But the missionary alarm over a perfectly honest and legitimate attitude of a co-worker, is typical of the narrow-mindedness of these bodies. It is one of the biggest tragedies of Europe today that the Churches have not been able to do anything to stop the holocaust into which that continent is plunged today. Institutional Christianity must be recognised to be a failure. How could it be otherwise so long as the Churches are part and parcel of the State? So long as religion compromises with temporal power, so long will it have to deny its high calling. Spiritual values must be given first place if righteousness is to prevail. Reform is definitely indicated, and one wonders whether those who have the call to spread the gospel of Christ would not be better

employed if they turned their attention to their own people who are crucifying Jesus daily. In any event, if they believe in the love of Christ, which includes justice, brotherhood and freedom for all races, now is the time for them to join hands with Mr. Templin rather than accuse him for having spoken the truth. It is through the growing number of Christians who are strong enough to denounce the wrong that a new order of Christians will be born, pledged to follow, in the letter as well as in the spirit, the teachings of Jesus.

The challenge to Mr. Templin is no less a challenge to Indian Christians. Those have done well who have recently denounced separatism for themselves, and their lead should be followed by Christians throughout the country. Trust begets trust, and faith in the goodness of human nature and love of fellow-men mean an inner strength which cannot allow any individual or any community to fall. As a Christian I wholly endorse Mr. Templin's action.

Simla, 27-11-39

AMRIT KAUR

(Continued from p. 369)

a high-souled concern for civilisation and orderly progress. It should not be confounded with Imperialist ambition or habit. It should be reduced to the minimum and stated in pounds sterling and provided for by agreement or arbitration by disinterested judges, say, three good Dominion Ministers. This could easily be made a preliminary to the constitution, I am told we can find precedent for this in the history of Irish affairs.

The question then is not how long it will take for the Hindu-Muslim negotiations to reach a settlement, but whether and when the British Government will yield to the demands of the nation. These demands, though put forward by the Congress, are put forward on behalf of the whole nation and good for Hindus as well as for Mussalmans; indeed for all who aspire for a life of self-respect and honour among the civilised peoples of the world. The British know very well the inescapable conclusion that this country must be governed by our own people and by nobody else. There is no way but democracy for a tolerably good government to be maintained under modern conditions. So they must yield finally and leave us to ourselves. How many weeks or how many months or years they will take to make up their minds on the present crisis is somewhat of a difficult question to answer. Mahatmaji expects it will take a few months. For the time being he counsels patience for several reasons which are convincing. Meanwhile we should be busy. We cannot remain idle. A mere programme of meetings is hardly different from idleness.

Mahatmaji has stated, and some people have heaved a sigh of relief, that civil resistance is impracticable with a nation divided on communal lines over the question. But action need not

necessarily take the form of civil resistance of the kind that is deemed impracticable owing to these circumstances. It is impossible that millions of good and energetic men can be arbitrarily governed under existing conditions with the psychology and the ideas that have been developed during the eventful period we have passed. There will be a burst up of some kind if nothing is done or it is too long delayed. Internal quarrels cannot satisfy people for a long time, however foolish they may be.

We may not expect the Governor to take the responsibility of extending prohibition or opening new temples to Harijans. But though I cannot speak on behalf of His excellency now, I can confidently assert that the Prohibition districts will continue to be under Prohibition and the temples opened to Harijans will continue to be so open. I want, therefore, all non-official organisations in the Prohibition districts to put forth as much energy as before and vigilance. They should even try to put forth increased vigilance and enthusiasm to make up for a certain amount of natural deterioration in official work. Even as to the officials I believe that there will be no setback. I need hardly say that any reversal of policy is bound to be interpreted as a declaration of war on the Congress. We cannot, however, ask for loyal continuance of our policies unless Congressmen continue to exert and give every assistance in enforcing Prohibition. Congressmen, therefore, in the four dry districts have a special duty which they should continue to perform without any slackening or doubt or hesitation.

BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE

The Conference of Basic Education, which was held at the Men's Training College at Poona from October 29th to November 1st, proved to be a significant event. Coinciding with a period of tension, both national and international, it stressed the idea that the only way out of the present world chaos was to work from the very bottom, through a truly democratic, integrated process of education for children. The conference was a gathering of workers of Basic Education to review the past year's work and to discuss ways and means for the carrying out of the future programme. The nucleus of the conference consisted of about one hundred and fifty delegates who are actually engaged in the experiment, and was supplemented by a representative group of visitors, the most notable among whom were the members of the Kher Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education of the Government of India.

The delegates included training school teachers, inspectors, administrative officers deputed by the Governments of Bombay, Madras, C. P., U. P., Bihar and Orissa, the States of Kashmir and Aundh, national workers and representatives from progressive missionary educational institutions such as Moga in the Punjab and Erode in South India — geographically they were gathered from

Kashmir in the North to Coimbatore in the South and from North Western Frontier to Orissa in the East.

The proceedings of the conference started on October 29th at 5 p. m. with the reading of the message from Gandhiji by Shri B. G. Kher who welcomed the delegates and visitors to the conference on behalf of the Bombay Government. Acharya Kripalani then formally opened the conference and exhibition with an inspiring speech in which he interpreted the social and ethical philosophy which formed the background of this new scheme of education.

Kripalaniji's speech set the tune for the conference as a whole. The proceedings were marked by an earnest and collective endeavour to arrive at some practical solution of the main problems connected with the working out of the scheme. The main problems selected were five, viz. the training of teachers of Basic Education, the technique of correlated teaching, the financial and administrative implications connected with the introduction of Basic Education, the practical working out of the Basic syllabus, and the problem of supervision. Each session of the conference was devoted to the consideration of one of these problems, partly through the reading of papers on the subject, and partly through a general discussion of the points raised. The conference was fortunate in having as its president Prof. K. G. Saiyidain, Director of Education, Kashmir. At the end of every session, he summed up the findings of the conference as a whole. They are as follows:

1. The conference realises that education in India has greatly suffered on account of the very early introduction of English in the course of studies. It also realises that Indian languages have suffered a great deal as vehicles of instruction by their not being used as medium of education, not to speak of the injustice and harm done to the students by forcing them to learn things through a foreign tongue. This conference, therefore, recommends that it should be made a rule that not only in basic schools but in all schools throughout India no English should be taught till the students have acquired a regular education for seven years through their mother tongue.

This does not apply to those whose mother tongue is English.

2. Basic National Education has made steady and encouraging progress during the last two years, and the accounts of experiments and experiences given by official and private workers hold out the hope that it will, in due course, bring about a revolution in the existing system of education in the country.

3. The work of Basic National Education is of such vital importance to the future of the country that it should be continued without interruption, whatever the political changes that may occur in the near future.

In order to meet the enormous capital and other forms of expenditure which will be incurred in making seven years' basic education free, universal and compulsory, it is the duty of the Central Government to bear its due share of the total expenditure on this most important activity of national reconstruction.

4. The minimum duration of the training given to basic school teachers should be one year, and it should be an integral process, not bifurcated into several periods.

E. W. ARYANAYAKAM

Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh

(To be continued)

KHADI, WOMAN'S DOMAIN

The Secretary of the Bihar branch of the A. I. S. A. has issued a circular to the effect that they celebrated the Gandhi Jayanti this year from October 2nd to 23rd. Khadi sales were organised on a province-wide scale and 'khadi hundis' were sold for the first time. Exact figures are not yet available, but from information received it is hoped that the sales will exceed a lakh of rupees. The Secretary of this branch is very anxious that those who recently helped in the production and organising of khadi sales and many others will continue their efforts throughout the year and inform him at Madhubani, Darbhanga District, as to how much time they are willing to devote to this work from now till October next.

Shri Sitaram Sastry of Guntur, Andhra, has sent a detailed account of work done in his locality during the Jayanti period. 667 spinners from four districts took part in the spinning, out of whom 253 were women, 161 men and 253 children. The total output of yarn was 3,470,400 yards. The largest individual contribution of yarn was one lakh yards each from two persons. One old woman aged 66 spun 44,940 yards.

The increasingly encouraging results every year of the sales of khadi and the output of yarn during the Jayanti celebrations are surely a proof that khadi can be sold if the necessary effort is forthcoming. It is not possible for the A. I. S. A. to have more than one Khadi Bhandar in a town. Even the number of towns in which these exist today is very limited. They have not the capital necessary to employ a large number of workers for hawking khadi. There is, however, no reason whatsoever why men and women, especially women, should not undertake to sell a certain quota of khadi every year in their personal capacity. There is plenty of goodwill for khadi, and many would buy it, who do not do so at the moment, if there were a good agency who could cater for their wants. If committees of women to whom khadi really stands for something worth while were to acquaint themselves with local requirements, they would be rendering useful service to the bhandars as also to khadi producing centres. If local wants were carefully studied, our bhandars need never be

overstocked, they would always have only those articles and such materials as can command a ready market. New ideas in designs, in proper blending of colours, suggestions as to different textures for materials, for new patterns, for garments, etc., can all be constantly given by women; and khadi stands in need of this help.

Again, if women of the leisured classes will go in for spinning throughout the year, the khadi produced from their yarn can be sold at cheap rates to those who cannot afford to pay more than mill rates for cloth for personal and home use. The money thus earned would be a useful source of income to the A. I. S. A. for their wages fund. I am sure that, if women realised how much they could help their poor sisters in these ways, they would gladly throw themselves heart and soul into this labour of love. Is it too much to expect every leisured woman not only to help in the sales and production of khadi but also to spin for an hour daily?

Segoan, 9-11-39

A. K.

PURELY MORAL ISSUE

The following statement was cabled to *The News Chronicle* by Gandhiji:

Mr. Chamberlain is reported to have said, "If imperialism means the assertion of racial superiority, suppression of political and economic freedom of other peoples, the exploitation of the resources of other countries for the benefit of an imperialist country, then I say these are not the characteristics of this country." This is pleasing to the ear but does not square with facts. The policy adopted in Kenya, the clove business in Zanzibar, the Ottawa Pact, not to speak of the Dominions which exploit the so-called uncivilised races of the earth, do not show as if the imperial spirit was dead. Coming nearer home, is the Paramountcy over Indian Princes consistent with even elementary democracy, let alone death of imperialism? Princes are made and unmade not for India's good. Millions of Indians remain under undiluted autocracy by reason of the Paramountcy.

Also I fail to see why Britain's intention about India should be dependent upon Muslim, Hindu or any other opinion. The only opinion that counts is India's opinion, not even the Congress opinion. India's opinion can only be ascertained by the free vote of her people. The only true and democratic method is to ascertain their will through adult suffrage or any agreed equivalent. So far as the Congress is concerned, the people of Princes' India should be represented precisely on the same footing as those of British India. The Muslims and other accepted minorities may be represented by separate electorate, if necessary, and in the exact proportion of their numbers. They will determine what is required for their protection.

In all matters of common interest a composite-majority decision should prevail. If a better way than a Constituent Assembly can be found for knowing the will of the people, so far as I know the Congress will accept it without hesitation. Neither the size of the country nor the illiteracy of the masses should be a bar against adult suffrage. The election campaign will itself be sufficient education for the purpose of broadly knowing the popular will.

The declaration of British policy about India is a purely moral issue, for freedom-loving India has neither the will nor the capacity to resort to armed revolt. Nevertheless, it is her right to know Britain's will about her. I am aware that Britain can impress men and money from India treated as her dependency, but she can get moral weight on her side only from an India conscious of her freedom. I am anxious, as a friend of Britain bound by many personal ties, that she should come out victorious not because of her superiority in the use of arms but because of her will to be just all along the line. She will then have the true friendship and sympathy of millions of people all over the world who have become sick of the wanton waste of precious life and of the palpable lies disseminated to sustain greed and hunger for dominion.

Segaon, 4-12-39

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[ONE ANNA

'SPIN FOR SWARAJ'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some boys and girls came to me the other day and asked for my autograph. They wanted some message in addition. To all of them I gave the message: 'Spin for Swaraj'. For, just now I have nothing but spinning and Swaraj on the brain. I had expected my young visitors to be distressed to find, instead of a copy book maxim, a message that asked them to create something and that too so insipid as spinning. But on my inquiring, they told me they would spin. Shri Sitaram Sastri tells me people are asking for charkhas, etc. Another friend, an old jail bird, tells me I should definitely set apart one year for spinning work and universalisation of khadi. But the following letter comes from a Bombay advocate as a counterblast:

"If you will not laugh at me, I will unhesitatingly say, it is the programme of universal spinning.' In these words you addressed the U. P. Congressmen among whom, according to you, were some 'who had laughed at the charkha and non-violence.' But to your 'utter astonishment you found them reconciled to both.' This is what baffles you.

Without claiming to speak for the U. P. Congressmen referred to, let me tell you why most Congressmen do not actively oppose such statements of yours as, 'If millions spin for Swaraj and in the spirit of non-violence, there will probably be no necessity for civil disobedience,' and your insistence on non-violence in word, deed and thought which they know is impossible and which you, the author of it, have not been able to attain, according to your own admission. The reason for this attitude is simply this that you have become a symbol of the might of the Congress and, to the general masses, the words 'Gandhi' and 'Congress' have become synonymous; and hence Congressmen are not ready to lose such a powerful weapon at this stage of the War of Independence. The Congress minus Gandhi will not be half as powerful as its former self. This fact is realised by all and sundry, and that is why they would not willingly allow you to depart from the Congress even at the cost of rendering 'obedience without faith', as you term it. This is, of course, the primary reason, but there are again wheels within the wheels of the Congress machinery. There are the 'rightists' and the 'leftists', apart from various other shades of opinion. The 'rightists' are terribly afraid of the 'leftists' and their socialistic doctrines. They know the power of your name and fully

utilise it as a counterpoise to the leftists' economic approach to the masses. We witness the curious sight of absolutely ordinary human beings apparently acting against their own personal interests, when we see mill-owners support khadi. Why is it so? An eminent economist, who is in your good books, once told me that you are the last hope of the capitalists. They know fully well that khadi will never be cheap enough for the masses and hence no danger to their interests will accrue. On the contrary, by paying lip-service to your khadi and 'non-violence' doctrines, they can take advantage of your 'trusteeship' doctrine in their dealings with their workmen and make the ordinary working of trade unions impossible except those run on Ahmedabad lines. Capitalists, landlords and even the Princes (not all) freely fling about the words 'non-violence', 'truth', etc., so far as these suit their convenience. As for the 'leftists', they are in no way behind the 'rightists'. They too want your name as a means to approach the masses. That is why they are flocking to the Congress. They don't mind non-violence as a policy and, just to keep you in humour, they might as well say they are reconciled to it. I don't deny that there may be many Congressmen who are genuine adherents of your creed, but the vast majority have their own axes to grind.

I dare not say I know the Congressmen better than you do, but I am baffled no less, on my part, by your 'utter astonishment' and 'baffling', unless it is, as you say, that 'being boxed up in Segaoon', you have 'no direct touch with the people'. Let me assure you, dear Gandhiji, that, if only you will take cognisance of the elementary motives which move ordinary and even more than ordinary human beings (and Congressmen too are human beings), your 'astonishment' and 'baffling' will disappear as the morning mist does before the scorching rays of the sun."

I cannot deny the force of the writer's argument. But all my life I have taken co-workers' words at their face value, unless dishonesty has been patent. I have never lost by my trustfulness. On the contrary, I can recall instances of men who were lukewarm in the beginning but became enthusiastic in the end. When you have to deal with large numbers of men and women, it is bad policy to start with distrust.

The mill-owners who give me money even for the charkha tell me frankly that they do not fear its competition. Whatever motive they have is on the surface; Nothing is hidden. If the charkha economics are bad, it will die a natural death.

But given the will of the nation, the charkha will live when the last mill has closed down. Khadi is dear in competition with the mills. It is cheaper than mill cloth, if it gives partial and profitable employment, as it does, to millions of the unemployed in India.

If what the Bombay advocate says is true, why is it that the masses cling to me and that I represent the power of the Congress? Is not the question clearly answered by the blazing fact that I represent undiluted non-violence? The unsophisticated masses have unconsciously and instinctively accepted me as their friend, guide and servant. There never was the slightest difficulty in my feeling one with them or their feeling one with me. I never had to make any effort to draw them towards me, whether here or in South Africa. I cannot account for the bond except by attributing the phenomenon to the power of love.

I am not ashamed to own that many capitalists are friendly towards me and do not fear me. They know that I desire to end capitalism almost, if not quite, as much as the most advanced socialist or even communist. But our methods differ, our languages differ. My theory of 'trusteeship' is no make-shift, certainly no camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it. That possessors of wealth have not acted up to the theory does not prove its falsity; it proves the weakness of the wealthy. No other theory is compatible with non-violence. In the non-violent method the wrong-doer compasses his own end, if he does not undo the wrong. For, either through non-violent non-cooperation he is made to see his error, or he finds himself completely isolated. And so the wise socialists and leftists, when the time for action arrives, are not likely to stand in my way. They know that the poor and the downtrodden will be happy if my method succeeds. They are not ready for action with their method; and they are too patriotic to interfere with me, so long as they believe in my honesty and love of the country.

Nevertheless, I have to guard against hypocrisy. The charkha is my test. There is no simple test whereby I can find out how much a Congressman has done in the way of communal unity or removal of untouchability. But I can easily find out how much he has spun and to what extent, in a particular area, khadi has become current coin. I have, therefore, not quite accepted the advice of the friend who wants me to set apart a period for exclusive khadi work. I propose to judge the total effort by the result. I have shown conclusively, by producing arithmetical calculations, that by self-spinning khadi can be worn by the poorest of villagers. No other village craft has the capacity that spinning and its ancillary processes have for putting so much money into the pockets of the largest number of villagers with the mini-

mum of capital outlay and organisational effort.

Let Congressmen know that I should have no confidence in myself or them to embark on direct action, even when other difficulties were overcome, unless I had proof positive of successful khadi work all over India. This is not possible without serious, sustained and intelligent effort on the part of the vast mass of Congressmen. Therefore I say: "Spin for Swaraj".

Segaon, 11-12-39

DOMINION STATUS

Among the Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs is an illuminating one on *The British Empire* by the editor of *The Round Table*, Mr. H. V. Hodson. The parent of the Statute of Westminster was the Balfour Memorandum in which the Dominions and the United Kingdom were described as

"Autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, *though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.*" (The Italics are mine)

Now under the Statute of Westminster the Dominion Parliaments may "repeal or amend any Acts of the Parliament of the United Kingdom applying to them, and to declare that no such Act should extend to a Dominion as part of its law unless that Dominion had requested and consented to its enactment." Under the legal shelter of this Statute, says the author, the Irish Free State, among the Dominions, has gone the farthest limit by omitting all mention of the Crown from the Irish constitution of 1937 and abolishing the office of the Governor-General.

But does this process of self-assertion by the Dominions mean the gradual dissolution of the Empire? The author gives a negative reply. It "would no doubt have spelt the gradual dissolution of the Empire had it not been accompanied by the development of new co-operative institutions to take the place of the old centralized and imperialistic ones." One of these is the Imperial Economic Conference, the Executive Council of the Imperial Agricultural Bureau, the Imperial War Graves Commission, and so on. Then there is the common fabric of defence. "All the member-nations are concerned to maintain a series of naval bases and fortified ports (and also, nowadays, air bases) covering strategically the whole Empire. In accordance with this principle the Union of South Africa maintains the naval base of Simonstown and the land defences of Capetown for the British Navy; New Zealand and Malaya have contributed large sums to the construction of the Singapore base; Australia is fortifying and improving the port at Darwin; and under a long-standing agreement with Canada the fortified ports of Halifax and Esquimaux become available for the British navy in time of war." There is the Committee of Imperial Defence, which "technically an advisory Com-

mittee of the United Kingdom Cabinet..... maintaining the closest liaison with Dominion defence forces and departments." Then there are the trade agreements which necessarily tie the Dominions to the chariot wheel of the Empire and make them more and more industrialized. Lastly, there is the immigration problem bound up with the racial problem. Mr. Hodson admits that the Dominions impose restrictions on the admission of "immigrants not of white race", and asserts that the problem would be easier of solution when India rose to the stature of a self-governing nation and became a member of the British Commonwealth. The inference is obvious. India would far rather be "an allied foreign country like Egypt", and solve the racial and immigration problem through her independent status than by being a member of the commonwealth of white peoples.

The Colonies

But why call them exploiters of non-white races? The answer has been given at length by Mr. Leonard Barnes in his book *Empire and Democracy* (reviewed in these columns on 6th & 13th May, 1939) which proves that the Empire is the very negation of democracy. He has analysed the social, economic, educational and political conditions of the black races of the colonies to show that they approximate to anything but democracy.

One of the Oxford pamphlets is devoted to *Colonies and Raw Materials* (by H. D. Henderson). The colonies, he argues, are no benefit to the mother-country, the League Committee on Raw Materials in 1937 having pointed out that "the total present production of all commercially important raw materials in all colonial territories is no more than about 3 per cent of world production." The colonies, he contends, are held for strategic purposes and because of "our obligations to the colonial peoples."

Now the League Committee's figure refers to all the colonies of the European countries and not to the British colonies. And the strategic purpose is to hold the Empire together. But even Mr. Henderson admits that "the production of many colonial products, however, is, or has been, highly profitable, and has provided advantageous openings for the investment of capital. The development of rubber-growing a generation ago gave rise to one of the most spectacular of Stock Exchange booms. Copper, tin, tea, and sugar represent enterprises in which much British and other European capital has been invested, and in which at one time or another large profits have been earned. It is indeed in providing profitable outlets for investment that the chief economic advantage of colonial possessions has hitherto lain." And see, what the Dominions and India mean from the point of view of self-sufficiency. Says Mr. Hodson in the pamphlet on *The British Empire*:

"If the United Kingdom and her dependencies alone are considered, as being the 'Empire' in the

sense of subjection to a single imperial rule, there is a net deficiency of every important foodstuff except, fresh milk, tropical fruits, vegetable oils, cocoa, tea, and coffee....The position is radically altered by the inclusion of the self-governing Dominions and India. The whole Empire is then seen to have an exportable surplus of wheat and to be approximately self-sufficient in rye, rice, and potatoes. In raw materials the United Kingdom and the British dependent Empire together have an exportable surplus of tin, manganese, coal, rubber, and graphite. They are approximately self-sufficient in bauxite, vanadium, phosphates, sisal, and vegetable oils, but have large or small deficiencies in everything else. If the Dominions and India are brought in, the following are added to the list of raw materials of which there is an exportable surplus: lead, nickel, chromium, vanadium, asbestos, platinum, wool, jute, and vegetable oils. In addition, there is approximate self-sufficiency in iron, copper, zinc, bauxite, tungsten, magnesite, phosphates, sisal, timber, and vegetable oils."

"The Empire Way of Life"

There was a time when the Empire and the way it was built up used to be applauded. Now there is an apologetic tone. "The British Empire is far from perfect," says Mr. Hodson. "It has come into being through historical events not all of which were creditable." But he also insists that "through all its affairs blows the keen and cleansing wind of democracy, based on freedom of speech, of the press, and of association. These are the fundamentals of the British Empire way of life." Another writer, Mr. S. Fowler Wright, makes out a strong plea against the cession of the ex-German colonies to Germany in a book *Should We Surrender Colonies?* and therein makes this pompous assertion:

"For the decisive reasons which would prevent even the discussion of handing over the Cape of Good Hope to Holland is not that it belongs to Great Britain, but that it *belongs to its own people*, (italics author's) and if those people seriously desired to be governed from Amsterdam—or Berlin—it is certain that England would not fire a single shot to obstruct the realisation of that curious ambition. But unless it should be desired by them, the whole power of the British Empire would be exerted for the defence of their freedom. That is the crucial difference between the Nazi conception of Empire and our own...The Dominions and colonies of the British Empire are free to work out their own destinies."

If so, why all this bother over India's claim being recognised to work out her own destiny? But the fact is that the colonies and dominions mean white people. The coloured races in them are mere helots.

M. D.

A Correction

In the note "An Interesting Study" appearing in the *Harijan* of 2nd December, read 2 annas in place of 4-5 annas in the following sentence:

"In the one case the spinner and the weaver get between themselves 4-5 annas; in the other, i. e. khadi they get 24 annas."

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HARIJAN

Dec. 16

1939

THE PRINCES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Whatever may be said to the contrary I must continue to claim to be a friend and well-wisher of the Princes. For, my picture of free India has a definite place for them. And hence it is that I have been drawing attention to the weakness of their position as it exists today. The small Princes would do well to abdicate the powers they should never have possessed, and the powers of the bigger ones should be regularised. I have also ventured to suggest the minimum required.

No one in his wildest imagination thinks that the people of the States will for ever remain what they are. They will fight for their rights either non-violently or violently. In any case, the Princes cannot hold out against millions who have become conscious of their power, whether spiritual or physical.

If the Princes will not read the signs of the times, has the Paramount Power, which has 'rescued' or 'created' them, no duty towards the people of the States? Shri Pyarelal has examined this question and endeavoured to show, as the reader will find elsewhere in this issue of *Harijan*, that no treaty obligations absolve the Paramount Power from protecting the people against misrule, or compel it to recognise the Princes as co-equals with itself and free from all control. The very word 'Paramountcy' involves the final authority of the Paramount Power. The so-called treaties are not treaties between equals, but conditions and restrictions imposed upon those to whom they are given. They are so many grants made principally or wholly for the consolidation of Paramountcy. Lawyers will no doubt be found who would argue that treaties are solemn pledges which can be enforced by the Princes. How can a dwarf enforce rights against a giant?

Those who accuse the Congress of bargaining with England when she is engaged in a life and death struggle, do not know what they are saying. Anyway I can have no part in bargaining. It is against my nature. India's birthright may not be recognised today. It will be when the time comes. But the issue must be plainly understood.

I hold that, in the nature of things, it is impossible for the Congress to negotiate with the Princes directly. When the time has come, it will be found that the Paramount Power will have negotiated on their behalf with the Congress or whoever can deliver the goods. Princes must not be used or allowed to impede the march of India to freedom, even as the

I. C. S., a British creation, cannot be allowed to do so. Both are bulwarks of the Empire, and both will either be found to yield willing assistance to free India or will be disbanded. This is not said to offend them. It is the naked truth. When Britain has shed imperialism, at least so far as India is concerned, it will be discovered that these two arms of imperialism were no hindrance on England's path towards the right act.

As I visualise the war at this stage, I see that it has not yet commenced with grim earnestness. Both parties are discovering and inventing new methods of destruction, but both are, I hope, evading the terrible slaughter which must result from any serious impact between the two. Awful as the indiscriminate sinking of ships with the attendant loss of life is, it will be found to be insignificant compared to what will happen when the fight commences in right earnest. Meanwhile moral issues are being decided for the combatants, whether they will or no. I observe that British statesmen have now begun to confine the war aims to the freedom of European nations. Unless the war comes to an abrupt end, they will find it necessary to go back to the original aim of saving the world for democracy. This war with the gigantic preparations it has necessitated will force the parties to cover much wider moral ground than they have perhaps contemplated. The war may, therefore, ultimately be decided on moral issues. At any rate, the Congress, which has voluntarily disarmed itself and chosen the path of peace or non-violence, is engaged in bringing the moral issue to the forefront. And if it keeps patient, it may by its sheer insistence on the moral issue play an important part in preventing the impending holocaust. A clear perception of the problem of the Princes is a big part of the moral issue. I invite the Princes and their advisers and, last but not least, the British statesmen to examine it dispassionately and without the old bias.

Segaon, 11-12-39

Notes

Dominion Status or Independence

An English friend writes to say that he was pained to find me shifting my ground from Dominion Status to Independence, for he has known me declare my satisfaction with Dominion Status in terms of the Statute of Westminster. The charge of shifting ground is not new. General Smuts had brought it against me in South Africa in the initial stages of Satyagraha. But he was ultimately satisfied with what I had done. And as the reader knows I can count him among my many friends. The charge arises from my compromising nature, the desire 'to agree with my adversary quickly'. Thus, when a newspaper interviewer came to me in Yeravda in 1930, I used the oft-quoted expression 'substance of Independence'. I told him that I should be

satisfied with the substance, instead of the fleeting shadow, of Independence. Similarly, I had said to a friend that, if Dominion Status was offered, I should take it and expect to carry India with me. This is, surely, not in conflict with my saying that I would not be satisfied with anything less than the best, when a definition of war aims is concerned. I should be a traitor to the country's cause if I lowered the goal. If, therefore, Dominion Status is less than Independence, I must claim the latter. If it is the same as Independence, it is solely for India to decide what her status will be called. And in examining Dominion Status as India's status I have endeavoured to show that it will ill fit her case, as Dominion Status has associations which shows that it is applicable to the Whites only and does not exclude the exploitation of non-European races. India, which is among the exploited nations, will be a misfit as a fellow-exploiter with, say, South Africa. Free India's mission must be much higher, especially if she finally accepts non-violence as a substitute for war.

Segaon, 11-12-39

Rajkot Reforms

I have seen the Rajkot State note on reforms. The contradiction makes no impression on me. I adhere to every word of what I have said. Events will show what the reforms mean. Though I did not use Shri Dhebar's name in my article, the framer of the State note has gratuitously brought him in to enable him to signify his displeasure towards the one man who has been admitted in my presence as a true and brave reformer. He will survive all the attacks made on him. If the reforms prove to be what they are claimed to be in the note, no one will be more glad than I. The authorities are, however, entitled to congratulations on their having secured the approval of six out of the ten nominees for the aborted Constitution Committee. That is indeed a defeat for the State Parishad and me. This *volte face* is a good specimen of Kathiawad politics. But I have no right to complain. Even if all the ten including Dhebarbhai had accepted the Rajkot reforms, my analysis, if it is true to facts — as I hold it is —, would not be affected. Only it would be of no effect if all those who wanted something were satisfied with less than what they had. In that sense, therefore, Rajkot authorities have undoubtedly won.

Segaon, 10-12-39

Sutra Yajna In Andhra

The following is the statement of contributions (in yarn and cash) voluntarily given by the workers and artisans of the Andhra branch, A. I. S. A., for the Sutra Yajna in connection with the Charkha Jayanti:

Total number of yards	94,39,750
Value of yarn	Rs. 590-0-0
Cash	Rs. 277-4-10
Total money value	Rs. 867-4-10

This should remind workers that for the next Jayanti the able-bodied have to spin the whole

year round at least 160 yards per day.

Medical Practitioners and Speculation

A medical practitioner from Kenya asks whether medical practitioners can engage in money-lending business or speculation. I have long held the opinion that professional men, whether medical or legal or other, should not seek to add to their income by speculation or other pursuits. It tends to make them careless in their special work. There have been cases in which doctors and lawyers have ruined their reputation by going outside their profession to make money.

Segaon, 11-12-39

M. K. G.

THE ACID TEST

In a previous article in *Harijan* I tried to examine the proposition as to whether the Paramount Power had any right of intervention in the internal administration of Indian States and whether it did not owe a duty towards the people of the Indian States corresponding to its obligation to preserve the 'dignity and privileges' of the rulers of these States. Taking Lee Warner's classic work *The Protected Princes of India* I showed in that article that the answer to both these questions was in the affirmative. Not only did the Paramount Power fully reserve to itself the right to intervene to check gross misrule and oppression in Indian States, the very title of these rulers to rule was conditional upon their maintaining within their territories a certain standard of enlightened administration commensurate with the declared ideals of the Paramount Power itself.

Epoch-making changes have taken place since then. Faced with a world cataclysm that threatens to swamp Western civilization, the British Government has been challenged to restate its war aims and peace aims and to make good its professions by a clear declaration of its attitude with regard to the demand for Indian independence. Attempts have been made by some pillars of reaction to evade a straight answer to this challenge by trotting forth, among other things, the 'difficulty' presented by the problems of the Indian States, and to fasten the blame on the Congress for its 'failure to come to terms' with the Princes, while the Paramount Power is depicted as vainly struggling to perform its democratic mission in respect of India under the tremendous handicap of its 'treaty obligations' towards the Princes.

A little examination of the question of Indian States in its historical perspective would, however, show that the so-called 'difficulties' are unreal.

The policy of the British Government towards the Indian States has passed through three distinct phases. From the original plan of non-intervention in all matters beyond its own 'ring fence' it passed to that of 'subordinate isolation' initiated by Lord Hastings. The transfer of Government to the Crown by the Statute of 1858 marked a further stage in the evolution of

that policy. The British Power emerged, after the rising of 1857, as the one unquestioned paramount authority in the country. This, coupled with the 'restless activity' that dominated the administration of the United Kingdom, at the outset naturally inspired some misgivings as to the intention of the Crown towards the principalities placed in subordinate alliance with it. The King of Oudh had lost his kingdom because he could not keep abreast of British conceptions of a ruler's duties to his people. The Indian Princes might, it was recognised, well feel that closer relations with the Crown would only mark the beginning of the end of their rule. To reassure them Lord Canning took a decisive step. He covered India with his adoption sanads, assuring all important ruling Chiefs of Her Majesty's desire to see their rule perpetuated. The object of this move, as is pointed out by Lee Warner, was that the Princes of India, "assured of the royal interest in the welfare of their own Houses might henceforth feel satisfied that any representations made to them as to the contentment of their subjects were inspired by a genuine desire for their own personal welfare which was no less an object of concern to the Queen." Lord Canning made it quite clear that a removal of any dread of annexation by a guarantee of adoption was not to be made an excuse for insubordination or misrule. This proposed measure, observed Lord Canning in an official dispatch, dated 30th of April 1860, not only did not debar the Paramount Power from exercising its power to step in to set right serious abuses in the State or even from taking temporary charge of it, "when there shall be sufficient reason to do so." "But it will indeed," he went on to add, "when once the proposed assurance shall have been given, be more easy than heretofore to exercise it."

The principle enunciated by Lord Canning in his dispatch of 1860 has continued to rule the relationship of the Paramount Power with the Rulers of Indian States to this day. The Butler Committee's Report of 1929 was in many respects a highly unsatisfactory document from the people's point of view. Its terms of reference precluded an inquiry into the duties and obligations of the Paramount Power towards the States people, and their representatives were not heard. The correctness of its findings that the relations of the Princes are directly with the British Crown and not with the Government of India, has been questioned by eminent Indian jurists. It has been pointed out that the historical survey of the relationship given at the beginning in that report provides no justification to the opinion therein propounded, and a rigid adherence to that opinion in all its implications would mean a complete negation of the declared goal of the British Government's policy, viz. attainment by India of Dominion Status on a par with that enjoyed by other self-governing Dominions. But in spite of this obvious bias, its findings on the nature and scope of Paramountcy are so clear and decisive as

to deserve recapitulation here. It summarily dismissed the claim, put forward on behalf of the Princes, to be recognised as 'independent sovereigns' having an international or at least some sort of 'quasi-international' status. As against this it upheld the doctrine, enunciated by Lord Reading in his celebrated letter to the Nizam, that "the sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing." It laid down the dictum that "Paramountcy must be paramount. It is not in accordance with historical facts that when the Indian States came into contact with the British Power they were independent; each possessed a full sovereignty and a status which a modern international lawyer would hold to be governed by international law. In fact none of the States ever held international status. Nearly all of them were subordinate or tributary to the Moghul Empire, the Mahratta Supremacy or the Sikh Kingdom, and dependent on them. Some were rescued, others were created by the British." And again, "Sovereignty is divisible, independence is not.....Accordingly there may be found in India every shade and variety of sovereignty, but there is only one independent sovereign, the British Government."

It likewise rejected the contention that "Paramountcy of the Crown was strictly limited by the terms of their treaties and engagements and therefore the Crown had no other rights or powers over them outside these treaties and engagements, based on 'usage', 'sufferance' and 'other causes'. Instead, it adopted the position set forth by Prof. Westlake in his dictum that "there is a paramount power in the British Crown of which the extent is wisely left undefined. There is a subordination in the native States which is understood but not explained."

"The relationship of the Paramount Power with the States," it went on to observe, "is not a merely contractual relationship, resting on treaties made over a century ago. It is a living growing relationship, shaped by circumstances and policy, resting, as Prof. Westlake has said, on a mixture of history, theory and modern fact. The novel theory of a Paramountcy agreement, limited as in the legal opinion, is unsupported by evidence and is thoroughly undermined by the long list of grievances placed before us which admit a paramountcy extending beyond the sphere of any such agreement, and in any case can only rest upon the doctrine, which the learned authors of the opinion rightly condemn, that the treaties must be read as a whole." "We cannot agree that usage in itself is in any way sterile. Usage has shaped and developed the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States from the earliest times almost in some cases, as already stated, from the date of the treaties themselves. Usage and sufferance have operated in two main directions. In several cases, where no treaty, engagement or sanad exists, usage and sufferance have supplied its place, in favour of the States. In all cases usage and sufferance have operated to determine questions on which the treaties, engagements and sanads are silent, they have been a constant factor in the interpretation of these treaties, engagements and sanads.....

It is not in accordance with historical fact that paramountcy gives the Crown definite rights and imposes upon it definite duties in respect of certain matters only, viz. those relating to foreign affairs and internal security, unless those terms are made to cover all those acts which the Crown through its Agents has considered necessary for imperial purposes, for the good government of India as a whole, the good government of individual States, the suppression of barbarous practices, the saving of human life, and for dealing with cases in which rulers have proved unfit for their position. It is not in accordance with fact to say that the term 'subordinate co-operation' used in many of the treaties is solely concerned with military matters. The term has been used consistently for more than a century in regard to political relations."

Following these findings, the Committee set down a long catalogue of rights and powers as acquired by usage and sufferance and by virtue of Paramountcy, though they were not warranted by the strict terms and letter of the treaties and engagements and sanads. Some of the most illuminating paragraphs in the report were, in fact, devoted to an exposition of the obligations of the Paramount Power to intervene in the case of maladministration or in order to enforce popular demands in States. It reminded the Princes "that on Paramountcy and Paramountcy alone the States rely for their preservation, through the generations that are to come. Through Paramountcy alone is pushed aside the danger of destruction and annexation." But this act of guaranteeing to the Princes their continued existence, brought into operation another corresponding set of obligations towards the people too. "The guarantee to protect a Prince against insurrection carries with it an obligation to enquire into the causes of insurrection and to demand that the Prince shall remedy legitimate grievances, and an obligation to prescribe the measure necessary to the result. It cited with approval the celebrated remark of a previous Viceroy (1873-75) addressed to the Gaekwar that "misrule on the part of a Government which is upheld by the British power is misrule in the responsibility for which British Government becomes, in a measure, involved," and reiterated Lord Minto's dictum, enunciated in his Udaipur speech of the 3rd November 1909, that "the Imperial Government would not consent to incur the reproach of being the indirect instrument of misrule" in the States by guaranteeing to the Princes their internal independence and undertaking their protection against external aggression without a corresponding insistence on "a general soundness of their administration". Such intervention was in the interests of the Princes themselves, no less than those of the people, as was evidenced by the fact that the Committee had heard comments from some of the Princes themselves that, "in certain of these cases, intervention should have taken place sooner than was actually the case."

So much for the exercise of the Paramountcy's function of intervention in the case of oppression or gross misrule. What about the Paramount

Power's duty in the event of a wide-spread demand on the part of the States' people for political reforms? How far is it bound to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of Princes to the suppression of the legitimate political aspirations of the States' people? The finding of the Committee on this point too was equally emphatic and clear:

"The promise of the King Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes carries with it a duty to protect the Princes against attempts to eliminate them and to substitute another form of Government. If these attempts were due to misgovernment on the part of the Prince, protection would only be given on the condition set forth in the preceding paragraph. If they were due not to misgovernment, but to a wide-spread demand for change, the Paramount Power would be bound to maintain the rights, privileges and dignity of the Princes, but it would also be bound to suggest such measures as would satisfy their demand without eliminating them."

May one ask what prevents the Paramount Power from "giving advice" to the Princes that would "without eliminating them" bring their administration into line with the administration in the autonomous provinces in British India and make their fusion into a harmonious whole possible? In view of the unquestioned power which the Paramount Power possesses to "exert pressure" on the Princes and which, as the Butler Committee pointed out with satisfaction, it has exercised in the past in the interests of good government and progress, it dare not withhold the exercise of that power now without incurring the odium of maintaining a system of despotic and arbitrary rule in States India at a time when it professes to be fighting for the safeguarding of democracy in the world. The only honest and consistent course before it is, as was suggested by *The Manchester Guardian* as far back as 1928, to say to the Princes: "We entered into certain engagements with you because of our position as rulers of British India. The time is coming when we must hand over the rule of British India to its inhabitants. We give you notice now so that you may make new arrangements with our successors. We will help you as far as we can get fair terms, but your future must depend chiefly on your success in securing the goodwill of your subjects."

Segaon, 3-12-39

Pyarelal

Bapa Purse Collection

(Received at Segaon Ashram)

Dr. Soundramban	10
Smt. Purbai Liladhar	25
Salem Dt. H. S. Sangh	5
Shri. Dhannulal	5-8
Andhra Khadi Co-operative Central	17-8
Shri. M. S. Sastry	1-14
" Lalit Mohan	5
" Ramsaran	15
" Hiralalji	50
" K. & J. Kapoor	25
Previously acknowledged	317

Rs. 476-14

GITA JAYANTI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes Shri G. V. Ketkar of Kesari, Poona:

"This year 'Gita Jayanti' is on 22nd December, Friday. I repeat the request, which I have been making for some years, that you should write about the Gita and Gita Jayanti in *Harijan*. I also repeat another which was made last year. In one of your speeches on the Gita, you have said that for those who have no time to go through the whole of the Gita (700 verses) it is sufficient to read the second and third chapters. You have also said that these two chapters can be further epitomised. If possible, you should explain why you regard the second and third chapters as fundamental. I have tried to place the same idea before the public by publishing the verses of the second and third chapters as *Gita Bija* or the essence of the Gita. Your writing on the subject will naturally be more effective."

I have hitherto resisted Shri Ketkar's request. I do not know that these Jayantis serve the purpose for which they are intended. Spiritual matters do not admit of the ordinary method of advertisement. The best advertisement of things spiritual is corresponding action. I believe that all spiritual compositions owe their effect, first to their being a faithful record of the experiences of their authors, and secondly because of the life lived by the devotees, as far as possible, in accordance with their teachings. Thus the composers breathe life into their compositions, and the votaries nurse them into robustness by living them. That, to my mind, is the secret of the hold of the Gita, Tulsidas's Ramayan and such other works on the millions. In yielding to Shri Ketkar's pressure, Therefore, I entertain the hope that those who take part in the forthcoming celebration will approach it in the proper spirit and with a fixed intention to live up to the message of the noble song. I have endeavoured to show that its message consists in the performance of one's duty with detachment. The theme of the Gita is contained in the second chapter, and the way to carry out the message is to be found in the third chapter. This is not to say that the other chapters have less merit. Indeed, every one of them has a merit of its own. The Gita has been called गीताई (*Gītāi*) by Vinoba who has translated it verse for verse in very simple yet stately Marathi. The metre corresponds with that of the original. To thousands it is the real mother, for it yields the rich milk of consolation in difficulties. I have called it my spiritual dictionary, for it has never failed me in distress. It is moreover a book which is free from sectarianism and dogma. Its appeal is universal. I do not regard the Gita as an abstruse book. No doubt learned men can see abstruseness in everything they come across. But in my opinion a man with ordinary intelligence should find no difficulty in gathering the simple message of the Gita. Its Sanskrit is incredibly simple. I have read many English translations,

but there is nothing to equal Edwin Arnold's metrical translation which he has beautifully and aptly called *The Song Celestial*.

Sesaon, 11-12-39

Khadi Sales during Charkha Jayanti

Though complete reports have not been received from the different provinces regarding khadi sales during the Charkha Jayanti, the reports received so far show that the total sales come to Rs. 750,889 as against Rs. 428,900 in 1938, showing an increase of 75% over last year. The figures for different provinces are as follows:

Province	Hundis	Cash	Total
Andhra	...	49,735	49,735
Behar	...	1,10,000	1,10,000
Bengal	...	15,026	15,026
Burma	...	9,520	9,520
Bombay	80,000	59,034	1,39,034
C. P. Maharashtra	3,773	25,800	29,573
Gujarat	1,13,679	52,884	1,66,563
Karnatak	...	12,777	12,777
Kerala	...	4,453	4,453
Kashmir	...	959	959
Punjab	...	12,062	12,062
Rajasthan	26,212	25,089	51,301
Sind	14,000	...	14,000
Tamilnad	...	30,905	30,905
U. P.	62,712	39,149	1,01,861
Utkal	...	3,120	3,120
Total Rs.	3,00,376	4,50,513	7,50,889

We take this opportunity to convey our thanks to the public for their enthusiastic response, and to various Congress Committees, Congress workers, as also to the press, for the valuable assistance they have rendered in making the programme a success on the occasion of the Gandhi Jayanti.

S. G. Banker

Hon. Secretary, A. I. S. A.

[The secretary of the A. I. S. A., Tamil Nad Branch, says:

The sales of khadi effected in the 10 districts of Tamil Nad during the five weeks beginning from Charkha Jayanti and ending with Dipavali were Rs. 3,01,403. The sales during the same period in 1938 were Rs. 2½ lakhs. There has been an increase of Rs. 50,000 this year. The services of many of the leading Congressmen were not available for pushing up sales because they were engaged in the elections to Local Boards, which fell during these weeks.]

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

VOL. VII, No. 46]

POONA — SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1939

[ONE ANNA

THE MORAL ISSUE

[I release the following correspondence between a Western friend and me as of general interest. M. K. G.]

The Correspondent's Letter

Burdened as you are with the heavy responsibility that your position in the hearts of all of us thrusts upon you, I always hesitate to add to it by writing to you. In fact I only do so when I feel an urge that I cannot overcome. You know the deep anxiety which I have been feeling since months before the war broke out and my conviction that it was inevitable because the root causes of it go too deep for settlement by negotiation.

The Congress resolution calling upon the British to define their objectives, especially as regards the subordinated peoples of the Empire, and India in particular, seemed to me very fine. It put the moral issues squarely up to the Imperial Government, and made India stand forth with a wonderful dignity in the midst of the evil atmosphere of selfish and unidealistic expediency that seems at present to govern statesmen in their handling of world relations. The British failure to give a straightforward answer and the attempt to sidetrack the issue were what I expected. When India gains her "Independence" — and by that I mean freedom to determine her relations with Britain and the rest of the world — it will be because no one is in a position to prevent her from having it. That time has not, I think, arrived. But after the passing of the resolution every Indian, everywhere, can proudly and with dignity look the people of other nations in the face. It gave me great inspiration.

Here I find myself cent per cent at one with the attitude and action of the Congress. But there are certain other matters in which I am unable to see quite eye to eye. I know that in your patience you will bear with me if I point out what they are.

To begin with, it seems to me that there has been a certain tendency to treat the question as if it were merely one of "helping" the British, and that, if the British wanted India to help them, it was up to them to give way to India's just demands. It has seemed implied that prevention of a victory by the Germans was a matter primarily of concern to the British, and that, if India gave her whole-hearted support,

it would be a sort of "favour" that would only be given if she considered them worthy of it — a "worthiness" which they were to prove by demonstrating their *bona fides* in their relations with this country.

Undoubtedly it would be splendid if they should demonstrate that *bona fides*, but, as I think I wrote in my last letter to you, I have no faith in it and believe it will be force of world circumstances — not any considerations of ethics or justice — that will compel them to relinquish their privileged positions in the areas now dominated by them. In spite of this, I hold it is not for their "deservingness" that we should look, or that their lack of it should in the slightest degree keep us from rendering all the help we can to the Western "democracies" at this juncture.

As I see it, the question of their worthiness does not arise. Chamberlain and others call themselves the "peace-loving" nations; of course they want peace provided they can have it upon the present basis of division of opportunity in the world. They also describe themselves as the "justice-loving" nations. Yet, if Hitler is responsible for this war — and he doubtless is, — the at present empire-holding nations and the United States are ultimately responsible for the injustice of the world situation that has made Hitler possible. Surely the final guilt both of this war and the last lies with them rather than with the Germans. Yet all this does not mean that either justice or the welfare of the world will be forwarded by a victory of the latter. They, as well as the Italians and Japanese, are enthusiastic converts to the conception of imperial domination of the non-European peoples — only they want to take a hand in it themselves, instead of leaving it to the British, French and Dutch. As a consequence a real victory for the Germans would mean a new lease of life to the principle of imperialism — and, I feel certain, a far more sinister and degrading domination for the subordinated non-European peoples than any we know; for it would be an imperialism grounded in the conviction of the rulers that they had the right to completely subordinate the interests of the ruled to their own because of being a "superior race". From what I personally know of the Germans I fear that, if they should win to world empire, they would follow out this philosophy of "race" relentlessly to its logical conclusion, and that we should become

the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to our "Aryan" lords.

Unless the German Government breaks down soon as a result of internal weakness or discontent in the country, there would seem only three possible outcomes of this war: (1) A German victory; (2) a victory for the British and their Allies; (3) a stalemate in which there was no conclusive victory for either side.

Of these the first contingency appears to me by far the greatest catastrophe that could befall—especially for the weak non-European peoples. Unless I am much mistaken, it would be for them a case of 'out of the frying-pan into the fire' with a vengeance.

It also seems to me that a complete and overwhelming victory for the British and French, that again left the Germans at their mercy, would be a catastrophe for the world—though far less so than a German victory. It would tend to perpetuate the conditions that are at the root of this and the last war, so that after a few years the young people of all nations would again have to go forth to be massacred to maintain vested interest and imperial privilege. No, a victory for the Allies would be no solution; we should have Versailles all over again.

By far the best of the three possible outcomes would be no conclusive victory for either side, and a peace by negotiation of those who were still equals—both of whom had become convinced that further war would inevitably result in disruption and chaos. When both had reached a point where they clearly saw that they must negotiate or perish, I think there would be a chance for a settlement that would make for real world peace and for more satisfactory international relations in the future.

The great difficulty is that we simply *cannot* be sure of the outcome of this war. In spite of heartening propaganda in the press the forces present and potential are so evenly balanced that we can have no absolute certainty that the British, unless backed by the whole-hearted support of this country, will not ultimately suffer defeat. That would mean victory for the seventy odd million Germans with their conviction of their right to world empire by reason of their "racial superiority". And I hold with deep conviction that this would be the major catastrophe.

If we could only *know* that there would not be such an outcome even though India would hold altogether aloof, I should then favour this country withholding all aid at this time and leaving the holders of empire and the aspirants to empire to batter sense into each other's heads. Indeed, if I felt certain that the British and their Allies were going to win a conclusive victory unless India turned it into a stalemate by creating difficulties at this time, I should even favour our increasing Great Britain's difficulties to that end. But we cannot be certain, and an outstanding victory for the Nazi Government would be so immeasurably the greater disaster that I urge we

are not justified in chancing it. The risk is too great.

It is not a question of our doing a favour to the British by helping them to win a victory over Germany; rather it is one of joining others to insure that Nazi Germany does not win to world empire by the defeat of the only powers that, humanly speaking, can prevent her from taking it. *We*, at the present exploited and subordinated peoples of the world, cannot afford to have the Germans win, and I fear that, if she should, as a result of our refusing to do our share in obstructing her at this time, we could not escape our moral responsibility for the consequences to the world, and especially to the militarily weak non-European peoples of Asia and Africa, despite the fact that we are innocent of producing the situation which has brought about the war.

Today I saw your communication to *The News Chronicle*. How wonderfully you bring out the issues, and how very essential it is that these issues should be constantly confronting the West! Yet I feel that at the same time the future demands of us that we do not remain inactive at this critical time, waiting for the British to give way to our just demands. The outcome of the war may depend upon the line this country takes *now*—not what line she may ultimately take.

I do not for a moment hate the Germans; on the contrary I have profound sympathy for them, and feel that they and the other 'have-not' nations are suffering under a grave injustice that the 'haves' would perpetuate if they could. But I do hate and fear the present outlook on life of the Nazis, especially as it touches their relations with those which they look upon as "inferior races". Much as the purges in Russia and the denial there of the right of the individual to free thought and criticism revolt me, I should much rather see a world dominated by the Russians than the Germans in their present frame of mind. The Russians at least have no truck with philosophies of "racial superiority" and, though they might wipe out us middle classes, they would not treat those who were left as racially inferior. But the German outlook has the most sinister implications for all of us, and I think it would be madness on our part to take any chances with it.

Meanwhile the precious days and hours are passing, and the sight of an India that has not definitely shown that she will not become a source of embarrassment to the British may encourage and strengthen the forces throughout the world that make for Nazism. This does not seem to me a service to the non-European peoples or to the world.

My Reply

[To this I replied as follows, M. K. G.]

I cling to an old superstition, if it may be so called. When in doubt on a matter involving no immorality either way, I toss and actually read in it divine guidance. I have no other scientific basis. To attribute residuary powers to

God, is a scientific mode in my opinion. In this crisis, too, I have resorted to a kind of toss. If I had my way, you know what would have happened. That was not to be. The Congress way was not only not immoral, for it, it was the only moral way. Hence I kept myself with the Congress. My object was and still is to push forth the non-violent way as it was in my own proposal. The Congress way made room for the interpretation you have put upon it. But I do not regard it as a condition. It is a toss. If the British intention is pure, says the Congress, we plunge. The way to test the intention is to know the British mind about India. If it is pure, then it is clear that God wants the Congress to throw its whole weight on the side of Britain, so that ultimately the victory may go not to the strongest arms but to the strongest cause. What you want is already at Britain's disposal. She draws men and money without let or hindrance. Unless violence breaks out, she will continue to get these. The Congress won't tolerate violence, let us assume. Then Britain has nothing to fear from the Congress in the violent way. And I hold that considered from the non-violent standpoint, which in my opinion is the only point worth considering, it would be immoral for the Congress to give her moral support to Britain unless the latter's moral position is made clear.

I do not lay down the law as you do about Nazism. Germans are as much human beings as you and I are. Nazism like other 'isms' is a toy of today. It will share the same fate as the other 'isms'.

I fancy I see the distinction between you and me. You, as a Westerner, cannot subordinate reason to faith. I, as an Indian, cannot subordinate faith to reason even if I will. You tempt the Lord God with your reason; I won't. As the Gita says, *दैवं चैवात्र पंचमम्*: God is the fifth or the unknown, deciding factor.

In spite of our intellectual differences, our hearts have always been and shall be one.

Seгаon, 15-12-39

BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE

(Continued from p. 373)

5. Every attempt should be made for making the teachers 'village-minded' so that they may sympathetically understand the special problems of village life and strive to deal with them.

6. In provinces where the expansion of basic education proceeds at a rapid pace, with the object of transforming as many of the existing schools as possible into basic schools within a few years, some of the basic schools should be selected for intensive work and teaching organised under controlled, experimental conditions, and the results worked out at these should be made available to the rest of the schools.

7. Teachers for rural and urban areas should be trained in the same training institutions and

not separately, so that they might develop a common, national outlook.

8. Due emphasis should be placed on the teaching of Art in training and basic schools so that it becomes an integral element in craft work.

9. The technique of training for teachers of basic education has yet to be evolved out of practical experience in the different types of basic training schools and colleges.

10. Experience of the last two years' work has demonstrated the fact that it is possible and educationally useful to teach through the correlated technique.

11. This correlation should not, however, be unnecessarily forced, and teaching should be correlated not only to the basic craft but also to the child's physical and social environments, which offer equally rich possibilities for this purpose and enrich the children's basic knowledge profitably.

In order to exploit the full educational possibilities of the scheme, it is necessary to train our general teachers as craftsmen also; the purpose in view will not be achieved if craftsmen are associated with teachers in the work of the basic schools.

12. In the choice of the basic craft for any school the predominant occupation of the people in the locality should be taken into account, and, in deciding the number of schools centering round each craft in any area, reference should be made to the distribution of various occupations in that locality.

13. In calculating the comparative cost of basic education, we should take into account the fact that it aims at covering the greater part of what is included in our secondary schools at present.

14. In order to form an accurate idea of how far the various products of children's craft work will be marketable, the requirements of the school, the locality, local bodies and the Government should be ascertained and assessed, and this assessment should be used as a guide to the distribution of crafts in the basic schools.

15. It is desirable to have a special supervisor for schools in each compact area in order to supervise and co-ordinate the day-to-day work of the schools whose number should not be so large as to make effective and frequent supervision impossible. The supervisor should also be in close touch with the training centre, which should work as a laboratory and should prepare detailed schemes of co-ordinated work for various grades. This supervisor should, as far as possible, be a teacher as well as a well-trained craftsman; but, if such a supervisor is not available for the time being, each compact area should have a craft supervisor in addition to the educational supervisor.

E. W. ARYANAYAKAM
Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh

H A R I J A N

Dec. 23

1939

INDEPENDENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

From a correspondent's letter I take the following extract:

"While you ask for India's Independence you promise nothing in return. Don't you think a promise of active partnership would show a spirit of reciprocity and may well be given? Co-operation and interdependence is the law of life. India is in no position, even if it gets Independence, to be able to retain it. In Anglo-Indian partnership is our best hope, and a 'Constituent Assembly' on a wide franchise will only make confusion worse confounded. This work can only be rightly done by a few wise men."

In the first place, the Congress has not asked for Independence. It has asked for a declaration of Britain's war aims. Secondly, Independence, when it comes, will come because India is ripe for it. Therefore there can be no consideration to be given for it. It is not a marketable thing. It is a status. This, however, does not mean a frog in the well status. There may or may not be an alliance with Britain. My hope is that there will be. So long as I have a share in the attainment of Independence, it will be through non-violent means and, therefore, a result of an honourable treaty or settlement with Britain.

I must dissent from the correspondent's view that "India is in no position, even if it gets Independence, to be able to retain it." This is surely a contradiction in terms. The correspondent has involved himself in it because he thinks that Independence can be a gift from someone. India will never have it until it is able to keep it against the whole world. The alliance with Britain will be not for India's protection but for mutual benefit. So long as she needs Britain's protection for whatever cause, her status will be less than Independence. We see the mockery of it going on in Europe today among the small nations. Their Independence is on the sufferance of big nations. I attach little importance to such Independence. So long as the basis of society is force, smaller nations must hold their status on sufferance. I should not be interested in India being in such a position. And India is not a small nation. I would far rather have India engaged indefinitely in a non-violent fight for gaining her Independence than be satisfied with anything less as her goal. She can settle down to peace only when she has Independence which she can hold against any combination. This is possible only on a non-violent basis. It may be far off. It may not be realised in my lifetime. It may even take generations. I have patience enough to wait. Joy

lies in the fight, in the attempt, in the suffering involved, not in the victory itself. For, victory is implied in such an attempt.

I see no difficulty in a Constituent Assembly elected on a wide franchise. But I do in an Assembly of wise men. Where are they? Who will certify to their wisdom?

Segaon, 17-12-39

FAITH V. REASON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Circumstances have placed me here in the midst of some 'ultra-modern', 'rational-minded' young officers, who jeer at me, pooh-pooh me and consider me a brainless idiot for I cannot fall in with them and consider 'good' and 'bad', vice and virtue as mere matters of social expediency. Something in me tells me that they are wrong and I am right. I still believe that a moral code on the basis of something like 'absolute good' does exist. My friends argue with me to convince me that drinking of wine is as bad as drinking of tea or coffee. They insist that morality cannot depend on what a person eats or drinks.

Further, — and it is on this point chiefly that I would pray for your advice, — they say that sex-taboo was meant to keep the social structure safe. Their contention is that sex-enjoyment which harms no person and leads to no trouble is perfectly natural and hence moral. Too much indulgence, they say, is as bad as overeating oneself and nothing more. A principle which is justifiable with one's wife cannot be inherently immoral with another person. Circumstances must decide, and it is always a question of more or less. There is nothing like an absolute code of morals."

Though my faith gets a shock and I sense some flaw in their argument, yet in actual combat they always corner me, and I have to take shelter under my sixth sense which they call blind prejudice.

In fact, they have smashed my intellectual comprehension of the matter, and I have begun to doubt the soundness of my position. Yet I told them I would prefer to be with men like you and go to hell rather than be with them and enjoy the kingdom of Heaven.

So please, Mahatmaji, save me from this intellectual and spiritual torment with a bit of your mind. I do hope you would not fail me."

This is almost the whole of a young officer's letter. His case is typical of many. Those who have read my book of experiments know how I had to pass through similar experiences. I would refer all who have difficulties like my correspondent's to read the relevant chapters in those 'experiments'. Reason is a poor thing in the midst of temptations. Faith alone can save us. Reason *appears* to be on the side of those who indulge in drink and free love. The fact is that reason is blurred on such occasions. It follows the instinct. Do not lawyers ranged on opposite sides make reason appear to be on their side? And yet one of them must be wrong, or it may be that both are. Hence faith in the rightness

of one's moral position is the only bulwark against the attack of reason.

The argument advanced by my correspondent's tempters are plausible. There is no such thing as absolute morality for all times. But there is a relative morality which is absolute enough for imperfect mortals that we are. Thus, it is absolutely immoral to drink spirituous liquors except as medicine, in medicinal doses and under medical advice. Similarly, it is absolutely wrong to see lustfully any woman other than one's wife. Both these positions have been proved by cold reason. Counter-arguments have always been advanced. They have been advanced against the very existence of God—the Sum of all that Is. Faith that transcends reason is our only Rock of Ages. I present it to all those who are in the same difficulty as this young officer. My faith has saved me and is still saving me from pitfalls. It has never betrayed me. It has never been known to betray anyone.

Segaon, 18-12-39

Notes

My Handicap

I wonder if all journalists, having to write in English, feel the handicap which I do. The reflection arises from a stupid use I made of the verb 'cavil' in my note on a learned Englishman's letter partly reproduced in *Harijan* of 2nd December. In my comment I said, "The writer seems to cavil at the demand for Independence as distinguished from Dominion Status." The learned writer draws my attention to the meaning of the word 'cavil' as implying captious criticism of which, he says, he was wholly unconscious. I take great care in the use of English words. With all my care, however, I cannot make up for my imperfect knowledge of a foreign tongue. I had never known the dictionary meaning of the word. I must have picked up the word in the course of reading or hearing. I had hitherto given it an innocent meaning in the sense of strongly objecting. Knowing the writer as I do, I could never think of him as raising captious objection. I have apologised to him for the unconscious error. It is good that he drew my attention to it. Heaven only knows how often, though wholly unconsciously, I must have offended persons simply because of my ignorance of the English language and its subtle idiom and usage. The language expands with the expansion of its people. I must struggle in the best manner I can and expect the indulgence of the English readers who, knowing my limitations, should believe that, where my language seems to offend, the offence is wholly unintended.

Segaon, 16-12-39

To Correspondents and Message-seekers

I have often enough said in these columns that I am not in a position to read or acknowledge letters or send messages for numerous cele-

brations or functions. I have neither the time nor energy for the task. My helpers too cannot cope with the volume of correspondence that comes daily. Often there are pamphlets and reports accompanying the correspondence in the various languages of India besides English. The result is that only the correspondence that must be seen by me is placed before me. The balance is disposed by Mahadev Desai, Pyarelal and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, when she happens to be with me, or Dr. Sushila Nayar when she has time from her medical work and when there is an overflow. In this circumstance I must ask my correspondents to spare me. Time was when I used to read every letter that was received and acknowledge most. That gave me an insight into the Indian mind that I would never have had otherwise. But I was then in possession of youth and health. Age has now overtaken me, and health requires a watchful care. Yet both the correspondence and the problems have increased. I would request correspondents to write only when there is something which, in their opinion, I alone can attend to. But what is more needed is forbearance on their part. If they do not receive answers or acknowledgments, they should not take it amiss. I have an angry letter in my possession which has prompted this note. The writer had sent a pamphlet with his first letter. I was not able to cope with it. I had nothing new to say on it. I knew, moreover, that Pandit Nehru was dealing with the subject matter; and so I spared myself by not dealing with the matter. Very often letters are sent to me which are meant for members of the Working Committee. The public know that I am not a member of the Working Committee. They should know too that I do not interest myself in its routine work. Only that part of its work comes to me in which it may need my advice. The best course, therefore, is not to write to me on any matter which the Working Committee can and does deal with. Correspondents should forgive me when they find that they receive no acknowledgment. It is sheer want of ability that prevents me from dealing with all the correspondence. As to messages, I should be regarded as unfit for sending them. My blessing must be assumed for all good work. Friends should help me to conserve what energy is left in me for the work God has called me to.

Segaon, 17-12-39

A Useful Publication

Shri Aryanayakam has just handed me a *Teachers' Handbook of Basic Education through Cardboard Modelling* by Shri Lakshmiswar Sinha who had his experience in Europe. He was working in Santiniketan and had kindly come to Wardha to introduce cardboard modelling in the training school. The book, like Shri Vinoba's on spinning, is an original contribution. Shri Vinoba's original is in Marathi. It has been translated into Hindi too. There is hardly a superfluous word in it. The volume before me

is in a different style, but it is none the less attractive and instructive. It has five chapters and two appendices. The second appendix contains correlated lessons on preparatory models. As a specimen I give below the lesson entitled 'Cubic Box':

"SUGGESTIONS

Demonstrate a model and invite the children's opinion on the differences of materials—thick and thin paper—a box made of thin paper is not strong, therefore thick paper must be used. Follow the instructions given in the diagram and in the exercises.

MOTHER TONGUE

Continue previous story—previous story to be continued as a regular routine to form healthy habits.

SOCIAL STUDIES

Introduce a new tool—the knife—its proper use—story of primitive man and his tools of stone, bamboo and wood, before the discovery of iron and its uses.'

The chapters deal, among other things, with 'materials', 'class-room and equipment', 'fundamental techniques', 'a few suggestions about correlated teaching', and 'how to work with children'. The book is profusely illustrated. The price is As. 12 only.* It should be in the hands not only of every teacher of 'Nayee Talim' but also of all teachers who would like their pupils to learn a simple craft. For every advanced student it provides a useful and instructive hobby which he can teach himself.

Segaon, 18-12-39

M. K. G.

HARIJAN TEMPLE ENTRANTS IN HISTORY

Harijans of the present day have entered celebrated temples thanks to the repentance of those who felt the need to atone for their age-long exclusion. But in the past we come across two glorious instances of Harijans entering temples by dint of their own effort and in veritable triumph. I propose to deal with these below, using Sanskrit authorities which I have obtained through the kind assistance of Professor M. Yamunacharya of Mysore University.

I

Tiruppani Alvar

Tiruppani Alvar ranks among the nine principal Vaishnavite saints of South India. He was born in Nichulapuri (Modern Uraiyur), the capital of the Chola kings on the south bank of the Kaveri, in a family of Panars, a class below the Shudras, who played on the lute and were not permitted to dwell with Caste Hindus.

अथ तत्र कुलेऽन्तिमे..... ।

समजायत पाणसंज्ञकः सुकविः कार्तिकमासि वैभवे ॥

गण्डवाहन-दिव्यसूरिचरिते ७-१७ ॥

Tiru is the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit Shri. Tiruppanalvar is thus something like Shri Meghavad Bhagat.

The story goes that Tiruppanalvar never wept

* Available at Harijan office. Postage 3 As. extra.

even as a child but was engrossed in repeating the name of God at all times.

न चकार कदापि रोदनं भगवन्नामपदानि कीर्तयन् ।

दि. सू. च. ७-१८ ॥

As a young man Tiruppani acquired supreme mastery over devotional music (भगवद्भजनविद्यानां सार्वभौमो बभूव सः । प्र. १६-७५) and drew out thrilling notes from the strings of his *vina*.

निजपाणितलेन वल्लकीं कलयन्धो भजति स्म रङ्गिणम् ।

दि. सू. च. ७-१९ ॥

Indeed his sole occupation now was to stand on the south bank of the Kaveri with his eyes wistfully turned towards the famous temple of Ranganath on the island of Shrirangam on which he was not allowed to set his foot, and to celebrate the glory of the Lord in music freshly composed from day to day.

स श्रीमान् पुण्यचरितो भगवान् मुनिवाहनः । ... ॥ ७७ ॥

दिव्यगानेन रङ्गेशं गायन्निश्चलमानसः ।

आनन्दबाष्पः सततं निर्भरः पुलकाङ्कितः ॥ ७८ ॥

हरिगानरसास्वादविस्मृतान्तरतिः सदा ।

रङ्गेशाभिमुखं तस्थौ गानेनैवातिदूरतः ॥ ७९ ॥

कावेरीद्वयमव्ययं श्रीरङ्गमतिपावनम् ।

अतः पदार्थ्यां संस्पृष्टुं ममैवायुक्तमित्यतः ॥ ८० ॥ प्र. १६ ॥

One day Tiruppani was standing on the river bank singing the praise of the Lord to the accompaniment of his *vina*, when a Brahman attendant of the Shrirangam Temple named Saranga came there, golden water pot in hand, in order to take the holy water of the Kaveri.

तत्र कश्चिन्महायोगी सारङ्गाख्य इति श्रुतः ॥ ८३ ॥

नित्यं श्रीरङ्गराजस्य कुर्वन्कैङ्कर्यमास्थितः ।

स सुवर्णकुम्भमादाय कावेरीतोयमुत्तमम् ॥ ८४ ॥

ग्रहीतुकामस्तत्तीरमभ्यगाद् द्विजपुङ्गवः ॥

He noticed Tiruppani and cried out 'Get you gone'.

तदन्तिकस्थमालोक्य श्रीपाणं भगवत्परम् ॥ ८५ ॥

दूरतो गच्छ गच्छेति तमवोचत्स योगिराट् ।

Tiruppani being in ecstatic mood did not hear Saranga's words but stood where he was.

अज्ञातबाह्यव्यापारस्तन्मयत्वेन चेतसा ॥ ८६ ॥

नाशृणोत्तद्वचः पाणस्तूष्णीभूतः समास्थितः ।

Some idle Brahmins collected on the spot and pelted Tiruppani with stones.

... केचिद् ब्राह्मणा रङ्गवासिनः ॥ ८७ ॥...

ततः कोपेन महता श्रीपाणं प्रति भूसुराः ।

शिलाः प्रचिक्षिपुस्तत्र ते सर्वे रङ्गवासिनः ॥ ९० ॥

Still Tiruppani without getting angry stood his ground, and the big stones did not perturb him any more than if they had been only flowers.

जर्जरौकृतसर्वाङ्गः शिलावर्षैर्दृढाशयः ।

अतिष्ठद् भगवत्प्रेमपारवश्येन निश्चलः ॥ ९१ ॥

He finished his usual programme of devotional music as if nothing had happened and returned to his own place.

सम्यक् समाप्तगीतोऽथ पूर्ववत्स दृढव्रतः ।

श्रीपाणः स्वाश्रमं प्राप जितक्रोधस्तदान्व ॥ ९३ ॥

(To be continued)

V. G. D.

MR. SARGENT'S SPEECH

The following are relevant extracts from the speech delivered by Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, at the Basic Education Conference held at Poona on 30th October 1939:

The first is the question of the provision of an adequate staff of competent well-trained teachers needed to make the basic education scheme a success. It is of course a platitude for me to say that no system of education, however wisely inspired, however carefully controlled, however liberally financed, is going to achieve any kind of success unless you have a body of teachers who both believe in it and are willing to do their utmost for it. I have always thought since I first read the scheme nearly two years ago—and I am glad to see from speeches made in this conference that you too fully recognise this—that the scheme of basic education is going to make demands on the enthusiasm and initiative of the teacher to an extent that no other system of education in any country has ever done before. I can tell you from my own experience in other places that there are, fortunately, in the ranks of the teaching service people who would make a success of any teaching scheme, who would take any craft as a basis of the school activities and correlate the whole curriculum with it. There are hundreds of pioneers and enthusiasts in India capable of doing this, and—if I may say so without any idea of flattery—many of them will be found in this audience. But the scheme has to be worked not only by the select few but by the hundred per cent of teachers employed in this country. I think no teacher who takes pride in his profession—I would sooner say in his vocation—will overlook the fact that to give full effect to this great plan the utmost of his powers must be freely given to the task. That is one thing.

May I also suggest that, in the beginning of a great experiment of this kind, we should again recall Acharya Kripalani's warning to stick to concrete things, should not allow ourselves to be unduly impressed by the word 'correlation'. I am the last person in the world not to appreciate the importance of correlation. In my own country, during the last 12 or 15 years I have been working to try to bring home to teachers in the junior primary schools and senior primary schools, which correspond roughly to your basic schools, the importance of correlating the subjects taught with some basic craft. But do not let correlation become a shibboleth. If you cannot correlate all subjects or you do not believe that complete correlation is suited to your circumstances, do not hesitate to start work on a less ambitious plan or pause for a while and let the problem of correlation work out its own solution. Education, in my opinion, is not a jigsaw puzzle into which all the pieces will fit in naturally and completely, so that you can at any given stage get a complete picture; it would entirely destroy my faith in the ultimate value of this

new experiment, if during the experimental period my colleagues in the schools do not sometimes come to me and say: "Here is the picture as we have made it to the best of our ability, but, as you see, here is a loose end and here a rough edge and there a jagged corner, but we shall in the fulness of time and as the result of experience perfect the picture before we have done." Do not be discouraged if your correlation is not yet as complete as perhaps you would like to make it or as your model scheme tells you it may be made. Keep the ideal before you, but do not be disappointed if loose ends, jagged corners and rough edges appear.

There is another point perhaps which I might touch on with regard to the question of teachers. Here, again, I believe that teaching is a vocation, and that the primary purpose which takes a man into the teaching profession is the wish to teach, the desire to render service to the community in that particular form. But I also believe, as a practical man, that the teacher, both in his own interest and in the interest of the State he serves, ought to be adequately paid. No man, either in England or in any other country, has ever entered, or I hope ever will enter, the teaching profession because he wants to become a rich man. I remember in England a few years ago some excitement was caused by a heading in a newspaper "Rich Teacher Dies". Everybody read it with much interest. It appeared that the teacher in question had left not less than £30,000. But it turned out on further investigations that, of that sum, £500 alone had been saved by him out of the earnings as a teacher, and the remaining £29,500 had been left to him by a rich relation. I do feel, and I hope you will agree with me, that, if a teacher is to give devotion, initiative and enthusiasm, to render the whole-hearted service that the success of the scheme demands, he ought to be able to come to school in the morning without any worry in his mind about the domestic cares he has left behind. That postulates an adequate, or at the least a living, wage.

The only thing that caused me some concern, when I first came across the Wardha scheme, was the suggestion that the school should or could be made entirely self-supporting. I have had some experience of trying to do that on a limited scale in another country, and my experience makes think that the attempt to do so is not only uneducational but can never be thoroughly successful. That does not mean that we should not aim at getting as much out of the products of the school as we can. I have heard with relief from the President, and from another friend who has had a great part in the formulation of the scheme, that this is no longer regarded as one of its essential principles. I know also that this is a poor country. I have been long enough here to realise that. At the same time I cannot help feeling that the provision of a soundly conceived education is the best means of arming both the human body

and the human spirit for what is bound to be a life-long struggle. So far indeed as the spirit is concerned, many religions inculcate that the struggle will continue long after it has parted company with the body. That being so, I think we must labour to persuade people that money spent on this mental armament is as essential as money spent on much more ephemeral armaments.

WHO IS A SANATANIST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

सत्यं दमस्तपः शौचं संतोषो ह्रीः क्षमार्जवम् ।

ज्ञानं शमो दया ध्यानमेव धर्मः सनातनः ॥

अद्वोहः सर्वभूतेषु कर्मणा मनसा गिरा ।

अनुग्रहश्च दानं च सतां धर्मः सनातनः ॥*

—महाभारतः शांतिपर्व

A Sanatanist is one who follows the Sanatan Dharma. According to Mahabharata it means observance of ahimsa, *satya*, non-stealing, cleanliness and self-restraint. As I have been endeavouring to follow these to the best of my ability, I have not hesitated to describe myself as a Sanatanist. But during the anti-untouchability campaign my description of myself as a Sanatanist was resented by those who opposed me. They styled themselves Sanatanists. I did not engage in a quarrel over the name. And so I have described the opponents by the name they have chosen for themselves. Now a letter has been received by me from a correspondent writing on behalf of the Sanatan Dharma Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab, protesting against my calling the opponents Sanatanists which, they say, would imply that all Sanatanists believe in untouchability and take delight in painting me in black colours. The letter proceeds:

"To tell the truth it has pained us very much, and we are afraid our religious and social work in the Punjab will suffer. Mahatmaji, you being nearer to Deccan know more of the Sanatanists of the South than of us of the North. Here, in the Punjab, we have been advocating temple entry and other facilities to the Harijans. We have obtained 'Vyavasthas' to this effect from the All India Sanatan Dharma Pratinidhi Sabha Parishad. Our organisation, with its 600 branches and 300 Mahabir Dals, has itself worked for this cause. In this province there are very few temples whose Mahants or Pujaris refuse the rights of Devadarshan to Harijans. You can well imagine how your article can affect our work. The ignorant masses, who cannot differentiate between one Sanatanist and another, have taken us to be your opponents. Our statements and contradictions are of no avail. Your word carries more weight than hundreds of our lectures. We are and have been working for the uplift of Harijans under the guidance of Pt. M. M. Malaviya and Goswami Ganesh Dattaji. I request you to find some other word for those

* Truth, self-restraint, penance, purity, contentment, modesty, forgiveness, straightforwardness, knowledge, serenity, compassion and thoughtfulness — this is the eternal (*sanātana*) *dharma*.

Freedom from malice in deed, thought and word towards all sentient beings, giving of favours, and charitableness — This is the eternal (*sanātana*) *dharma* of the good.

who oppose the Harijan movement. The word 'Sanatanist' does not fit in."

My correspondent is wrong in thinking that I do not know the Sanatanists of the North. If Kashi may be considered to be in the North, Kashi has produced stubborn opponents of the reform. The correspondent would be on safe ground if he would confine his remarks to the Sanatanists of the Punjab. But I should not have thought that anybody could fail to understand the limited sense in which I was using the term. I hope that he has exaggerated the mischief done by my reference to the anti-reformists as Sanatanists. Surely, there should be no difficulty in the Punjab Sanatanists making their own position clear. In any case, they may use this writing in their support. Indeed, not all the Sanatanists in the South are opposed to the reform or to me. During the Harijan tour I discovered that the opposition was confined to a microscopic minority, no matter where I went. Their number has been further reduced during the intervening years. Rajaji could not have carried his Temple Entry Bill if he was not supported by overwhelming Hindu opinion. Nor could the great temples of the South have been opened to Harijans if the Sanatanist opposition had been at all extensive. When, therefore, I refer to Sanatanist opposition it can only apply to the minority that delights to call itself Sanatanist and whose occupation is to oppose anti-untouchability reform and blacken my character. I can only pray that their eyes will some day be opened and they will range themselves on the side of reform, which is no less than purification of Hinduism of the taint of untouchability.

Segaon, 19-12-39

Notice

We are receiving a fresh stock of 'Mahatma Gandhi' by Sir S. Radhakrishnan and expect to despatch copies to such of the readers as have registered their orders with us.

MANAGER

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[ONE ANNA

SPINNING WHEELS V. MILLS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Congressmen should not weary of my filling these columns with everything about the charkha and khadi. Heart peace among communities and reinstatement of the wheel in every home are my politics, for I expect to gain the freedom of the country from political and economic bondage through these means in the place of red rebellion.

The problem before every Congressman is how to displace mill cloth, whether foreign or indigenous. It is often believed in Congress circles that indigenous mill cloth is as good as khadi and superior because of its cheapness. The cheapness theory in terms of the crores of artisans has been exploded. Millspun for these millions is dearer than handspun. The former means deprivation of their wages. Imagine what would happen if, on the score of foreign wheat being cheaper, the wheat-grower was displaced!

If the village spinners and weavers are to come into their own, and that quickly, every Congressman has to become a master spinner and master weaver. He should be able to teach and guide the poor villagers. He has to be a khadi technician. He has to spin for the sake of the country. I have shown that khadi cannot be made cheap enough for the middle class unless there is enough sacrificial yarn or unless the spinner is put upon the old *begar* wage of one pice to one anna for eight hours' strenuous spinning.

No Congressman would put in the required labour and skill unless he believed that the indigenous factory mills had to be and could be replaced by the charkha and the handloom.

If Congressmen have this faith, all Congress organisations will become efficient spinning and weaving schools. I remember how in 1921 Congress offices used to collect indifferently spun yarn and expect it to be woven somehow. It was all a huge waste. Nobody knew how to deal with it nor what to do to ensure good spinning. Things are different now. Much knowledge and experience have been gained by the A. I. S. A. Some literature has also been published. Every Congress office should become a model laboratory and spinning and weaving institute for the organisation of villages. And, as I have suggested, khadi is the centre round which other village industries should revolve and be organised. Congress-

men will discover the tremendous possibilities of this kind of service. It is chiefly mental lethargy that is in the way of quick and successful organisation of villages. I suggest that, if India is to evolve along non-violent lines, it will have to decentralise many things. Centralisation cannot be sustained and defended without adequate force. Simple homes from which there is nothing to take away require no policing; the palaces of the rich must have strong guards to protect them against dacoity. So must huge factories. Rurally organised India will run less risk of foreign invasion than urbanised India, well equipped with military, naval and air forces.

Assuming then that Congressmen have understood the meaning and implications of the charkha, they would, without a moment's delay, set about qualifying themselves for the service. Assume further that they are novices. Then they will procure some cotton, preferably grown in their villages, taluks or districts. They should gin it with the hand or at the most on a board with the help of a rod. They will keep the seed and, when they have enough, either sell it or use it for their cattle if they have any. They will card the cotton with a hand bow, costing next to nothing. They can improvise one themselves. This carded cotton should be turned into slivers. These will be spun on the takli. When they have fairly mastered these processes, they can proceed to speedier ones. They will also put themselves and the members of their families right regarding the use of khadi. They will keep an accurate record of their daily progress and will learn the arithmetic of yarn.

Congress committees will rearrange their offices with the help of the local A. I. S. A. branch and convert them into spinning and weaving depots. I must warn Congressmen against the fatal error of sending to distant depots their yarn for weaving. The economics of khadi require that from cultivation of cotton to the manufacture of khadi and its disposal all the processes should, as far as possible, be gone through in the same village or centre. Thus it is wrong to spin yarn in the Punjab, weave it in Bombay, and sell in Malabar the khadi thus manufactured. If Congressmen and committees attend to this simple rule when beginning khadi work, they will not find themselves appalled by the difficulty of the task. If they succeed in their own district, there is no reason why the other

249 districts should not be successfully organised. The reasoning is valid even if villages were treated as units. It must be confessed that we have not as yet one single village organised in that fashion. Certainly Segaoon is not, even though I am supposed to be living in it. My failure, however, need not dismay a worker who will make the organisation of his own village his sole occupation.

Segaoon, 25-12-39

A YEAR'S RECORD

Readers are aware that the *Harijan* Office has been stocking and selling, for some time past, handmade paper which it gets from almost all the producing centres in India. The sole purpose is to serve as a direct link between the producer and the would-be customer. It is now time to give a record of this work for the year that is just closing. The following are the figures of the cost of paper purchased during the year, i.e. from January 1 up to the end of December :

Place	Province	Amount
Ahmedabad	Gujarat	155 0 0
Aurangabad	Hyderabad (Dn.)	91 11 0
Erandol	Maharashtra	2,146 12 3
Hyderabad (Dn.)	Hyderabad (Dn.)	134 14 0
Jaipur	Rajputana	1,563 10 0
Jaipur (thro Sabarmati)	"	316 0 0
Junnar	Maharashtra	335 6 0
Kalpi	U. P.	32 12 0
Kathmandu	Nepal	209 14 6
Outshahi	Bengal	46 13 6
Sodepur	"	203 0 0
Wardha	C. P.	21 12 0

Rs. 5,257 9 3

This amount has been paid to the producers directly. The paper is sold in the form of whole sheets, letter paper and envelopes in various sizes, blotting paper, cards, visiting cards, office files, pocket note books, tag labels, etc. Rs. 635-7-9 have been given to two envelope-makers, both of Poona. The paper sold has been sent to all parts of India, and several of the consignments have been worth hundreds of rupees. The total sales up to date amount to Rs. 4,730-8-0.

The progress in sales will be shown by the following figures for the last three years:

1937	Rs. 483-11-9
1938	Rs. 650-8-0
1939	Rs. 4,730-8-0

Space forbids me from quoting from letters from the producing centres showing what even this little assistance in marketing has meant to the producers, and from letters of customers showing how the progressive improvements in the quality of paper have satisfied and delighted them. To give but one instance, an Ex-Minister, to whom I wrote on a sheet of paper made at Sodepur, wrote back saying: "It is an agreeable surprise to learn from you that the paper is handmade. Indeed, before I read your letter, I had felt like rating you for using mill paper

for your letter papers." This is no small tribute to the skill of the paper-maker. Some varieties of paper—especially coloured cover paper for magazines and books—are now cheaper in price than similar varieties of Indian or foreign mill-made paper on account of the conditions created by the war. In fact this is just the time when village industries like this one can make much headway, unhampered by fierce competition from machine-made goods.

A word of appeal to the patriotic public. In these days, when paper has become a primary necessity of life, producers of handmade paper should not find it difficult to market their wares. Indeed the demand should be heavy enough to absorb more men in the work and for new producing centres to be started in those areas where none exist today. Some of the old producing centres are still in a moribund condition, mostly for lack of encouragement and organisation. They too should be revived and placed on a proper footing. The *Harijan* Office aspires to be a collecting and marketing centre for the products of skilled village artisans. Problems relating to both supply and demand are studied, and paper in many varieties and forms supplied to customers who fail to get satisfaction from the nearest producing centre, or who want to be saved the trouble of writing to different places and avoid delay in the execution of orders.

Poona, 27-12-39

C. S.

A LAY WOMAN'S IMPRESSIONS

The Poona Basic Educational Conference held during the last week of October was adjudged to be a great success by all who were enabled to be present at the sessions and see the Exhibition. The report of the Conference will soon be out and will doubtless give details of everything from the educationist's point of view. These are merely the impressions of a lay enthusiast.

Inasmuch as this was the first meeting of those who had started work about two years ago on the lines of the Wardha Scheme, the discussions were interesting and illuminating. The subjects that provided the keenest discussion were those of the training of teachers and the financial side of the question. Of course the technique of correlated teaching occupied its due place.

The Exhibition provided much food for thought. As is natural, spinning on the takli had been the main craft everywhere, and the rate of progress in turning out weavable yarn and the quality of the cloth manufactured from that yarn have exceeded the expectations of the most optimistic and have left no ground for pessimism even among the sceptics. Those who have seen the joyful pride with which the little ones handle their taklis, the easy manner in which they learn arithmetic while counting the number of rounds of yarn produced, the free and easy contact between pupil and teacher, the cleanliness of the children, the self-confidence with which they work and play, cannot but be

delighted with this change from the old order — yawning children, bored teachers, mechanical repeating of the multiplication tables, enquiring little ones squashed because the teacher did not know how to reply to the queries, no attention paid to clean clothes or clean hands and faces and nails, etc. etc. Cardboard, leather and wood work, pottery, and toys made out of cloth, yarn and wood, were also included in the exhibits. There is no doubt whatsoever that these and many more handicrafts suited to the varying environments will develop in due course, and this development augurs well for the resuscitation of much that has been lost to us of our ancient arts. But if this educational scheme is to be a real success, it is absolutely certain that the teachers must be of the requisite standard. And this standard must primarily include perfect mastery over the craft. Only then will the teacher be able to inspire zeal for the work in the heart of the child, and only then will the products be saleable. We may not forget the necessity of ensuring that what is produced in the schools is marketable. A note of warning should be sounded here lest the products become a burden on the authorities concerned. In the first stages whatever is made must be of the simplest nature and the utility of the article must be closely studied. Art does not lie only in the decorative and ornate; it lies just as well in the beauty of simplicity and symmetry. There were things in the exhibition crudely made and imitations of market goods — which are not worth the time and money expended on them. It should not be impossible for even the first and second year child to turn out say, for example, cardboard files, cardboard boxes, exercise books, paper bags and envelopes which will find a ready sale. Attention to perfection of finish must not be relaxed for one moment. The possibility or impossibility of selling the articles produced by the basic schools is a matter which is perplexing the minds of even the most ardent enthusiasts. While schools are few and far between the problem does not or may not arise. But as soon as the schools become country-wide, it will become insoluble unless care is taken to produce what can be absorbed by the school itself, by the village in which the school is situated, by the nearest town, and lastly by the Government. I say lastly by the Government because the educational authorities must help themselves as far as possible, self-help being the surest way to success. Moreover there must be no cut-throat competition between school and school. In the matter of saleable articles women can be of the utmost help in giving suggestions.

Opinions differed as to the length of time the training of teachers should take. As success of the scheme depends entirely on the teacher one wonders whether a year is really enough time for him or her to acquire sufficient general knowledge, sufficient knowledge of child psychology,

sufficient knowledge of Hindustani, as also a perfect mastery over the craft. A few schools of a really high standard will be of more use to us than a large number of mediocre ones.
Segaon, 11-12-39
A. K.

Notes

The Late Acharya Ramdevji

The death of Acharya Ramdev removes from our midst a notable Arya Samaj leader and worker. Next to Swami Shraddhanandji he was the maker of Kangdi Gurukul. So far as I know he was the Swamiji's right hand man. As a teacher he was very popular. Latterly he had thrown himself with his characteristic energy in the running of the Kanya Gurukul in Dehradun and was the guide and supporter of Kumari Shri Vidyavati. He was her only collector whilst he was alive. She did not have to worry over the financial side of the institution. I know what an irreparable deprivation his death is to her and her institution. The Gurukul should be put beyond financial stress by those who knew the late Acharya, who value female education, and who know the worth of Kumari Vidyavati and the institution. Such a collection would be a most suitable memorial to the departed Acharya.

Sad News from Bihar

I had a wire from Bihar complaining that Harijans, who have hitherto had no complaints against Congressmen, had not been put forward as they might have been as Congress nominees during the recent local board elections, and that those who had come forward had not received fair play. The wire further complained that Shri Rajendra Babu who was informed of the fact had interested himself but was not listened to. It seems that almost the same thing may be said about Muslims. There were honourable exceptions, no doubt. The complaint is that the Congress has failed to fulfil the expectations raised by it. Congressmen have to go out of their way to justify their claim for being national-minded and impartial. In a matter so simple as this Shri Rajendra Babu's energy should not be taxed at all. Self-seekers who want to serve their ends should have no place in the national organisation. It is any day better for the Congress to do without their influence. I suggest that even at this juncture, if the complaint has foundation, the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee might redress the injustice by withdrawing some members to make room for deserving Muslims and Harijans. It is never too late to be just.

Segaon, 25-12-39

M. K. G.

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H A R I J A N

Dec. 30

1939

THE PLEDGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is to be hoped that Congressmen will learn by heart, not merely store up in their memory, the resolution of the Working Committee containing the pledge for 26th January next. The pledge was first taken in 1930. Ten years is not a short time. If Congressmen had honestly lived up to the constructive programme of 1920, there would be Purna Swaraj today. There would be communal harmony, there would be purification of Hinduism and smiling faces in India's villages. These together would produce such a momentum that Independence could not be resisted.

But the painful fact must be admitted that Congressmen have not carried out the programme as they should have. They have not believed that the triple programme is non-violence in action. They have not believed that civil disobedience could not be successfully carried out without fulfilling it.

Therefore I have not hesitated to remark in these columns that our non-violence has been non-violent conduct born of impotence. Hence we witness the sorry spectacle of us confessing that, though this non-violence of the weak may bring us freedom from English rule, it cannot enable us to resist foreign invasion. This fact—and it is a fact—shows that, if the English yield to the non-violence, miscalled, of the weak, it would prove that they had almost made up their mind to surrender power and would not hold on to it at the cost of creating frightfulness. Congressmen should not be surprised, if I would not declare civil disobedience unless I was morally certain that they had understood the full significance of non-violence and that they were carrying out the triple programme with as much zest as they would offer civil disobedience, so called. They would perhaps now understand why I call the three items of the programme essentials of non-violence.

What do I mean by communal fellowship? How is it to be obtained when the Jinnah-Nehru talks have failed? They may or may not have failed. Pacts are meant for big people. They do not affect men in the street, the ground-down millions. In cultivating fellowship among these, written pacts are not needed. Do Congressmen cultivate goodwill towards all without political motive? This fellow-feeling should be natural, not born out of fear or expedience, even as fellowship between blood brothers, not being born out of any ulterior motive, is natural and lasting. Nor is it to be applied only as between Hindus and Muslims. It has to be universal. It

must be extended to the least among us. It is to be extended to Englishmen. It is to be extended to political opponents. Removal of untouchability again has deep significance. The very idea of high and low among Hindus should be rooted out. Caste solidarity should give place to national solidarity. In Congress ranks these distinctions should be relics of the past.

Then the charkha. For nearly twenty years now it has adorned the National Flag which is made of khadi. And yet khadi has not become universal. Khadi having been adopted by the Congress, Congressmen may not rest till it has penetrated every home in the remotest part of India. Only then will it become a mighty symbol of voluntary co-operation and one purpose. It is a symbol of identification with the poorest in the land. Hitherto Congressmen have played with khadi. They have not believed in its message. They have used it often unwillingly, for mere show. It must become a reality if true non-violence is to permeate us.

Let Congressmen note the preamble 'to the Working Committee's resolution on the pledge. Those who do not believe in it are not bound to take the pledge. Indeed those who have not the belief, are bound not to take it. For the pledge this time is to be taken for a definite purpose. A grave responsibility rests on my shoulders. A vast organisation like the Congress will not move in the direction of civil resistance unless I give the word. It is no matter of pride or joy to me. I should break under the weight of that responsibility, if I were not conscious of the fact that I am nothing. Congressmen have trust in my judgment which is dictated by the living Law of Truth and Love which is God. God speaks through acts of men and women. In this case acts of Congressmen and Congresswomen have to speak.

Segaon, 24-12-39

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

(Passed at Wardha last week)

1. The Working Committee have studied with regret the recent pronouncements of the Secretary of State for India. His reference to the communal question merely clouds the issue and takes the public mind off the central fact that the British Government have failed to define their war aims especially with regard to India's freedom.

In the opinion of the Working Committee the communal question will never be satisfactorily solved so long as the different parties are to look to a third party, through whose favour they expect to gain special privileges, even though it may be at the expense of the nation. The rule of a foreign power over a people involves a division among the elements composing it. The Congress has never concealed from itself the necessity of uniting the various divisions. It is the one organisation which in order to main-

tain its national character has consistently tried, not always without success, to bring about unity. But the Working Committee are convinced that lasting unity will only come when foreign rule is completely withdrawn. Events that have happened since the last meeting of the Committee have confirmed this opinion. The Working Committee are aware that the independence of India cannot be maintained, if there are warring elements within the country. The Committee are therefore entitled to read in the British Government's raising the communal question reluctance to part with power. The Constituent Assembly as proposed by the Congress is the only way to attain a final settlement of communal questions. The proposal contemplates fullest representation of all communities with separate electorates where necessary. It has already been made clear on behalf of the Congress that minority rights will be protected to the satisfaction of the minorities concerned, difference, if any, being referred to an impartial tribunal.

Congressmen must have by now realised that independence is not to be won without very hard work. Since the Congress is pledged to non-violence, the final sanction behind it is civil resistance, which is but a part of Satyagraha. Satyagraha means goodwill towards all, especially towards opponents. Therefore it is the duty of individual Congressmen to promote and seek goodwill. Success of the programme of khadi as an accepted symbol of non-violence, harmony and economic independence is indispensable. The Working Committee, therefore, hope that all Congress organisations will, by a vigorous prosecution of the constructive programme, prove themselves fit to take up the call when it comes.

2. The Working Committee draw the attention of all Congress committees, Congressmen and the country to the necessity of observing properly and with due solemnity Independence Day on January 26, 1940. Ever since 1930 this day has been regularly observed all over the country, and it has become a landmark in our struggle for independence. Owing to the crisis through which India and the world are now passing and the possibility of our struggle for freedom being continued in an intenser form, the next celebration of this Day has a special significance attached to it. This celebration must, therefore, not only be the declaration of our national will for freedom, but a preparation for that struggle and a pledge to disciplined action.

The Working Committee, therefore, call upon all Congress committees and individual Congressmen to take the pledge prescribed below in public meetings called for the purpose. Where, owing to illness or other physical disability or to being in an out of way place, individual Congressmen are unable to attend a public meeting, they should take the pledge in their homes, individually or in groups. The Working Committee advise organisations and individuals to notify their Provincial Congress Committees of the

meetings held as well as the individual or group pledges taken. The Committee hope that none who does not believe in the contents of the pledge will take it merely for the sake of form. Those Congressmen who do not believe in the prescribed pledge should notify their disapproval, stating reasons therefor, to the Provincial Congress Committee, giving their names and addresses. This information is required not for the purpose of any disciplinary action but for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of disapproval of anything contained in the pledge. The Working Committee have no desire to impose the pledge on unwilling Congressmen. In a non-violent organisation compulsion can have little place. The launching of civil disobedience requires the disciplined fulfilment of the essential conditions therefor.

PLEDGE

"We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE.

"We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to Swaraj following peaceful and legitimate methods, and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain Independence.

"We pledge ourselves anew to the Independence of India, and solemnly resolve to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained.

"We believe that non-violent action in general, and preparation for non-violent direct action in particular, require successful working of the constructive programme of khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek every opportunity of spreading goodwill among fellowmen without distinction of caste or creed. We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed. We know that though we are out to destroy the Imperialistic system we have no quarrel with Englishmen, whether officials or non-officials. We know that distinctions between the Caste Hindus and Harijans must be abolished, and Hindus have to forget these distinctions in their daily conduct.

Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent conduct. Though our religious faiths may be different, in our mutual relations we will act as children of Mother India, bound by common nationality and common political and economic interest.

"Charkha and Khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme, for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, spin regularly, use for our personal requirements nothing but khadi, and so far as possible products of village handicrafts only, and endeavour to make others do likewise.

"We pledge ourselves to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and policies and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress, whenever it may come, for carrying on the struggle for the Independence of India."

A SPURIOUS ALIBI

Gandhiji's article on 'The Princes' in *Harijan* of the 16th December has, as was but to be expected, caused a flutter in certain dovescotes. Particular resentment seems to have been felt at his remark that Princes may not be used or allowed to impede the march of India to freedom. The ingenuous argument has been advanced that it is Gandhiji and the other Congress leaders who have, by their failure to negotiate a settlement with the Princes and by pursuing a policy that is calculated to frighten and antagonise them, interposed an obstacle in the way of the Paramount Power fulfilling its democratic mission with regard to India. Gandhiji's contention that it is the Paramount Power that today really represents the Indian States and therefore on it alone properly rests the responsibility of negotiating a settlement with them, is sought to be side-tracked by resurrecting the many times exposed bogey of the Paramount Power's "treaty obligations" towards the Princes "which cannot be annulled or modified except with their consent."

As I showed in my previous article, of all arguments that have been exploited to oppose India's claim to independence, this argument about treaty rights of the Princes is the most disingenuous and flimsy. It would even be called frivolous but for the serious context in which it is introduced. Let us then examine this plea in some detail. Who are the 'Princes' with whom settlement is to be negotiated? On whom does the onus of negotiating that settlement properly rest? What is the nature and scope of the so-called treaty obligations of the Paramount Power towards the Princes, and to what extent do they really inhibit it from conceding India's claim to independence in terms of its declared war aim that it is fighting for freedom and democracy in the world?

States India comprises 562 individual States covering an area of 598,138 square miles with a population of 68,652,974 people and an aggregate annual revenue of 45.79 crores of rupees. Both as

regards size and government they present a wide variation, having at one end of the scale a State-like Hyderabad with an area of 82,700 sq. miles and a revenue of 6½ crores of rupees, and at the other end of the scale minute holdings in Kathiawad amounting in extent to a few acres only and yielding revenue which in some cases "is not greater than the annual income of an ordinary artisan". For instance, as many as 15 of these so-called States have territories which are less than a square mile each. Three States have a population less than 100 souls each. Five States have a revenue of about Rs. 100 per year each, while there is one State whose revenue is Rs. 20 per year and population of 32 souls.

This motley picture is not the result of the natural process of evolution. But for the protection given by the Paramount Power many of these Rulers, at any rate the majority of the petty Chiefs, of whom there are over three hundred, would certainly have not escaped the operation of natural forces. But that process has been arrested by the sovereignty exercised by the Paramount Power. The Paramount Power has thus come to hold a peculiar position with regard to the States. It cannot escape responsibility for the present position or the political future of 68 million and odd States subjects whom it has deprived of the natural remedies they possessed against an insupportable autocratic yoke.

The relationship of the Indian States with the Paramount Power is governed, in the words of the Butler Committee's Report, "by treaties, obligations and sanads, supplemented by usage and sufferance and by the decisions of the Government of India and the Secretary of State embodied in political practice." Out of 108 States that fall in the Salute list, 32 have treaty obligations, 37 are controlled by political practice, 20 States enjoy a very limited sovereignty, 3 States are regrants by the British Government, 7 are mediated Chiefs, 7 States have treaty rights but in "subordinate co-operation with the British Government," while one State, viz. Benares, was created in 1928. The number of sovereign States having full, unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction within their territories and power to make their own laws is 61 only.

In its dealings with the States, the Paramount Power has never, in theory or in practice, recognised any limit to the exercise of its power. That power, to quote the words of Prof. Westlake, "is defined by being, wisely or not, left undefined. That to which no limits are set is unlimited. It is a power in India like that of the Parliament in the United Kingdom, restrained in its exercise by considerations of morality and expediency, but not bounded by another political power meeting it at any frontier line, whether of territories or of affairs." As Lee Warner has pointed out, the Paramount Power, in the course of history, has freely intervened not only in cases of "gross misrule" or "oppress-

sion" but also "on grounds of general policy where the interests of the Indian people or the safety of the British Power were at stake." As a result of this process, "irrespective of those features of sovereign right which Indian States have for the most part ceded or circumscribed by treaty, there are certainly some of which they have been silently but effectually deprived."

But apart from it there are as a matter of fact express provisions in most treaties concluded with the States that make it obligatory on them to 'listen to' whatever advice the Paramount Power might think fit to give to them. For instance, Article 9 of the Treaty of 1805 with Travancore runs thus:

"His Highness hereby promises to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the English Government shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry or any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interest, the happiness of his people and the mutual welfare of both states." (Italics mine)

An identical provision is incorporated to Article 9 of the treaty of 1809 that was imposed upon Cochin following upon an insurrection against the English Governor.

In the Sanad issued to the Ruler of Patiala occurs the following:

"The Maharaja Sahab Bahadur will exert himself by every possible means in promoting the welfare of his people and the happiness of his subjects and redressing the grievances of the oppressed and the injured in the proper way."

In the case of Article 14 of the Treaty with Mysore containing detailed provisions of interference in internal administration there is the verbatim original to Article 9 of the Treaty of Travancore of 1805.

The Cooch Behar Sanad of 1776 contains the following conditions: "That observing the duties and usages of the office and the rules of the truth and dignity he (the Raja) departs not in the minutest particular from a vigilant and prudent conduct but avoiding sloth by consulting interests of the ryots and inhabitants and conciliating their affections, he so conduct himself that his utmost endeavours may be exerted for the increase of cultivation and the improvement of revenues." Typical of an engagement of vassalage and suzerainty is the Mandi Sanad of 1846. The 9th Article of the Sanad reminds the Raja that "it behoves him to adopt such measures as may tend to the welfare of his people and the prosperity of his country and assure the administration of even-handed justice to the aggrieved and the restoration to the people of their just rights. He shall not subject his people to extortion, but keep them always contented." The Treaty then proceeds: "Be it known to the Raja that the British Government shall be at liberty to remove any

one from the gaddi of Mandi who may prove to be of worthless character and incapable of properly conducting the administration of the State and to appoint such nearest heir to the Raja as may be capable of administration."

Only a Rip Van Winkle can maintain in the face of all this that its treaty obligations really constrain the hands of the Paramount Power in the carrying out of its professed aims with regard to Indian independence. It is not for a power that has claimed and all along exercised unlimited authority in its relation with the Indian States, that can create States like Mysore, Kashmir and Satara which are "sovereign", that can abolish States like Tanjore, depose Princes or make them abdicate like Nabha, Bharatpur, Indore, and Gaekwar, increase or decrease the extent of States like Hyderabad and Baud — it is not for such a power today to seek shelter behind a spurious alibi in the form of its treaty obligations in order to escape from the discharge of a moral obligation, or to shove it on to the shoulders of a third party as is being done in the matter of negotiating a settlement with the Princes.

All treaty obligations, as has been pointed out by authorities like Lee Warner and Prof. Hall,* are governed by the principle of *rebus sic stantibus*, and are subject to the reservation "that they may be disregarded when the supreme interests of the Empire are involved or even when the interests of the subjects of the Native States are gravely affected." The Butler Committee practically endorsed this principle when it laid down that "Paramountcy must remain paramount, it must fulfil its obligations, defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive developments of the State."

The charge against the Congress of pursuing a policy calculated to frighten and antagonise the States cannot be sustained. It has asked for nothing more than the Butler Committee itself admitted that the Paramount Power was bound to do, viz. to suggest such measures as would satisfy the popular demand for constitutional reforms in the States short of eliminating the Prince. Observed Lord Chelmsford in the course of his speech at Bharatpur: "In India itself the British Government has decided to grant a substantial measure of power to the people in the administration of their own affairs. Autocratic rule anywhere will in future be an exception and an anomaly." One cannot do better than commend to the Princes and their champions these words of wisdom uttered with such sincerity by one whom they claimed as their friend.

Segaon, 25-12-39

Pyarelal

* Hall's *International Law*, VI Ed. p. 27.

A Correction

In the list of Bapa Purse Collection on p. 381 in the issue of 16-12-39, please read "K. & J. Cooper" instead of "K. & J. Kapoor".

WHAT IS NEUTRALITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An American missionary writes:

"Although we have never met I have been a reader of your paper *Harijan* and have given a good deal of thought to your ideas. I think your stand for non-violence is very good. In that you certainly set a good example to Christians. And I believe that is according to the teachings of Christ. Certainly Christ taught non-violence when he taught returning good for evil and turning the other cheek, and going two miles with anyone who compelled you to go one mile. You as a Mahatma must admire such teachings of Christ.

But I must ask you a question. Are you and the Congress generally neutral in regard to which religion a person belongs to? I believe the Congress claim to be neutral, but my contention is that they are not.

Your friend, the late prime minister of Madras, sent a wire of congratulation to Christians who became Hindus. Is that being neutral? And just the other day, here near Bombay in Thana District, when about fifty hill people returned to Hinduism, the leaders in making them Hindus were the Congress leaders of Thana District. So this plainly shows that the Congress leaders favour Hinduism.

Under such a Government what chance would the small minority of Christians stand when Purna Swaraj is given to be monopolised by the Hindu majority? No doubt, Independence should be given to India, but what no one except the Hindus wants is a Hindu raj. For, the poor Christians left to the mercy of some anti-Christian leaders are not likely to fare very well.

In all that you have sought to do during your long life for the benefit of India, you no doubt have the sympathy and good wishes of all good Christian missionaries. But we must naturally consider the welfare of nearly seven millions of Christians in this land. Are they to be placed at the mercy of anti-Christian leaders? Will it be possible for the Congress Government to be impartial and neutral in religious matters as the British Government has been? If not, we certainly would not hail it as a blessing."

I am not aware of what Shri Rajagopalachari said. He is well able to take care of himself. But I can give my idea of neutrality. In free India every religion should prosper on terms of equality, unlike what is happening today. Christianity being the nominal religion of the rulers, it receives favours which no other religion enjoys. A Government responsible to the people dare not favour one religion over another. But I should see nothing wrong in Hindus congratulating those who having left them may return to their fold. I think that the Christians of free America would rejoice at the return to their ancestral Christianity of Americans of the slums — if there are any in America — temporarily calling themselves Hindus under the influence of a plausible Hindu missionary. I have already complained of the methods adopted by some

missionaries to wean ignorant people from the religion of their forefathers. It is one thing to preach one's religion to whomsoever may choose to adopt it, another to entice masses. And if those thus enticed, on being undeceived, go back to their old love, their return will give natural joy to those whom they had forsaken. The missionary friend errs in regarding the Congress as a Hindu organisation. It has on its roll perhaps three million men and women. Its register is open to all. As a matter of fact it has on it men and women belonging to all religions. There is no reason why Christians or Muslims should not capture the Congress. It is true, however, that a national democratic Government will represent the majority of Hindu voters in the aggregate. But owing to unequal distribution of population in the various provinces, Bengal, Punjab, Frontier and Sind have a preponderance of Muslims, as the other provinces of Hindus.

I hold that it is wrong to look at the question from the narrow sectarian standpoint. The only true standpoint is national. Therefore the American missionary seems to me to labour under a threefold mistake when he mistakes a natural joy for want of neutrality, regards the Congress as a Hindu organisation, and views India as divided religiously into parts hostile to and suspicious of one another. But economic and political aspirations of all the communities are surely the same except that the privileged ones will find their privileges melting in the sunshine of freedom. It seems to me to be wrong to import religious differences into a political discussion. Common law should prevent any injustice.

Segaon, 24-12-39

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ONE ANNA

TWO DAYS IN MADRAS

The Coming Revolution

A slow and silent but sure revolution would seem to be coming over South India, when one thinks of the progress of Hindi Prachar in Tamilnad, Andhradesh, Karnatak and Kerala during recent years. When in 1917 Gandhiji sent Devadas his youngest son, who was not then out of his teens, to Madras to sow the seed of Hindi Prachar in South India, I do not think even he had expected that that small effort should take such firm root and become a full-grown tree in twenty years, strong enough to stand the fiercest storms. It is estimated that there are now nothing less than 800,000 people knowing Hindi, and nearly a lakh of people learning it, including the 40 to 50 thousand young folk learning it in primary schools, thanks to Rajaji's unbending will. The movement in the early stages had to be financed by other provinces, but now South India finances it without any outside aid. It has nothing less than 1,200 workers — paid, voluntary, half-timers and so on. Among these are a good number of women. These include also a few Muslims. Last year there were 17,155 examinees appearing for various examinations held by the Daxin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha; this year the number went up to 19,347. The Sabha has a press which does printing in all South Indian languages, besides Hindi and English, and some of its publications have run into more than a score editions.

During the two days that I had the privilege to be in Madras, as president of the Pracharak Sammelan, I felt as though I was breathing an atmosphere of freedom—freedom from communal and political controversy and even from the linguistic controversy of Hindi, Hindustani and the cry of provincial languages in danger. The Sabha has acquired a name and influence all its own, and it has set such a fashion that ignorance of Hindi will soon come to count as a lapse in education. I saw several thousand people attending the entertainment programmes and following everything intelligently. Among those who gave dramatic performances there were not only seasoned pracharaks (who have studied the language) but practising vakils who have learnt the language recently. These came from Andhradesh which is well-known for histrionic talent.

Shrimati Ambujammal, the gifted daughter of Shri S. Shrinivas Iyengar, is a distinguished work-

er in the field. She has infected a number of others with her enthusiasm. She has translated *Tulasi Ramayan* into Tamil. An original Hindi song composed by her was sung by her and her niece at one of our gatherings. There are a number of other such examples. They demonstrate what a quiet item of constructive nation-building activity means in terms of national uplift, and how women are specially fitted for such work. Thanks mainly to women's effort, Hindi will soon be a household affair in South India, and one feels sure that, if we had the same number of intelligent and enthusiastic women workers in the field of khadi in every province, khadi would be well on its way to being universalised.

A Voice from a Village

This Hindi that is being taught is not the Sanskritised variety known in the North. It contains a large number of words of Persian or Arabic origin. The national language that will come into being as a result of the efforts of non-Hindustani provinces will be something which cannot be called pure Hindi or pure Urdu, but Hindustani or the language of the people. The effort is being made to develop and propagate a language which can be written both in the Sanskrit and Persian scripts and have a wholesome admixture of words of Sanskrit and Persian and Arabic origin which are well known to the common folk in North India. What the resultant will be it is not difficult to predict. It will be some language useful for national purposes and not free from words from the languages of the provinces where it will be spoken. I have an eloquent instance in front of me and it has a significance in various directions. When I was touring in Mysore I was waylaid a few miles from the Gersoppa Falls by a crowd of people in a tiny village. The friends who were taking me round did not know this village, they had not been there. And when we stopped there we found that it was not a Mysore village but a village in British India. After garlands of *supari* (areca-nut) and cardamom were given, a man read out an address in Hindi. The language was hardly creditable from the point of view of grammar and idiom but the meaning was crystal clear:

"Ours is a small village on the Mysore frontier. Our population is 500-600 — all agriculturists and agricultural labourers. The main crop is *supari* and cardamom. The prices of these have gone down and

those of foodstuffs have gone up. We are so hard hit, thanks to this fall in the price of our crop and the ubiquitous middleman, and also thanks to a disease which has reduced the *supari* produce from 15 to 20 hundredweights to 5. *Kolerog* is the name of the disease. We are taking this opportunity of welcoming you and giving you this address as we learnt from newspapers that you were passing through this village."

I asked the man a few questions, and ascertained that he had written the address himself, that he had learnt Hindi during his few months of hard labour in Belgaum jail, that he had not kept it up but retained what he had learnt seven years ago, and that no one in the village knew English.

Verily it was Hindi that had 'made the dumb speak'. This man would never during the few months at his disposal have learnt English enough to draft an address and certainly not retained it, and it had cost him no effort to write out this address. For as I analysed it I found that it contained numerous words of Sanskrit and Persian origin which are common in the language spoken in these parts, and it also contained a few words of his own mother-tongue. This peasant's example demonstrated at once so many things: (1) The *lingua franca* is so incredibly simple and quick to learn; (2) it is such a boon for interprovincial commerce; (3) it has been a unique medium of national awakening; and (4) it will develop according to the province where it is spoken, deriving strength and sustenance from the provincial soil.

The Self-spinner

My other preoccupations left me very little time to give to the exhibition. Nevertheless I rapidly surveyed the various stalls. The khadi section was a little replica of the bigger exhibition we have at the time of the Congress, but the charts in Tamil, which a friend explained to me, were very instructive. Khadi sales in Tamilnad have gone up by leaps and bounds. And yet one knows that the vast majority of people one comes across in the streets or meetings are not khadi-clad. The reason is obvious. The one lesson that these exhibitions ought to teach us is missed by most of us. Otherwise what can be more eloquent than the women from Andhradesha who were preparing their own cotton, making their own slivers and drawing gossamer-like yarn out of them—all the marvellous result of the cunning of their fingers? Even more eloquent, if possible, was the work of the old Brahman Srinivas Iyengar who was spinning 200 counts of yarn on his takli out of slivers prepared by himself. He wears clothes made of his own very fine yarn. When one sees examples like this one learns at first hand what concentration and patience—which are the essentials of discipline—spinning teaches us, and how artistic is the result of this quiet labour. And if a man over sixty can spin enough to make his own clothes, why can we not do likewise? But we cannot because we do not hold the

work sacred, as sacred as the old Brahman holds it. For him spinning beautiful yarn on his takli is as sacred as reciting and memorising hymns from the Rigveda with flawless intonation.

Kodambakam Harijan Industrial School

There were other attractive features too, besides the khadi stalls. I specially liked the Government forestry stalls showing the various processes to which wood could be put and the various ways in which inferior wood could be made more durable. A forest officer who is specially interested in handmade paper and had carried on various experiments with wild grasses was turning some of these into pulp and paper by very simple processes. I was told he and his wife make paper at home enough for their own purposes.

Another stall which seemed to attract much attention was the Kodambakam Harijan Industrial School stall. It was full of all the finest specimens of cane-work and carpentry. The school is being run under the auspices of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. There are 40 Harijan boys drawn from all the four Southern linguistic areas. The teachers in charge of the carpentry, smithy and cane-work sections are all paid, and the boarding and tuition charges cost about Rs. 15 per each boy. The teachers can manage bigger classes and 20 more boys could easily be admitted without any extra tuition charges, but even the present expenditure cannot be met. The school sells about Rs. 2,000 worth of goods every year, which is not much. The goods are of the best quality, but evidently the output, whilst the boys undergo training, cannot be increased. The Madras Government pay a grant of Rs. 2,000, and so Rs. 4,000 is the deficit that the Managing Committee have to find every year. The Secretary Shri Jagannath Das, who takes a keen interest both in this work and in Hindi Prachar work, gets little time out of his High Court and Municipal work to do the collections, and the good treasurer Shri Pratapmal often meets the deficit out of his pocket. This is a sorry state of things for a city like Madras where it should be the easiest thing to collect Rs. 4,000 annually for an institution of this kind. The members of the Managing Committee, with Dewan Bahadur Bhashyam Iyengar as Chairman, can easily undertake to collect, say, Rs. 400 each. There are ten thousand Gujaratis in Madras and a large number of Marwadi families—a few Marwadi friends gave me Rs. 107 when they invited me to their place—and an enthusiastic collector could easily get these to contribute the amount. Need I mention the hundreds of lawyers and dozens of zamindars who, if they were so minded, could not only run the school but purchase the grounds and buildings for it and place it on a permanent footing?

Another Harijan Institution

Dewan Bahadur Bhashyam Iyengar was good enough to take me to a Harijan students' hostel—called the Slater Hostel—which used to be run

by Government but which has been made over by them to the Harijan Sevak Sangh. All the expenses—boarding and tuition fees included—are met by Government. There are twentyseven boys. When in the few words I addressed to the boys I said that they should aim at never exploiting for selfish ends the education they were getting free and at using it for the good of the community, one of the boys stood up and heartily reciprocated the sentiment. He said there was no order and no system and no co-operation among them, before the Harijan Sevak Sangh took the institution over from the Government. They were now a happy family, and thanks to the workers who were taking interest in them, they regularly went to Harijan cheries and actually worked for the residents, taking part in sanitation, scavenging, and so on. They knew that they owed a debt to the community and they would try to fulfil it. One of the boys sang अय मातृभूमि तेरे चरणोंमें सिर नमार्क and they seemed to understand it. How I wish the friends who take an interest in the boys interested them in spinning and khadi and insisted on their wearing khadi clothes.

Segaon, 31-12-39

M. D.

SPINNING AS FAMINE RELIEF

[Shri Sohanlal, Assistant Secretary, A. I. S. A. Punjab Branch, sends a report of relief work done through spinning in the Hissar District, which is an eloquent testimony to the power of the charkha to provide relief where other measures fail or are impossible. Hissar, with showers of rain falling once perhaps in three years, is a proverbially famine area. The figures given by Shri Sohanlal speak for themselves. We take the relevant portions from his long report. M. D.]

The Punjab Charkha Sangh with its limited resources tried its best to prove the efficiency of the spinning wheel as a measure of famine relief. It started two test centres at Bawani Khara and Bhiwani. Encouraged by the success in these centres it opened eight spinning and two weaving centres at Bhiwani, Bawani Khara, Badhawar, Gurira, Talwandi, Mandi, Adampur, Daurala, Umra and Hissar, with a capital of Rs. 10,000 and with the co-operation and assistance of the Congress Famine Relief Committee.

Our centre at Bawani Khara was a model one. Most of the spinners were self-carders and spun very fine yarn, and earned from Re. 0-1-6 to Re. 0-3-0 per day of eight hours. There were 1,000 registered spinners and 102 carders working there. Rs. 12,575 were distributed as wages among them. Government officials including the Revenue Minister and the Minister for Industries visited this place and were much impressed by our work. It was a great pleasure to hear from the local banias that the purchasing power of the inhabitants had actually increased a good deal, and that their trade had not been hit by the famine. Great stress was laid on improvement in carding and implements to make spinners really efficient. More attention was paid to ulti-

mate results than to the immediate effect.

In its eight spinning centres and two weaving centres the A. I. S. A. supplied relief through work to 4,000 spinners and 300 weavers and carders. Rs. 27,085 were distributed as wages during eight months of famine. Spinning wheels and carding bows were distributed free. The A. I. S. A. thus spent Rs. 1,840 on free distribution of implements and improving the already existing wheels.

Wages were distributed as follows among the different artisans :

Spinners	18,735
Carders	5,723
Weavers	1,978
Washermen	622

Rs. 27,058

In appreciation of the A. I. S. A. work, voluntary contributions and loans without interest were given by various persons and associations. Our best thanks are due to them.

1. Congress Famine Relief Committee Rs. 5,000
2. Pandit Thakar Dasji Bhargava, Hissar 5,000
3. Sheth Banarasi Dasji, Bhiwani 2,000
4. Sheth Ram Chandji, Bhiwani 800
5. Halwasiya Trust Fund 10,000

For want of sufficient resources and capital and in the hope that monsoons may be merciful, five spinning centres were closed in the beginning of the rainy season when peasants had to look to their fields, but except in small areas the rain deceived the people. It rained a little in the beginning and the villagers ploughed the fields and sowed the seeds, but the monsoon once again proved treacherous and failed after the crops had just appeared, and the little sprouts were burnt by the heat of the sun. The hopes of the starving peasants were dashed to the ground, and they were left even bereft of the seeds with the burden of Government and private loans intact. The condition today is worse than ever. Three-fourths of the crops have been wasted due to failure of monsoons. Out of the total population of the district 3 lakhs live in canal areas and one lakh have migrated. The remaining six lakhs are in the grip of a severe famine. The people have grown very weak, and it is said that three deaths have taken place due to hunger. All the spinning relief centres opened by the Government have been closed.

Out of 31 test road works started by the Government only 13 are working and the rest have been closed. The total number of cattle in the year 1935 was 611,000, which was reduced to 198,000 in May 1939. It is estimated that now this has fallen to 175,000. The unfortunate people of this district need sustained and prompt help from the Government and the public. They are without food, without clothes, without vitality, emaciated, weak, their cattle dead and sold,—this is the harrowing tale of their distress.

The spinning wheel supported by Government patronage can alone prove its efficiency as a

permanent famine relief measure. The Government test works cannot be carried on for ever, they have their limitations, but cloth is the constant and recurring necessity of man like food and shelter; and this and this alone can provide food to millions of the unemployed and hungry through spinning wheels. Mills and factories snatch away this last bit of hope and morsel from the mouth of starving millions in our villages and create unemployment. Will the Government and the public realise this before it is too late?

SOHANLAL

H A R I J A N

Jan. 6

1940

THE WHEEL ABIDES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A collegiate from Baroda tells me that the high school and college students in Baroda rarely use khadi. Hardly anyone spins. An earnest worker of Berar argues: "Do you not think that Swaraj is an impossibility if your condition about khadi is seriously meant? Your second condition about fellowship too seems to be equally incapable of fulfilment." This friend is himself a lover of khadi, spins regularly, and cultivates fellowship with everybody. But he has the honest doubt expressed above. The friend could have said with equal force the same thing about non-violence apart from the charkha. Perhaps he had no doubt about the charkha and goodwill being external and internal signs of non-violence. My answer to the collegiate and the Berar friend is the same. I am not blind to what they say. I know the difficulty of fulfilling the conditions within the implied time limit. I am helpless. I am not obstinate. For my own reputation, if for nothing else, I should prescribe other and more feasible conditions, if it were at all possible. But even as the condition of producing water is the presence of H_2O , so are the charkha and goodwill conditions and signs of non-violence. Such being my fixed view, I have to insist upon the fulfilment of the two conditions before I can declare mass civil disobedience with any confidence.

My faith is in God and therefore in the people. If He wants me to put up another fight, He will change people's hearts. The conditions prescribed by me are not physically impossible. If the people will it, they can take to spinning and khadi today. If they will it, they can be good to the whole of mankind. The age of miracles is not past. But supposing that the conditions are not fulfilled, I shall cheerfully become the laughing-stock of India and the world and descend from the pedestal of generalship. I shall have the supreme satisfaction of

being true to myself. I shall read in the apparent failure a sign from God that the conditions were a hallucination produced by Him to save the nation from a disastrous career.

Thinking from the purely practical standpoint and even apart from my conditions, the Congress organisation shows signs of disintegration. The Bengal Committee is frankly defiant. Orissa is split up into two camps. Things are no better in Karnatak. A Kerala correspondent says that the Provincial Committee does not believe in the present policy and command and is trying by every means to undermine the influence of the Working Committee by ridiculing its programme. Things are not rosy in the Punjab. I know things are, however, not beyond repair. I cherish the hope that they will right themselves. But if they do not, I cannot lead an indisciplined army to victory. I must refuse to subscribe to the easy doctrine that I have but to declare 'war' and everything and everybody will be found to be in order.

Another view has been suggested. If there is indiscipline in so many provinces, may it not be that the fault lies with the High Command rather than with the different committees? I am not prepared to reject the hypothesis. But what is the High Command to do? They do what they think is their best. They cannot abdicate so long as a large majority continues to put faith in them. When during the early days of non-cooperation I had suggested abdication, Maulana Mahomed Ali said, "How can we, if the people want us? Abdication would be cowardly. It will be bravery to be kicked out." I did not go the whole length with him then as I do not now. But there is much force in that argument. The Congress command has to be held lightly. There should be no wire-pulling, no attempt made to hold on to office. There should be readiness to give up the command at a moment's notice. The Congress command is no command. It is an act of service. The President is the first servant. So far as I know the members of the Working Committee, I believe that they would be glad to be relieved of the responsibility. The fresh elections are on. The Congressmen's choice is unfettered. Let younger men come forward to take charge. But if they will not and will still retain the old team, they should give them implicit obedience. The critical situation in the country demands courageous and decisive handling.

Sevaon, 1-1-40

NOTICE

The seventh annual meeting of the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh will be held at Wardha on 13th, 14th and 15th February 1940, near Bajajwadi. All members are requested to note this and arrange to set apart these days for attending the meeting. Gandhiji will attend and address at the beginning and the end of the session.

A. V. THAKKAR
General Secretary

SINDH TRAGEDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have before me several letters from Sindh and a longish report from Dr. Choithram over the recent riots in Sukkur and Shikarpur. The Sindh Hindus should remember that Sindh has a national Government. Though for the sake of brevity I have often used the term Congress Government, the proper expression is National Democratic Government as distinguished from Foreign Bureaucratic Government, which it replaces. Whilst in discussing domestic differences and party politics we have to speak of Congress and Muslim League Governments, we must for all other purposes think and speak in terms of National Government. And so those who feel aggrieved must appeal to their Provincial National Governments and cultivate public opinion in favour of justice and public tranquillity. It would be wrong always to think in communal terms. I know that we may not shut our eyes to hard facts. But to attribute everything to the communal spirit is a sign of inferiority complex. It may well perpetuate what is yet a temporary distemper in the national life. But as I have already suggested, contrasted with irresponsible bureaucracy, national Governments would be found to be weak in action because of their responsibility to the people in whose name and by whose goodwill alone they can rule. They can, therefore, deal with crimes with more or less success, but they will be found to be powerless to deal with popular upheavals which communal riots are. British military aid will not always be at their disposal. National Governments will cease to be national if they have to depend on British military aid. Moreover, if the Congress policy of non-violence becomes universal among all parties, military and even police aid must become taboo. Before the other parties can be expected to become non-violent, Congressmen have to express non-violence in ample measure in their daily conduct. Be that, however, as it may, I can only advise the afflicted people of Sindh in terms of non-violence.

The question in Sindh is not really one between Hindus and Muslims. It is essentially one between weak people and strong. Muslims fight among themselves as badly as with Hindus. Hindus have also been known to fight among themselves. It will be wrong to weigh ferocity in golden scales.

Hinduism has become a synonym for weakness and Islam for physical strength. Hindus, although they have been taught to believe in ahimsa, have not shown *en masse* the strength of ahimsa, have never shown its superiority, when matched against physical strength. I have maintained that superiority over physical strength, however overwhelming, is the core of ahimsa, and I have further maintained that this non-violence can be exercised as well by individuals as by groups of them, yea, even by millions together. The

experiment is still in the making. Sufficient evidence has accumulated during the past twenty years to show that the experiment is worth making. Nothing can possibly be lost by continuing it, provided of course that the non-violence is of the standard brand.

Nothing has come under my observation to show that there was in Sukkur or Shikarpur even one person who believed in and practised non-violence of the strong. Had there been one, we would surely have known of him as we know of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. One such person can any day give a better account of himself than one armed to the teeth.

There are many Congressmen in Sukkur and Shikarpur, but they are not non-violently organised. It is not their fault. They know no better. As I have been repeatedly saying nowadays, our non-violence has not been of the strong. Weak people cannot develop it all of a sudden. But I have no other drug in my chest. I can only prescribe what I have and what has never failed. I can only, therefore, say: 'Try and try again until you succeed.' In the composition of the truly brave there should be no malice, no anger, no distrust, no fear of death or physical hurt. Non-violence is certainly not for those who lack these essential qualities. Wherever there are such persons they should be able to cover the weak ones, provided of course that they would listen to their helpers.

Let the weak ones never rely upon armed help. Such help will only make them weaker. If they have not the capacity for non-violent resistance, they should learn the art of defending themselves. It does not require a strong body; it requires a stout heart. The African Negroes have become, or were 25 years ago, so terror-stricken that they could not face a white lad — a pigmy compared to the giant-framed Negroes. White children were trained from their infancy not to fear the Negroes. The first lesson, therefore, for those who will learn how to defend themselves is to shed the fear of being hurt or being killed. I would like them to observe the laws of the game. Just as there is such a thing as honour among thieves, there should surely be honour between combatants. One hears so often of children and old men being butchered, women being outraged. If men must become beasts, there might even then be some decency observed. Religion is outraged when an outrage is perpetrated in its name. Almost all the riots in this unhappy land take place in the name of religion, though they might have a political motive behind them. My chief point is that the existing situation is intolerable. Cowardice should have no place in the national dictionary.

I have suggested *hijrat*. I repeat the suggestion. It is not unpractical. People do not know its value. High and mighty have been known to have resorted to it before now. Planned *hijrat* requires courage and forethought. The

second book of the Old Testament is known as Exodus. It is an account of the planned flight of the Israelites. In exile they prepared for a military career. In modern times we have the example of the flight of the Doukhobours from Russia owing to persecution. Theirs was no military career. On the contrary they were non-violent. There is, therefore, nothing wrong, dishonourable or cowardly in self-imposed exile. India is a vast country. Though poor, it is well able to admit of inter-migration especially of those who are capable, hard-working and honest. The people of Sukkur and Shikarpur have all the three qualities. They must appeal to the Government. Only they can give very little help. Apart from political pacts local heads among Hindus and Muslims may meet with mutual profit. It can do nobody or party any good to promote mutual slaughter and consequent increase in the existing ill-will. But if no honourable local settlement is arrived at, and if the local residents do not feel able to defend themselves and their families and possessions non-violently or violently, I have no doubt that they should vacate the place in which they live in perpetual fear of their lives and the honour of their womenfolk.

Segaon, 1-1-40

THE SAME OLD STORY

If there is anything that can bear limitless repetition, it is truth and the precept that we should stick to it. That is why Gandhiji is never tired of repeating the gospel of the charkha and his precept to us to be true to ourselves. The Nagpur Congressmen and volunteers, who have been camping here for some days, requested him to give them an hour, knowing, I am sure, that he would give them the same message. But a thing when it is repeated by one who believes in it with all his heart and soul never loses but rather gains by repetition. The Nagpur Congressmen and volunteers seemed to have recognised this, for having had an hour from Gandhiji at Wardha they again asked for some time from him when they came to Segaon.

But to dispose of the questions they asked at the Wardha meeting. One of the things that seemed to trouble them was how, if it was wrong to offer Satyagraha to an opponent in difficulty, we could ever offer it against the British Government for, so long as the present war continued, they were bound to be in difficulty.

This was Gandhiji's reply: Satyagraha is a universal principle of which civil disobedience is one of the many applications. Satyagraha goes on no matter whether the opponent is in difficulty or not, for offered in the proper spirit it is service of the opponent. What is essential is that we should not embarrass an opponent who is in difficulty and make his difficulty our opportunity. That is why civil disobedience, which can be applied only under certain conditions and circumstances, may not

be applied against an opponent in difficulty. Civil disobedience is not the law of life; Satyagraha is. Satyagraha, therefore, never ceases; civil disobedience can cease and ought to when there is no occasion for it. Then there are two kinds of civil disobedience — aggressive and defensive. Defensive civil disobedience becomes a duty when insult or humiliation is imposed upon us by an opponent. That duty would have to be done whether the opponent is in difficulty or not. An opponent in difficulty may not expect people to obey unjust or humiliating laws or orders. Aggressive civil disobedience embarrasses the opponent, whether we mean to embarrass him or not. Travelling in a railway train without a ticket — assuming for a moment that it is civil disobedience, which it is not — would be taboo for it would be merely to embarrass the opponent. In brief, there is nothing which being normally justifiable and conducive to Swaraj would be taboo even if it seems to embarrass the opponent. To do what is morally necessary and beneficial is a duty and quite a different thing from that which may not be morally indefensible but calculated to vex and embarrass an opponent in difficulty. To make his difficulty one's opportunity is in no case justifiable.

Another question was: What do you mean by saying that direct action will be a prelude to the Constituent Assembly?

Gandhiji: I do not remember having either said or written this. It is likely that you have torn something from its context. All that I have said is that we may have to go through the fire of civil resistance in order to win India's freedom, and even that I am straining every nerve to avoid. The Constituent Assembly is a prelude to independence and a natural prelude. It has been suggested as a means to obviate all clash of communal and class interest. Its main function is to draw up the charter of independence. Direct action would be necessary when all progress towards independence becomes impossible and all negotiations with the Government prove fruitless.

The third question was: When the M. L. A.s are now unemployed, why should they accept their monthly allowances?

Gandhiji: I have no doubt that they ought not to draw these allowances. It is no use our saying it is Government money. There is nothing that belongs to Government. There are people who when they go to jail make all kinds of demands and do not hesitate to misuse jail property. But they forget that the jails and everything there belongs to us, and that we have to make a sparing use of those things as we do of what we call ours. I have, therefore, no doubt that allowances should not be taken and, if they must be, they should be handed to the Congress office. It is an essentially moral question to be considered by every Congressman. We would enhance our prestige if we decide not to

draw these allowances. I have hitherto refrained from expressing my opinion because I felt that it might be against the general trend of Congress opinion. But now that you have raised the question I would ask you to approach the Congress President and the Working Committee.

These questions answered, Gandhiji said:

"I must now come to my favourite theme. To take the question of communal unity first. The essence of it is to give to all communities what is their due without their asking or having to fight for it. Satyagraha, as I have said, is the law of life. It begins not by assertion of rights but by correct recognition of the rights of our neighbours. As regards the Harijans I would put up with their kicks and worse, if they should choose to resort to them. For it will take time for them to be convinced that, having used them ill for centuries, we shall now treat them as blood brothers.

"To come to the charkha, my pet obsession, I am not going to be content until you act truly. As I came in I heard you haggling about 640 yards or 640 rounds (i.e. 840 yards). This will not do. We have to set the charkha humming in every home and khadi must become universal. The sure proof that spinning has become universal will be afforded by the fact that khadi becomes current coin. I am thankful that the country will not think of launching civil disobedience until I as general give the signal for it. I shall not give the signal until my conditions are fulfilled. We need 200 crores of rupees worth of cloth. How much do we produce today on our wheels and looms? Not more than a crore of rupees worth. How then can I be satisfied by your promise to spin 100 or even 200 yards a day?

"If people insist on wearing khadi exclusively, they will be content with even a loin cloth if no more khadi is available. I should be content even with that predicament if we cannot produce all the cloth we need. But I am sure that, if the demand is there, there will be an automatic supply. The universalisation will come if we are all true. But the fact is that those who profess to believe in khadi will not work for it. Maulana Mahomed Ali, when he declared that our yarn cones were the bullets with which we would win Swaraj, uttered a great truth and explained for all time the meaning of winning Swaraj non-violently."

There were other questions which I omit for the time being. When these friends came to Segaon, Gandhiji returned to the same theme. He asked them individually how many knew how to spin, how many were regular spinners and so on, and said:

"I am asking you all these questions because I want you all to be true. We have professed to believe in spinning all these years. We have the flag ceremony everywhere and on stated days. The flag is made of khadi, and the wheel occupies the central place on it. We are dis-

loyal to it so long as we do not strain every nerve to spread the message of the charkha. We have now to prove our loyalty by our concrete action. The general of a violent army insists on certain qualifications to be satisfied by his soldiers. May not I, the general of our non-violent army, insist on my soldiers being true to their creed? I suggest to you that, if you will all be true to the creed, there will be no surplus khadi in the khadi shops, there will be no unemployment, and there will be no mill cloth, foreign or indigenous. You do not want me to say anything more, do you?"

Segaon, 31-12-39

M. D.

[Gandhiji's talks to the Congressmen who came to Wardha from surrounding places were not meant for publication. But as incomplete and inaccurate paragraphs have crept into the press, it has been thought advisable to give the foregoing summary. M. D.]

HARIJAN TEMPLE ENTRANTS IN HISTORY

(Continued from the last issue)

The stones had badly bruised him all over the body, but he did not feel any pain, for he had cast all his burdens on God long since.

तेषां शिलाप्रहारेण न काचिदपि वेदनाम् ।

अगादुपरतक्रोधो न्यस्तमारः श्रियः पतौ ॥ ९४ ॥

The scene of the wrathful Brahmans persecuting the unoffending devotee, however, haunted Saranga's mind, and he dreamt one night he saw Ranganath who said: 'Tiruppani is my devotee. Do not labour under the impression that he or for that matter any man whosoever is low or degraded. Bring Tiruppani to me here in the temple with due respect.

सारङ्गयोगिनः स्वप्ने प्रसन्नः प्रत्यभाषत ।

श्रीपाणं मामकं विप्रं तं निरुष्टं न चिन्तय ॥ १०० ॥

.....भक्त्या प्रापयस्व मदन्तिकम् ॥ १०१ ॥

The next morning Saranga went to the place where Tiruppani stood singing and fell at his feet.

रुताह्निकः संप्रतस्थे श्रीपाणो यत्र वर्तते ॥ १०३ ॥...

दृष्ट्वा सारङ्गयोगीन्द्रस्तं स भागवतोत्तमम् ।

दीर्घप्रणामं साष्टाङ्गं चक्रे तस्य पदाब्जयोः ॥ १०५ ॥

He then told him all about his dream and asked him to go with him to the temple. But Tiruppani pleaded his wickedness and unfitness to tread the holy ground of Shrirangam.

रङ्गेशेन यदुक्तं तत्सर्वं तस्मै न्यवेदयत् ॥ १०८ ॥...

श्रीपाणः प्राञ्जलिभूत्वा तमुवाच द्विजोत्तमम् ॥ १०९ ॥

मातङ्गनेर्द्धं महामागं पदभ्यां श्रीरङ्गमुत्तमम् ।

स्थष्टुं नाहमि तेनायं प्रवेष्टुं नोत्तरे ध्रुवम् ॥ ११० ॥

Saranga was not, however, thus to be put off. He said, 'Never mind, you need not touch holy ground with your feet; I will carry you there on my shoulders.'

प्रतिगृह्य स तद्वाक्यं सारङ्गमुनिरब्रवीत् ।

अतश्चेन्मम दासस्य कुरु स्कन्धाधिरोग्गमम् ॥ १११ ॥

Thus was Tiruppani carried to the temple in triumph with Brahmans before him reciting Vedic mantras and Vaishnavas reciting prabandhas in the rear.

तदा सारङ्गयोगीन्द्रः स्कन्धाभ्यां भगवत्परः ।
उवाह भक्त्या श्रियाणं रङ्गेर्षां सगराडिव ॥ ११४ ॥
प्रबन्धाभ्ययनं पश्चाद् वेदपारायणं पुरः ।
वैष्णवा ब्राह्मणाश्चक्रुस्तस्य श्रीरङ्गशासनात् ॥ ११५ ॥

Tiruppani on this memorable occasion composed ten verses, which only are the extant portion of his literary work.

तदानुभवसंजातप्रमत्तिशयहेतुना ॥ ११० ॥
तमेवार्थं समुद्भूत्य रङ्गेशानुभवोद्भवम् ।
संगृह्य दशगद्याभिर्जगत्संरक्षणाय च ॥ १११ ॥
चकारामलनाथाख्यं प्रबन्धं द्राविडं महत् ॥ ११२ ॥

Saranga Muni was the first Hindu in history to take a Harijan into a temple. The second was Ramanuja, but in his case, in consonance with his own dignity and the nature of the service rendered him by the unknown Harijan soldier, it was no longer the entry of one individual but it was entry *en masse*, as we shall see in the second section.

(To be concluded)

V. G. D.

A TISSUE OF "FOUL AND ABOMINABLE LIES"

The leader-writer of *The Statesman* takes exception to the statement in the Independence Pledge that British rule has ruined India politically, economically, culturally and spiritually, and calls it a foul and abominable lie. For us Congressmen it is only a commonplace truth experienced in daily life. But let me cite for the benefit of the writer and those who think like him some impartial testimony.

As for the economic ruin of India under British rule, we would advise the writer to look up Major Basu's *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries*, and especially to ponder over the following passage from the pen of Professor Horace Hayman Wilson:

"The history of the trade of cotton cloths with India...is...a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she had become dependent. It was stated in evidence that the cotton and silk goods of India up to this period (1813) could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from fifty to sixty per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of seventy and eighty per cent on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had not this been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and of Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and would scarcely have been set in motion by the powers of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacturer. Had India been

independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods, and thus would have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

Our people have been condemned to enforced idleness and starvation since our greatest national industry was thus ruthlessly destroyed.

And spiritual degradation is a necessary consequence of alien rule. As old Homer put it, a man loses half his virtue when he loses his birthright of freedom. And Homer's insight into things is supported by the up-to-date conclusions of the modern science of sociology. Professor E. A. Ross writes in his *Principles of Sociology*:

"Subjection to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of the decay of national character. Take for example the Hindus. A Greek writer Arrian declares that 'they are remarkably brave, superior in war to all Asiatics; they are remarkable for simplicity and integrity, so reasonable as never to have recourse to a law suit and so honest as neither to require locks to their doors nor writings to bind their agreements. No Indian was ever known to tell an untruth.' This portrays the precise opposite of modern Hindu character, and the change can be accounted for only by the long subjection of the race by the foreigner... Even a domination which is just and benevolent may stunt the spiritual growth of a people... The elite of the Hindus feel that the alien domination has a blighting effect upon the higher life of the people of India."*

V. G. D.

*Quoted in Major Basu's *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, p. 15.

Mahatma Gandhi

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, JANUARY 13, 1940

[ONE ANNA

Notes

Another Harijan Sevak Gone

I regret to have to report the death of Shri Venkatasubbaiya, an old member of the Servants of India Society. He was the secretary of the Madras Harijan Sevak Sangh. He was a most unassuming and conscientious worker. He never spared himself in anything he took up. He was of a retiring nature. His opposition to untouchability was uncompromising. His death is a distinct loss to the Harijan cause. I tender my condolences to the deceased reformer's family.

Afflicted Turkey

The threefold calamity that has descended upon Turkey has commanded universal sympathy. President Inönü has gracefully acknowledged numerous messages of sympathy sent to him from India. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has issued an appeal for funds for the sufferers. It is to be hoped that the appeal will receive an enthusiastic response from the public. A correspondent has suggested the despatch of a medical mission to Turkey in order to relieve the sufferings of the distressed Turks. The idea is worthy of consideration. If a mission is to be sent at all, it should be a national mission, not sectarian. In the face of the triple calamity all differences of religion must be sunk. Human distress knows no distinctions. Such unprecedented distress as Turkey has experienced makes one realise the oneness of the human family. This visitation should humble and chasten us. It should enable Hindus and Muslims to sink their differences and make them realise that though they profess different faiths they are all children of the same God, and as such it is theirs to live in perfect fellowship with one another.

A Wise Step

The Hyderabad State Congress has had great difficulty in functioning. The State would not recognise it as a constitutional body so long as it continued to style itself Congress, although it has no affiliation with the Indian National Congress. The word is nobody's monopoly. It is a common word used by many organisations in the world. But somehow or other the National Congress has become anathema in many States. Therefore the word itself has become suspect in Hyderabad. The matter was referred by the leaders to me, and I had no hesitation in advising them that there was no virtue in merely fighting

for the name if their lawful activities were not otherwise interfered with. The leaders after correspondence with the authorities have acted according to my advice and adopted the name Hyderabad National Conference. Thus all's well that ends well. I hope that the Conference will concentrate on the many constructive activities that are healthful and necessary for mass uplift and consciousness. They should find the authorities co-operating whole-heartedly with them in such work. Their goal of responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam remains the same as before. I am sure every activity that promotes co-operation among the people, their education and their economic and social uplift brings them nearer their goal in a most solid manner one can think of.

Three Items

The Harijan Sevak Sangh has been for some time issuing a monthly circular letter containing a brief account of the Sangh's activities. Like Bapa, its secretary, the letter is businesslike. I take from the interesting letter for November and December the following three most interesting items:

(1) "History was made at Munyali, a Harijan village near Nand Prayag, when a Harijan bride was carried in a *dandi* (palanquin) for the first time in the locality with the consent of the Caste Hindus.

(2) It is understood that the work of the Committee appointed by the last Congress Government for inquiry into the wages and living conditions of the sweepers has been suspended by the present Governor's Government.

(3) The Report of the Municipal Sweepers' Inquiry Committee, appointed by the C. P. Government in 1938 under the chairmanship of Shri A. V. Thakkar, has been published. Among the important recommendations are (1) a minimum wage of 4 As. per day, (2) an eight hours' working day, (3) employment of Welfare Officers for big Municipalities, and (4) granting of privilege, casual and sick leave, and half holiday on week-ends. Regarding the housing of sweepers the Committee recommends as follows: 1. It should be obligatory on the Municipal Committee to provide houses to sweepers. 2. The Government should provide Nazul land for the purpose. The report costs Re. 1 and can be had from the Government Press, Nagpur."

When the taking of a Harijan bride in a *dandi* makes history we know how far we are from root and branch removal of untouchability

For the expiation of their sin against humanity the so-called Caste Hindus should make it a point of themselves carrying in *dandis* Harijan brides in villages in all parts of India.

I hope the report in the item two is wrong, or that there is a sound reason for suspending the inquiry. One had hoped that no lawful activity inaugurated by the Congress ministries would be stopped or suspended by the interim Governments.

The recommendations (item three) of the Municipal Sweepers' Inquiry Committee (C. P.) are so sensible and moderate that there should be no delay in their being carried out in their entirety. The report should not share the fate that befalls many such reports, i. e. of being shelved. It should be remembered that Thakkar Bapa's was a labour of love. He does not put his hands to anything for praise or show.

Segaon, 8-1-40

M. K. G.

A MAHARAJA SPEAKS

The Maharaja Sahab of Bikaner loves to appear before his people and the world as the Warrior Prince. His speech in proposing the toast of "Victory to the Empire", at the banquet held on the New Year's Day in his capital, has been described by a press wag as a 'war whoop' and has provided a theme to the genius of at least one cartoonist. It, however, contains some commendable sentiments which are all the more welcome after some of his recent utterances which, to say the least, were unfortunate. His plea for mutual understanding and removal of distrust, his reiteration of his faith in an 'undivided and united India' and the goal of Swaraj, will be warmly endorsed by every patriotic Indian. But he did not stop there. He went out of his way to charge the Congress with striking a 'jarring note' "notwithstanding all the efforts of His Majesty's Government and of His Excellency the Viceroy to secure the co-operation of all parties and interests in India". The kernel of his speech was contained in the following sentences:

"It is further to be hoped that the feeling of distrust and hostility which unfortunately mars the political atmosphere in India may disappear, making it possible at no distant date to achieve Dominion Status which must be our goal and which has been promised to us definitely. But I am bound to add that it is necessary that the benefits of such a development should be assured to all alike, and be not the exclusive monopoly of any one political party or community, and that it should be shared to the fullest extent and in the most fair manner possible by all classes and communities, with all their rights and interests adequately and definitely safeguarded, and without any one party dominating the other. In this must also be included the Indian States, which enjoy a position of unchallengeable equality with the rest of India and which constitute a very important part of it."

One wishes that the Maharaja Sahab had shown

a better appreciation of the scruples of those who have learnt to weigh all issues in the scale of moral values. In his speech he proudly referred to himself and the Princely order to which he belongs as 'us of the Empire'. One wonders if he realised that Britain has openly repudiated imperialism and today claims to be engaged in fighting the battle of democracy in the world. The Princely order are never tired of proclaiming their loyalty to Britain. That loyalty would be little worth if it were confined to merely making contributions from their general State revenues to Britain's war chest and sending their unfranchised subjects to the front. Men who are still in bondage can make but poor instruments for fighting the fight for democracy. We are living in an era of moral values. The assiduous efforts that are being made by both the sides in the present fight to win and keep with them the world's conscience is a proof of it. Loyalty to Britain, therefore, must include loyalty to its declared aims and ideals. Judged by this criterion where do the Princely order stand today? How far have they loyally and faithfully carried out the ideals and policies presented to them by the Paramount Power?

Over forty years ago, in a memorable speech at Gwalior, Lord Curzon declared:

"The native Prince cannot remain vis-a-vis of the Empire, a loyal subject of H. E. H. the King Emperor, and vis-a-vis of his own people, a frivolous and irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him. He must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as he is honest, and that his gadi is not intended to be a divan of indulgence, but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not be merely known on the polo ground or on the race course or in the European hotel. His real work, his Princely duty, lies among his own people. By this standard shall I at any rate judge him. By this test will he in the long run as a political institution perish or survive."

Pronouncements affirming the above policy and embodying the above principle have been made too by Lords Hardinge, Northbrook, and Harris, Cranbrook, Mayo, Chelmsford and Reading. A little over a quarter of a century after Lord Curzon the Irwin Memorandum circulated to Indian States made some recommendations that have been described as a model of sound and friendly advice to the Princes. "There must be a reign of law and order," advised the Memorandum, "based either expressly or tacitly on the broad goodwill of the community. Individual liberty and rights must be protected; and the equality of all the members of the State before the law be recognised." To secure this "a strong and competent judiciary secure from arbitrary interference by the Executive and irremovable so long as they do their duty" was to be maintained. Taxation was to be "light as circumstances permit."

easy of collection and certain and proportionate to the means of the taxpayer to pay." "The personal expenditure of the ruler should be," it was wisely stated, "as moderate as will suffice to maintain his position and dignity," so that "as large a proportion as possible of the State revenues may be available for the development of the community."... The Princes were further advised that "there should be some effective means of ascertaining the needs and desires of their subjects and of keeping close touch between the Government and the governed."

In response to the Irwin Memorandum, in February 1928, the Chamber of Princes passed a resolution which urged upon the Princes:

"(a) A definite Code of Law guaranteeing liberty of persons and safety of property, administered by a judiciary independent of the Executive.

(b) The settlement upon a reasonable basis of the purely personal expenditure of a Ruler as distinguished from the public charges of administration."

How many of the 562 Princes, that constitute the Princely order and on whose behalf the Maharaja Saheb spoke, may one ask, have carried out the recommendations made in the Irwin Memorandum which were very properly called "the minimum of good government applicable to all States", or even the resolution passed by their own Chamber? "The utter disregard" shown by the majority of the Princes in carrying out the terms of the Chamber's resolution has provoked some candid comments from a member of their own order who characterised it as a "political blunder" calculated "to weaken their position at least from a moral point of view."* According to figures embodied in the Butler Committee's Report, only in 56 States even an attempt has been made to have a fixed Privy purse for the Prince. The Butler Committee found that many of the States had no properly arranged archives, and one is afraid that not many of the budget and other financial statements issued by the various States would stand the test of an independent system of auditing and account, with the result that actual cost to the States people of maintaining the institution of royalty is much higher than is shown by the amounts allotted under the head, Privy purse. Even so the following figures gleaned by Shri P. L. Chudgar from the published reports of the various States, of percentage that palace and personal expense of the Prince bears to the total revenue, are revealing: Kashmir 20; Bikaner 20; Indore 17; Alwar 25; Patiala 25; Kapurthala 25; Cutch 25; Nawanagar 45.

Coming to the question of civil liberties and representative institutions, although the number of States that have constituted High Courts "more or less on British Indian models" is set down in the Butler Committee's Report as 40, that of States that have separated executive from judicial

function and set up legislative councils respectively as 34 and 30, the fact remains, as has been pointed out by Prof. Arthur Keith, that "in no case is there a State constitution which is binding on the rulers", and that in the vast majority of States "there is nothing corresponding to the rule of law as it prevails in British India," so that, when the Government of India Act was drafted, "it was found impossible to provide for a statement of fundamental rights, since these could not be accepted by the States."

Take the case of Bikaner itself. Following the recommendations of the League of Nations, the British Government agreed to the abolition of "slavery and conditions and practices analogous to serfdom" throughout the British Empire. All forced labour including the system of *begar*, i. e. 'unpaid or underpaid labour', was likewise to be abolished forthwith. Has it been done in the Bikaner State? Are not practically all Harijan classes in the State still made to render *begar* or 'forced labour'? Are not conditions approximating to slavery and serfdom still rampant there? We dare say that a commission of inquiry to ascertain the legal status *de jure* and *de facto* of such sections as *daroga*, *chela* and *ravana* would not be unfruitful of results.

The Maharaja Saheb claimed for the States an unchallengeable equality with the rest of India, and demanded that the benefits accruing from India's new political status should be shared by all alike and not be the exclusive monopoly of any political party or community. That is precisely what the Congress stands for. Surely, the expression 'States' includes States subjects. Let the Princes come forward as real trustees and servants of their people, as Lord Curzon expected them to be, as Gandhiji is again today entreating them to become; let them transform themselves into constitutional monarchs even as the British sovereign is, extend to their people the same elementary political rights as are enjoyed by their neighbours in British India; and they may then, if they can, win the goodwill and confidence of the electors become the moulders of the destiny not only of their subjects but of the whole of India. That is the greatest service that they can render in the present crisis to themselves, their country and the Paramount Power to whom they have sworn undying loyalty.

Segaon, 9-1-40

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* Maharaja Kumar Raghubir Singh: *Indian States*, p. 89

H A R I J A N

Jan. 13

1940

THE CHARKHA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"THE EAST BOWED LOW BEFORE THE BLAST
IN PATIENT DEEP DISDAIN,
SHE LET THE THUNDERING LEGIONS PAST
AND PLUNGED IN THOUGHT AGAIN."

I congratulate the Socialists, the Royists and others who have spoken out their minds on spinning. The situation that faces the country is most serious. If civil resistance is declared in right earnest, there should be no suspension unless there is a proper settlement. It therefore follows that, if the fight is to be non-violent, the non-violence must be unadulterated. I must not be weak in my statement of the requirements. If I hesitate, I would betray the national cause. I dare not lead an army that, does not answer the qualifications which I regard as essential for success.

No half-hearted allegiance will do. Divided allegiance will lead to disaster. The critics should realise that I have not imposed myself on the Congress. I am no dictator though I have been given that nickname by unkind friends. I have no sanction for imposing my will on any person. Therefore I call myself truly a servant of the people. The public should know that I have not even been formally appointed 'Generalissimo'. Not that the Working Committee would not give me the formal appointment. But I suggested and the members agreed that there was no necessity for it. Thus if ever there can be a bond of unmixed love and confidence between a general and his men, this is such a one. There is nothing to prevent the Congress from ignoring me and passing any resolution it likes. There is nothing so far as I am concerned to prevent any person or any province or district from declaring civil disobedience at his or its own risk. They will be guilty of indiscipline towards the Congress. But I can do nothing in regard to such insubordination.

Hence it should be unnecessary for me to argue out the case for spinning. It should be enough that it is the requirement that every satyagrahi has to fulfil.

But I must continue to argue till I convert opponents or I own defeat. For my mission is to convert every Indian whether he is a Hindu, Muslim or any other, even Englishmen and finally the world, to non-violence for regulating mutual relations whether political, economic, social or religious. If I am accused of being too ambitious, I should plead guilty. If I am told that my dream can never materialise, I would answer 'that is possible,' and go my way. I am a seasoned soldier of non-violence, and I have

evidence enough to sustain my faith. Whether, therefore, I have one comrade or more or none, I must continue my experiment.

The first thing I would like co-workers to realise is that I have no hate in me for a single Englishman. I am not interested in driving him out of India. I am interested in converting him into a servant of India instead of his being and believing himself to be a ruler or a member of the ruling race. I feel towards him precisely as I feel towards an Indian, no matter what his faith may be. Therefore those who do not share this elementary quality with me, cannot become co-satyagrahis.

My love of Englishmen is not of the drawing room type. No one has painted their imperialism in more lurid colours than perhaps I have. But then I have done likewise in my domestic as also political circle. The love of my conception, if it is as soft as a rose petal, can also be harder than flint. My wife has had to experience the hard variety. My eldest son is experiencing it even now. I had thought I had gained Subhas Babu for all time as a son. I have fallen from grace. I had the pain of wholly associating myself with the ban pronounced on him. Time was when Dr. Khare and Vir Nariman used to say that my word was law for them. Alas, I can no longer claim that authority. Anyway I was party to the disciplinary measures taken against them. I maintain that I have acted towards them as I have acted towards those who are considered nearest and dearest to me. In all my dealings love has dictated my actions. Even so have I acted towards Englishmen. Of course they have called me all kinds of names when I have fought them. Their bitter criticism of me had as much effect on me as their praise. I say all this not to claim or expect any certificate of merit. I want to show that because I have said hard things about British rule and methods ill-will against Englishmen must not be imputed to me. Those, therefore, who are filled with ill-will against them will find me a misfit in the end.

I am enunciating no new ideas here. They are to be found in *Indian Home Rule* (*Hind Swaraj*) which was written in 1908 when the technique of satyagraha was still in process of formation. The charkha had become part of this programme of love. As I was picturing life based on non-violence, I saw that it must be reduced to the simplest terms consistent with high thinking. Food and raiment will always remain the prime necessities of life. Life itself becomes impossible if these two are not assured. For non-violent defence, therefore, society has to be so constructed that its members may be able as far as possible to look after themselves in the face of an invasion from without or disturbances within. Just as a domestic kitchen is the easiest thing in such circumstances, the takli or at most the spinning wheel and the loom are the simplest possessions for the manufacture of cloth. Society

based on non-violence can only consist of groups settled in villages in which voluntary co-operation is the condition of dignified and peaceful existence. A society which anticipates and provides for meeting violence with violence will either lead a precarious life or create big cities and magazines for defence purposes. It is not unreasonable to presume from the state of Europe that its cities, its monster factories and huge armaments are so intimately interrelated that the one cannot exist without the other. The nearest approach to civilisation based upon non-violence is the erstwhile village republic of India. I admit that it was very crude. I know that there was in it no non-violence of my definition and conception. But the germ was there. All I have said may be pure folly. It behoves me as a faithful servant of the nation not to hide my folly. There is no doubt that we are on the eve of a big change. I hope it will be for the better, but it may be also for the worse. I must have the courage to share with my co-workers my innermost thoughts even though I may risk the loss of their co-operation.

To resume the argument. It is from that germ that I have developed the technique of non-violence. If the charkha can bear the ample interpretation I have put upon it, it becomes the most effective weapon in the armoury of satyagraha. The weak thread from the wheel binds the millions in an unbreakable cord. One yard of the thread may be useless, but millions of unending threads spun by willing and knowing hands will make a cord strong enough to bear any strain that may be put upon it. But between 1908 and 1914 the idea remained dormant. The whole scheme was conceived for India. Nevertheless the spirit of it was worked out even in South Africa. The life of the satyagrahis there was reduced to simplest terms. Whether barristers or others, they learnt the dignity of labour. They accepted voluntary poverty as their lot in life and identified themselves with the poor. On my arrival in India I began single-handed to work for revival of the charkha. In 1921 khadi became one of the chief items of the constructive programme of the Congress. The charkha occupied the centre of the Congress flag with its vital connection with non-violence. I am, therefore, today saying nothing new. But as has often happened people have passed by what I have said until they have been compelled to take action.

I have great regard for all the comrades who have been writing against the charkha and its implications. They are rendering a service by guiding the country according to their lights. I do not want their mechanical assent to my requirements. I should take it if it served the national purpose, but I know that it cannot.

I must here consider Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's letter to *The Times of India*. I know we have had political differences practically since my return to India in 1915. He is an eminent

lawyer. But that no more entitles him to give an authoritative opinion on the economy of the charkha than on the use of infantry in modern warfare. I invite him to study the literature that has grown round it. I promise that he will revise his opinion on its potency. May I also remind him that I claim many mill-owners among my friends? They know my views about mills. They know too that I have had a share in promoting the prosperity of our mills in relation to foreign mills. Sir Chimanlal should also know that I am guiding the policy of the largest and most powerful labour union in all India. My opposition to the mills is unbending and uncompromising. But it is wholly non-violent, and I make bold to say that the mill-owners will be the first to give me that certificate. My connection with the mills is a happy and complete illustration of non-violent resistance. I need not be reminded that they pamper me because they know that my activity cannot touch them. I flatter myself with the belief that they know better. They know that, if with my fixed views about mills I had violent intentions about them, my activity could cause so much trouble that they would be obliged to treat me as an enemy and to summon the assistance of the law against me.

But I like Sir Chimanlal's challenge to the ex-ministers. Let them speak.

Segaon, 9-1-40

WORLD CONSCIENCE THE SUPREME ARBITER

Thus began an English reporter who came the other day to interview Gandhiji: There seems to be a deadlock coming, indeed if one does not already exist. Cannot we take advantage of a nominated group of a really representative character to come to some sort of an agreed solution?

Gandhiji: A nominated group of a really representative character is a contradiction in terms. Such a group can only represent the nominator. For the purpose of discussion the nominator would be finally the Viceroy. You will not call such a group one of a really representative character. If you have in mind a small number of representatives, I for one would accept only one representative, say Jinnah Sahab, provided he is elected by the free vote of the millions as, say, is the President of the U. S. A.

Reporter: Would you really?

Gandhiji: Why not? Is there any flaw in this statement? I claim to be the greatest democrat of modern times. My faith is built on non-violence and therefore I have faith in human nature.

Reporter: But while the minorities are deadly opposed to a Constituent Assembly, can you offer them this form of representation now with any hope of their accepting the position?

Gandhiji: Anyone who objects to the right thing, puts himself in the wrong. British statesmen have induced the belief that they want to

end the imperialistic system and treat those under them as free. Having induced that belief the Congress naturally wanted to test its sincerity. The answer must, therefore, be irrespective of what India wants or does not want. Now the question arises to whom is the answer to be given. If there were a rebel power trying to seize the reins of government, it would be the rebel power. But here there is no rebellion. The Congress is the main organisation. But I confess that in view of rival organisations, power cannot be transferred to it. If then Britain is to make good her declaration, she can easily do it by summoning a Constituent Assembly of elected representatives and enforce the constitution framed by it. Representatives of minorities will frame safeguards for their protection. It is possible that even the representatives may fail to reach a constitution acceptable to an overwhelming majority, including safeguards for minorities. Even so, Britain will have proved her *bona fides*. I hold, however, that a properly elected assembly is bound to produce a workable constitution.

Reporter: Supposing a referendum were taken and it was found that a Constituent Assembly was not wanted, would you accept the verdict?

Gandhiji: I must.

Reporter: If a generally accepted scheme is prepared by nominated persons, would you accept it? Or do you object to nomination as such?

Gandhiji: There is no meaning in my acceptance or rejection. Acceptance to be valid must be by a properly elected body. It takes the place of the existing Government or their nominee or nominees.

Reporter: Supposing you could be sure of achieving democracy through a nominated assembly, would you reject it? Why not wait and see what form of nomination could be offered?

Gandhiji: I would always suspect nomination, for it can never satisfy all. Election is the only satisfactory method. In spite of Congress claim and boast the Congress is an organisation representing only 3 million voters out of a population of over 300 millions. Therefore the Secretary of State would be justified if he said that the Congress was not representative of the whole nation. And therefore the Congress challenges all to go to the people. Even the Princes can as individuals, and so can Europeans domiciled in India. That they will not is not our fault.

Reporter: What place would you assign to the Princes in democratic India?

Gandhiji: I would give them a fat commission as trustees of their people. I would say to them, however, that they must work for this commission. They would have the same privileges as the British King enjoys. They are after all his vassals. They cannot be greater than he. The King of England cannot hang a man. He can only act through proper channels. He is a private citizen, though the first one. If I can like monarchy at all, I would like the limited

monarchy of England. And why should not the people of the States determine what they want? As far as justice for the people is concerned, I have already said that their supreme courts must be subject to the High Court of India.

Reporter: Might it not be that the English form of democracy will be unsuited to India?

Gandhiji: That is for the Constituent Assembly to decide. The time when self-styled representatives or nominees could decide for India is gone for ever.

Reporter: Do you think the Assembly would suggest an economic form of democracy?

Gandhiji: I give the Assembly credit for sanity. So far as I can see this is the best method. But if a better can be produced, I would accept it.

Reporter: May it not be that, while Britain is sincere, the delay is due to the terrible situation of war in which she finds herself today?

Gandhiji: I have not lost faith in their sincerity and that is why I am still wooing them. I am wooing my own people to build up their power. I am preparing for a fight, if it must come, but I am doing my level best to stave it off. I believe that Britain's past is responsible for all the prevailing dissensions.

Reporter: What if Britain lost the war?

Gandhiji: I would be sorry if Britain lost. But I would not feel helpless. Supposing Russia, Germany, Italy and Japan formed a combination to seize India, I should not feel perturbed if India, as a whole, had accepted non-violence as her fixed policy. Through non-cooperation India could defy any combination. So you see my sympathy for Britain is absolutely selfless. If Britain is really right, God will inspire her to make the declaration about India and put herself right with India. I do not wish Britain to win right or wrong. If India were wrong, India must perish. I have often said that Hinduism will perish if Hinduism allows the practice of untouchability to remain. I would go so far as to pray for India's destruction if she went wrong, even as Stead prayed for England's defeat in the Boer War. In spite of all her great resources it is wrong on Britain's part to strain too much her faith in her strong arm. I rejoice that she still prays to the God of love and not to the God of gunpowder, and therefore I still hope that she will call to her aid the moral support of a free India. She gets today material support from India because she is a dependency. What I want Britain to do is to get the moral support of India and win. Would to God that the war ended on a moral issue and the conscience of the world became the final arbiter! That can only happen if Britain had the moral support of a free India. Anyway that is my view.

Segaon, 7-1-40

A. K.

Mahatma Gandhi

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A TALK WITH CHRISTIAN FRIENDS

In an essay the very Reverend Dean Inge wrote during the last war, he showed that the founder of the Christian religion had a horror of labels. He cared nothing whether a man was a Jew or a Samaritan, Roman or Greek. He did not exalt *ipso facto* those who said "Lord, Lord" above the Scribes and Pharisees. He founded no Church. "The maxim *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus* (outside the Church there is no salvation), observed the Dean, "is the most unChristian of all doctrines, except *Melius est ut unus pereat quam unitas* (It is better that one man perish than unity)." I was forcefully reminded of these remarks of the Reverend Dean as I listened to the arguments of some Christian friends who visited Segaoon during the first week of this month. One of them, a professor from the South, was developing before Gandhiji the case for conversion from a Christian missionary's standpoint. "As a Christian," he began, "I believe that God himself entered the world in the form of Jesus Christ. I place Jesus Christ in the position of God-man. He differs from all other prophets not in degree only but in kind. He is God incarnate and the only incarnation of God." "I know," he proceeded, "Hindus and Muslims, so long as they are Hindus and Muslims, cannot share this position. But as a servant of Jesus Christ and his gospel I can hold no other. The Christ founded a visible organic society on earth, not merely an invisible bond of union in sacrament. I claim the right to preach the truth of Jesus Christ by word and life. I must pray that the hearts of all people may behold in Jesus God incarnate and be led to enter His visible Church. And so the Christians strive and labour to that end. This right of propagation of the gospel is part of our religious freedom. Will you under Swaraj allow Christians to go on with their proselytising activity without any hindrance?" He paused for a reply.

"No legal hindrance," replied Gandhiji, "can be put in the way of any Christian or of anybody preaching for the acceptance of his doctrine."

The visitor was anxious to know whether the freedom they were having under the British regime would be allowed them under the national Government without any interference.

"I can't answer that question categorically," replied Gandhiji, "because I do not know what is exactly allowed and what is not allowed under the British regime today. That is a legal question. Besides, what is permitted may not necessarily be the same thing as what is *permissible* under the law. All, therefore, I can say is that you should enjoy all the freedom you are entitled to under the law today."

Gandhiji's visitor said, "Our position is that holding the viewpoint that we do, we cannot give up our mission work as we are today carrying it out, even under persecution. Some of us are under an apprehension that they may have

hereafter to labour under such disabilities. Is there any guarantee that such a thing would not happen?"

"As I wrote in *Harijan*," replied Gandhiji, "you do not seem to realise that Christians are today enjoying privileges because they are Christians. The moment a person here turns Christian, he becomes a *Saheb log*. He almost changes his nationality. He gets a job and position which he could not have otherwise got. He adopts foreign dress and ways of living. He cuts himself off from his own people and begins to fancy himself a limb of the ruling class. What the Christians are afraid of losing therefore, is not their rights but anomalous privileges."

The visitor admitted the truth of Gandhiji's remarks, but assured him that whatever might have been the case in the past Christians as a class no longer wished to retain any exceptional privileges.

Another missionary friend recalling Gandhiji's well-known objection to the prevailing proselytising practices chimed in: "Why may not I share with others my experience of Jesus Christ which has given me such an ineffable peace?"

"Because," replied Gandhiji, "you cannot possibly say that what is best for you is best for all. Quinine may be the only means of saving life in your case, but a dangerous poison in the case of another. And again, is it not super-arrogation to assume that you alone possess the key to spiritual joy and peace, and that an adherent of a different faith cannot get the same in equal measure from a study of his scriptures? I enjoy a peace and equanimity of spirit which has excited the envy of many Christian friends. I have got it principally through the Gita.

"Your difficulty lies in your considering the other faiths as false or so adulterated as to amount to falsity. And you shut your eyes to the truth that shines in the other faiths and which gives equal joy and peace to their votaries. I have not hesitated, therefore, to recommend to my Christian friends a prayerful and sympathetic study of the other scriptures of the world. I can give my own humble testimony that, whilst such study has enabled me to give the same respect to them that I give to my own, it has enriched my own faith and broadened my vision."

Gandhiji's interlocutor was silent. "What would be your message to a Christian like me and my fellows?" the professor finally asked. Gandhiji replied, "Become worthy of the message that is imbedded in the Sermon on the Mount and join the spinning brigade."

I must say here that I have epitomised a fairly long conversation and given only those parts which were of topical interest. I may add that the professor brought for Gandhiji a khadi scarf made of yarn spun by his wife and his pupils—a gift which Gandhiji much appreciated.

Segaoon, 6-1-40

Pyarelal

CONGRESS M. L. A.S AND REMUNERATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An M. L. A. from U. P. writes a letter which I abridge as follows:

"In U. P. we are getting Rs. 75 a month. During the two and half years in which the Congress was in power the Assembly sessions were sometimes concluded in six days, at others they lasted for some months. In addition, there were meetings of select, special and regular committees. Some of these are still working and constitute a heavy demand on our time. Moreover no one knows when the Assembly may be summoned again. Touring in our constituencies entails an expenditure of Rs. 200 a year. There are cases in which the constituencies are more than 200 miles away from Lucknow. Taking an average of three tours in a year, a member has to spend six weeks for this purpose. While at Lucknow, every member has to entertain people from his constituency. He also pays Rs. 4 per month to the Congress Legislature Party and the Provincial Congress Committee. In these circumstances business or professional life has to be sacrificed, and it is clear that unless a member has private means he is totally unable to give whole-time work without some remuneration. This question has come up many times before the U. P. M. L. A.s. Many of us feel that either the allowance should be raised or the poor among us will have to go out, leaving the field to the rich. You were pained to know that some of the Assembly members were using the allowance for their own use; but I have put before you another side of the picture so that you may guide us. It must also be remembered that many of us borrowed money to fight elections under order of the Congress.

The second point to which I wanted to draw your attention is the question of corruption in the Congress ranks. Along with other causes, the lure of M. L. A.-ship is a very strong one for the average Congress worker and often leads to underhand methods in the attempt to displace the sitting member. It would be a good thing if it were understood that members who have acquitted themselves well will be re-nominated. Such a policy would ensure a trained body of workers for legislative work. Members will further realise that constructive work outside the legislatures is also required of them.

The third point on which I will humbly request you to enlighten us is the strong trend, even among important Congressmen, towards Western modes of living, thought and culture. In spite of putting on khadi many of them are absolutely strangers to their own culture, and to them all light comes from the West."

The letter leaves me unconvinced, so far as the remuneration is concerned. Of course there will be hard cases everywhere. But hard cases make bad law. It should be remembered that the Assemblies are not Congress monopolies.

Many parties are represented on them. The Congress convenience cannot be the sole consideration. My correspondent assumes that every member devotes his whole time to the national service with special regard to legislative activity. This means that the legislators become professional politicians and the legislatures become their special preserves. If I had my way, I would manage these things through the parties. I know that the question bristles with difficulties and requires a thorough and quiet discussion. But the point I have raised is quite small. Why should the members draw anything while the Assemblies are in virtual suspension? If a census were taken, it would be found that many members were not earning before what they are earning as legislators. It is a dangerous thing to make legislatures a means of earning more than one's market price. Let the responsible men in the provinces put their heads together and come to a decision worthy of the Congress and the cause they represent.

The question raised by the correspondent as to making the present members permanent incumbents is beyond me. I have no experience in this matter. It is one for the Working Committee to probe.

As to the habit of looking to the West for light, I can give little guidance if the whole of my life has not provided any. Light used to go out from the East. If the Eastern reservoir has become empty, naturally the East will have to borrow from the West. I wonder if light, if it is light and not a miasma, can ever be exhausted. As a boy I learnt that it grew with the giving. Anyway I have acted in that belief and have, therefore, traded on the ancestral capital. It has never failed me. This, however, does not mean that I must act like a frog in the well. There is nothing to prevent me from profiting by the light that may come from the West. Only I must take care that I am not overpowered by the glamour of the West. I must not mistake the glamour for true light. The latter gives life, the former brings death.

Segaon, 8-1-40

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HARIJAN

Ten Pages

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1940

[ONE ANNA

A TALK WITH A REVOLUTIONARY

"I have come across plenty of revolutionaries during my lifetime. I have been arguing with them ever since I wrote *Indian Home Rule* and ever since the murder of Curzon Wylie when I was in England. They come to me knowing that they would get a patient hearing from me, and that in confiding their secrets to me they have a friend whom they can trust. As a result, quite a good number of them are today to be found fully converted and among my co-workers. So Prithwising's case was not the first one of the conversion of a revolutionary to non-violence, and it is my hope that it is not going to be the last," said Gandhiji to a revolutionary who saw him for the first time.

One could see from the talk what a havoc long and solitary confinement in prison works on people, and how instead of breaking their spirit it makes many of them all the more bitter and irreconcilable.

This friend had read his books and his scriptures with the eyes of the prisoner destined to interminable confinement. "Assuming that Hinduism sanctions violence," said Gandhiji to him, "one great contribution of Hinduism to the world is its *Varnashram Dharma* (not the travesty we see today) which confines the use of arms to Kshatriyas only. Therefore, to teach 350 millions of people how to wield the sword is a stupendous, almost an impossible, task apart from the wrong and the frightfulness of it. Universal violence as a means of getting independence is certainly not easier than my way, as you say, because mine is traditional and natural to India, — apart again from the fact that mutual aid is the law of life and not mutual slaughter. If the latter had been the law, society would not have survived it."

"But why not take in as many as possible in a fight which must be decisive?" he asked.

"Oh yes," said Gandhiji. "This must be my last fight, if we fight at all. It will be a last fight in any case. That makes it all the more necessary for me not to begin it unless I am sure that my army is fit to undergo the fiery ordeal in a completely non-violent manner. Think what would happen if all the 17 lakhs of the members in U. P. were to pass my test which after all is eminently simple — spinning and wearing khadi."

"But why must they believe that khadi will bring Swaraj? They will spin because they want your generalship and must yield obedience to you."

"If they render implicit obedience to the general, they should believe with him that khadi will bring Swaraj. Mere mechanical action will not bring the result by which I will have to judge their obedience — khadi bhandars to be emptied and unemployment to be liquidated. That cannot happen without the belief in the charkha. If there is no such belief, I will not call it real obedience. But I will not blame them, I will blame myself if I do not carry conviction to them. The fault will lie entirely with my defective ahimsa. As I have often said if there is one true Satyagrahi it would be enough. I am trying to be that true Satyagrahi. Not one of his thoughts would be in vain. I know that many of my thoughts do not go in vain, but I also know that what I have thought and said about khadi has not gone home. I know the cause. I am full of himsa. Though I can suppress my anger, the fact remains that I am liable to anger. I have been a conscious and persevering observer of the vow of brahmacharya since 1906, but I am not the perfect brahmachari I want to be. For with me perfect brahmacharya is the attainment of sexlessness — not impotence, but the state of *urdhwaretā* in which the sexual energy is completely sublimated into spiritual energy. If I had attained that *nirvikāra* (passionless) state, I should have but to think a thing and it would happen. I would not have to argue."

"But," asked the revolutionary who felt himself out of his depth, "God is *nirvikāra* — free from all passions. Why does He not make us act as we ought to? His influence must be all-powerful."

"How do we know that He does not act? But do not bring in God in this discussion. He has neither truth nor untruth, neither violence nor non-violence."

"But it is due to Him that we have *vikāras* — passions. If it was wrong to have passions, He would not have filled us with them."

"Oh yes, He has given us all that and yet endowed us with the sense of right and wrong and also given us a certain amount of choice — the choice between right and wrong, between good and evil."

"But so far as we can judge, you are free from passions and comparatively perfect?"

"No, I must be allowed to judge my limitations. If I was perfect, as I told you I would not have to argue with you. My thought would be enough. I have fought many a fight. If anything I was less perfect than I am today. I had then to cover the length and breadth of India. I had to speak and argue day in and day out. Now if a fight has to come, you may be sure that I shall lead it from Segaon. I am speaking and arguing much less than I used to do. But the fact remains that I am far from my ideal yet."

The next day the friend had his innings again. Somehow the thought of thousands of Satyagrahis in battle array obsessed him. Apart from the test of spinning, Gandhiji put another test before him. "If there are so many volunteers ready, why should there have been so many riots?"

"That is because they are provoked by the third party."

"That is not the answer. Even if they were engineered, non-violent volunteers should be able to make them impossible. But what about you? I have had accounts of you which are far from complimentary."

"I have never in my life, even when I was an active revolutionary, countenanced violence. Let anybody prove that I advised anyone to strike police or Government officials down. In fact I used to denounce all such acts and attempts."

"Did you?" asked Gandhiji incredulously.

"Yes."

"Do you know Baba Ramachandra?"

"Don't I know him?"

"You do. Then do you know that Baba Ramachandra would not ask anyone to kill another? But he believed that to pour boiling water down a man's throat was not violence. You may have preached non-violence of that kind?"

"No," said the friend naively, "but I have explained to the people the teaching of the Bhagavadgita. I have told them that Lord Krishna Himself has said that neither does the slayer slay nor is he whom he slays slain."

"Oh! That's all you have said!"

The friend laughed at the absurdity of his own claim of non-violence. "But," he persisted, "does not Lord Krishna say it?"

"That does not mean that you or I may say it," said Gandhiji. "If I kill a man, I should have the gallows. My saying 'I have not killed' won't save me."

"But if you want us to forget the teaching of the Gita, do tell us so. We will then not take the name of the Gita and follow a different precept."

"No, there is no different precept to follow. You have to re-learn your Gita. You have misread it all these years."

Segaon, 14-1-40

M. D.

A VOLUNTARY LABOUR TAX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If all primary members of the Congress also become spinners for Swaraj, how would it affect khadi? I asked Shri Krishnadas Gandhi to answer the question for me, and he has produced the following figures:

- "1. The number of primary members ... 40 lakhs
2. The value of their annual donation, say 12,000 yards per member, can be reckoned at Rs. 1-2-0 per head, but to be on the safe side is taken at Re. 1 per head ... Rs. 40 lakhs
3. The value of khadi produced from the subscribed yarn ... Rs. 48 lakhs
The annual sale of khadi for 1939 is estimated at ... Rs. 75 lakhs
Therefore, the total value of the A. I. S. A. khadi is equal to (Rs. 75 lakhs + Rs. 48 lakhs) ... Rs. 123 lakhs
The cost to the A. I. S. A. (Rs. 123 lakhs - Rs. 40 lakhs) ... Rs. 83 lakhs
This would mean in the production of khadi an increase of ... 64%
Or, in the sale price of khadi, a possibility of reduction of ... 32.5%
Or, in the alternative, the possibility of increasing the wages of spinners by ... 80 to 100%

2. There is a provision in the rules of the A. I. S. A. which allows subscribers to purchase back their subscribed yarn at its value (Re. 1) minus the value of the cotton As. 5, i.e. 11 As.

If all members exercise this privilege,

The A. I. S. A. will realise in cash 27.5 lakhs
Consequently,

The cost price of the remaining stock of khadi with the A. I. S. A. will be (Rs. 75 lakhs - Rs. 27.5 lakhs). Rs. 47.5 lakhs
This will enable the Association to reduce the sale price by about 37% instead of 32.5% mentioned in the first calculation.

"If the total amount of yarn contributed be worth Rs. 40 lakhs, each member will pay out of pocket not more than 8 annas per annum, being the price of cotton and the cost of carding, when the member is not a carder. If he self-cards his own cotton, as he is expected to, the out of pocket expense will be still further reduced. It must be remembered that the higher the count of yarn the less is the price of cotton and the greater is the contribution in the form of labour."

Those who are not prejudiced against khadi will find ample food for thought in the foregoing. Let them work out what it would mean if all wore khadi, if all spun not the miserable 33 yards per day but at least 100 yards. The price of khadi can be lowered by donating this to the A. I. S. A. or, which is the same thing, the poor learning the art of spinning for their own needs. This donation will be a kind of a voluntary labour tax.

Segaon, 14-1-40

ENGLISH OPINION ON INDIAN STRUGGLE

[A friend forwards the following two cuttings from *The Cambridge Review*. The signatories are distinguished men and women of letters. I publish them to show that thoughtful English men and women who used to be indifferent about India are now studying Indian affairs and are unreservedly supporting the struggle for Indian Independence.

Segaon, 14-1-40

M. K. G.]

(1)

Sir,

To those who had watched the emergence and rise to power of the National Congress Movement of India since the last war, its transformation from a talking shop of nationally minded intellectuals into a mass movement with adherents of all classes and creeds, and drawing its strength particularly from millions of peasants, it was obvious—even before the outbreak of the present war—that a crisis in the relations of India and Great Britain was not far distant. That crisis has been precipitated by Great Britain's action in declaring India at war, and in appropriating to herself the power to suspend the constitution, and govern by ordinance.

We feel that the struggle in India is essentially one against indescribable poverty, the persistence of feudal anomalies, and Government by a narrow alliance of sectional interests. This struggle can be viewed by the vast majority of British people only with sympathy, and indeed with a sympathy which can be easily translated into willing and active co-operation with the Indian people. Particularly at the present time it is an acid test of the ability of the British people to maintain and extend democracy. We are therefore perturbed by the Indian policy of the National Government, as outlined by Sir Samuel Hoare in his Parliamentary statement of 24th October. This uncompromising attitude obstructs the path towards the achievement of democratic reforms long enjoyed in this country. The resignation of the representatives of two-thirds of the electorate, and the support they have received from the remaining third, is an indication of the determination of the wide mass of the Indian people to continue the struggle for the right to govern their own country, to embark on a programme of social reform, and to decide their own foreign policy.

There is in this country a great lack of information about India and its problems: the communal question, land-hunger, illiteracy, the Government of India Act, etc. We therefore welcome the setting up of an Indian Independence Committee in Cambridge to provide information about India, and to explain and advocate the Congress policy. We should like to draw attention particularly to the exhibition which is to be held during the court the next term, to illustrate the economic, political and cultural

development of India, and its present-day problems and aspirations.

We are, Sir, yours, etc.

EILEEN POWER	H. L. ELVIN
SUSAN STEBBING	HAROLD J. LASKY
M. H. DOBB	JOSEPH NEEDHAM
DAVID HARDMAN	J. ROBINSON

(*Cambridge Review*: 2-12-39)

(2)

Sir,

We wish to take this opportunity of registering our opposition to the policy of the National Government towards India, outlined in the Viceroy's White Paper of 17th October, and reasserted by Sir Samuel Hoare in the House of Commons, 26th October. The Indian National Congress, which is supported by two-thirds of the Indian electorate and has a very wide support among the unenfranchised population (which number 330,000,000 out of 350,000,000), has stated its demand for democracy and national independence. It is highly unsatisfactory that the Secretary of State for India could make no concrete reply to this demand except to ask the Indian people to rely upon a promise of a conference to discuss the possibility of Dominion Status at the end of the war and to say that, in the event of the Indian people refusing these terms, the King's Government would be carried on, presumably by force.

The demand of the Indian people for democracy and national independence is a product of their poverty. This poverty in its turn is a product of the feudal oppression of a landlord and princely caste, the burden of maintaining a system of guaranteed profits on government stocks, railway shares and irrigation investments, and the legal inability of the people to control interest rates, exchange rates, wages and expenditure on social services. The Indian people demand freedom and democracy in order to overcome the economic and political backwardness which 150 years of foreign rule has done little or nothing to alleviate. No formula which does not grant these things can be satisfactory, nor can it produce anything but conflict and disorder.

The Indian National Congress proposes to introduce universal adult franchise without discrimination against any race, social class, religion or sex. A Constituent Assembly will determine the Constitution of an independent India. No minority in India which genuinely believes in freedom objects to this, and it is a demand with which the British people are in full sympathy.

The Indian people have no cultural, religious or racial ties with Britain, and Dominion Status can have no meaning for them. They are prepared, on the basis of independence, to co-operate with the people of Britain in the maintenance of freedom and peace.

The people of the world can have no confidence in the capacity of the British and French people to maintain peace, freedom and abundance so long as their Governments carry out a policy which deprives colonial peoples of their rights

to political liberty, national independence and the control of the economic form of their society. There is very little distinction between Nazism and the National Government so long as both deny freedom and national independence to subject peoples. No war between them can be a just war so long as they both stand indicted as oppressors of people who desire to be free. It is for these reasons that we wish emphatically to protest against the whole Indian policy of the National Government.

R. R. PITTAM,
President, Universities Liberal Club.
M. J. C. HODGART,
President, University Socialist Club.
(*Cambridge Review*: 11-11-39)

H A R I J A N

Jan. 20

1940

THE DISSENTIENTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jaiprakash Narain and Shri Sampurnanand have spoken in no uncertain terms against the addendum to the pledge to be taken on the 26th inst. I have great regard for them. They are able and brave and have suffered for the country. I should count it a privilege to have them as companions in arms. I should love to win them over to my viewpoint. If the battle is to come and I am to lead it, I should not be able to do so with half-convinced or doubting lieutenants.

I am not spoiling for a fight. I am trying to avoid it. Whatever may be true of the members of the Working Committee, I wholly endorse Subhas Babu's charge that I am eager to have a compromise with Britain if it can be had with honour. Indeed Satyagraha demands it. Therefore I am in no hurry. And yet if the time came and if I had no follower, I should be able to put up a single-handed fight. But I have not lost faith in Britain. I like the latest pronouncement of Lord Linlithgow. I believe in his sincerity. There are undoubted snags in that speech. Many is have to be dotted, many ts have to be crossed. But it seems to contain germs of a settlement honourable to both nations. Those, therefore, who work with me have to appreciate this side of me. Perhaps from the standpoint of the dissentients this compromising nature of mine is a disqualification. If it is, the country should know it.

Shri Jaiprakash Narain has done well to clear his and the Socialist Party's position. He says of the constructive programme: "We have never accepted it as the only or even as an adequately effective weapon in our struggle..... Our views regarding these matters have remained unchanged. Rather they have been strengthened

by the helplessness of the national leadership in the present crisis Let students come out of their schools and colleges on that day and let workers lay down their tools."

If the majority of Congressmen entertain the views that Shri Jaiprakash propounds on behalf of the Socialist Party, I can never hope to lead such an army to success. He has no faith either in the programme or in the present leadership. I suggest to him that he has quite unconsciously discredited the programme he would carry out merely "because the nation's High Command desire it". Imagine an army marching to battle without faith in the weapons to be used and in the leaders who have prescribed them. Such an army can only bring disaster to itself, its leaders and the cause. If I were in Shri Jaiprakash's place and if I felt able to tender discipline, I would advise my party to remain indoors and silent. If I could not, I would preach open revolt and frustrate the designs of an ineffective leadership. Again, he would have the students come out of their colleges and schools and workmen lay down their tools. Now this is a lesson in indiscipline. If I had my way, I would invite every student to remain in his school or college unless he got leave or the Principal decided to close the college or school in order to take part in the celebration. I should give similar advice to the workmen. Shri Jaiprakash complains that the Working Committee has given no details about the work to be done on the Independence Day. I thought that with the programme of fraternising and khadi there was no need for detailed instructions. I should expect Congress committees everywhere to arrange spinning demonstrations, khadi hawking, and the like. I observe that some committees are doing so. I had expected Congress committees to make preparations from the day the Working Committee resolution was published. I shall measure the strength of the nation's response not merely by the quantity of yarn spun but mainly by the khadi sales throughout the country.

Finally Shri Jaiprakash says: "We advanced for our part a new programme, that of labour and peasant organisation, as the foundation of a revolutionary mass movement." I dread the language used. I have organised both but not perhaps in the way Shri Jaiprakash has in mind. The sentence demands further elucidation. If they are not organised on a strictly peaceful footing, they may damage non-violent action as they did during the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha and later during the hartal in Bombay over the Prince of Wales' visit.

Shri Sampurnanand has raised a spiritual issue. He thinks that the original pledge should not have been tampered with though as he says, and rightly, it was discursive. I was its author. I wanted the people not merely to repeat the *mantra* of Independence but to educate the people as to its why and where-

fore. It was later amended when certain portions of the original had become meaningless. I admit the sacredness of the *mantra* of Independence. That was given to us when the Lokamanya first uttered "Swaraj is my birthright." It was caught by thousands and is gaining strength from day to day. It is now enshrined in the hearts of millions. I hold that the addendum this year was necessary. It adds to the sacredness of the original and tells the people how everyone can contribute to the realisation of national freedom.

I feel, therefore, that Shri Sampurnanand's objection really arises from his disbelief in the constructive programme. Thus he says: "If making it an integral part of the pledge means that we are definitely committing ourselves to a policy of village industries as opposed to mass production, then I, as a socialist, cannot accept it." Of course I cannot give the legal interpretation of the pledge. It can only be given by the Working Committee. But as the general responsible for declaring and conducting a non-violent war I am bound to say that this mentality must interfere with mass propaganda. A leader like Sampurnanandji can either throw himself whole-heartedly in the struggle or not at all. He will create confusion in the mass mind by being half-hearted in his exposition of the addendum. If khadi has not an abiding place in the national programme, it should have no place in the addendum. If there is anything more effective, it should be put before the nation. There need be no hush hush policy because a big fight is said to be impending. It is not necessary for all to be of one mind. But it is absolutely necessary that those who have to be in charge, as he would have to be, have a living faith in the programme they have to work out. No make-believe will answer the present requirements.

It has been suggested to me by a Congressman wielding great influence that as soon as I declare civil resistance I would find a staggering response this time. The whole labour world and the kisans in many parts of India will, he assures me, declare a simultaneous strike. I told him that, if that happened, I should be most embarrassed and all my plan would be upset. I must confess that I have no positive plan in front of me. Let me say that God will send me the plan when He gives the word as He has done before now. He has been my unfailing Guide and has sustained me throughout my stormy life. This, however, I know that no plan that I may put before the country will admit of unregulated and sporadic strikes, because that must lead to violence and therefore automatic suspension of the non-violent struggle. It would amount to my dismissal. I am sure the socialist leaders and other dissentients do not expect me to embark on a struggle which I know beforehand is likely to end in disaster. I ask for lieutenants and men who will act as one mind.

Even if somehow or other we achieve nominal independence, we cannot conduct national affairs with any degree of success unless we have won the struggle in the manner prescribed by me. Without real non-violence there would be perfect anarchy. I hope I am not expected knowingly to undertake a fight that must end in anarchy and red ruin.

Segaon. 16-1-40

A WELCOME MOVE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

On the Deliverance Thanksgiving Day declared by Jinnah Saheb I had the following wire from Gulbarga Muslims: "Deliverance day greetings, Quaide Azam Jinnah Zindabad". I took it as a message sent to ruffle my feelings. The senders little knew that the wire could not serve its purpose. When I received it I silently joined the senders in the wish "Long Live Quaide Azam Jinnah." The Quaide Azam is an old comrade. What does it matter that today we do not see eye to eye in some matters? That can make no difference in my goodwill towards him.

But the Quaide Azam has given me special reason for congratulating him. I had the pleasure of wiring him congratulations on his excellent Id day broadcast. And now he commands further congratulations on forming pacts with parties who are opposed to the Congress policies and politics. He is thus lifting the Muslim League out of the communal rut and giving it a national character. I regard his step as perfectly legitimate. I observe that the Justice Party and Dr. Ambedkar's party have already joined Jinnah Saheb. The papers report too that Shri Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, is to see him presently. Jinnah Saheb himself has informed the public that many non-Congress Hindus have expressed their sympathy with him. I regard this development as thoroughly healthy. Nothing can be better than that we should have in the country mainly two parties—Congress and non-Congress or anti-Congress, if the latter expression is preferred. Jinnah Saheb is giving the word minority a new and good content. The Congress majority is made up of a combination of Caste Hindus, non-Caste Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and Jews. Therefore it is a majority drawn from all classes, representing a particular body of opinion; and the proposed combination becomes a minority representing another body of opinion. This may any day convert itself into a majority by commending itself to the electorate. Such an alignment of parties is a consummation devoutly to be wished. If the Quaide Azam can bring about the combination, not only I but the whole of India will shout with one acclamation: "Long Live Quaide Azam Jinnah." For, he will have brought about permanent and living unity for which I am sure the whole nation is thirsting.

Segaon, 15-1-40

MY SIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is a summary of a long indictment from a Muslim official of a Punjab Congress committee:

"Your public statements show that you are deeply distressed over the differences among the major communities of India. Apart from the natural fear of the Mussalmans of a dominant majority at the Centre, it is chiefly your personality which is forcing the Mussalmans to ally themselves with the imperialist Government and thus array themselves against the Congress. The student of current events has to thank you for driving the brave and liberty-loving Mussalmans into the reactionary fold.

You claim that 'from its very commencement the Congress has been a wholly political organisation and never communal. It has proved its claim repeatedly and on every relevant occasion.' You have written. 'The Congress has refused to represent any but the national cause.' Of course the Indian National Congress was organised as a non-communal body for the political emancipation of India. But when you say that 'if untouchability exists Hinduism cannot survive', you admit that the uplift of the Harijans is a purely Hindu cause and is a question of the life and death of Hinduism. In spite of this for the twenty years of your life in India you have used the Congress platform for the removal of untouchability and have included it in the constructive programme of the Congress. The Mussalmans do not grudge you the right to work for the uplift of the Harijans provided it is on a separate platform. But why should you include what you yourself admit to be a purely Hindu cause in the constructive programme of the Congress?... You have thus made the background of the Congress so aggressively Hindu that it requires little effort to keep the Mussalmans away from the Congress.... The misfortune is that most of the Congressmen have been infused with the same narrow-mindedness and indiscretion as have characterised your leadership. To most of them freedom of India means going back to an age 2,500 years old and thrusting their religion and culture on eight crores of unwilling Mussalmans....

But the communal question seen from the right perspective is not as insoluble as it appears to be. Even now prudence coupled with large-heartedness may undo the wrong done to the cause of national unity.

The Constituent Assembly is not only an expedient for the political problem facing India but is under the present circumstances the best and the only way out of the communal muddle..... But an article from your pen in *Harijan* is not sufficient. It is necessary to incorporate in the resolution on the Constituent Assembly a clear-worded clause assuring the Mussalmans that their representatives to the said assembly would be elected on separate electorates, and that regarding matters relating to their religion and culture the decision of a two-third majority of their representatives would be accepted without hitch or hindrance.

Then again a mere resolution passed to the above effect would not suffice. It would be necessary to carry on continuous, systematic and intensive propaganda in order to bring home to every Mussalman the implication of the Constituent Assembly especially of the clause dealing with the election and powers of the representatives of the Mussalmans. Only in this way can the Congress gain the confidence of the Mussalman masses and cut the ground from under the feet of those who try to mislead them by creating the bogey of their religion and culture being in danger.

India can free itself the very day the Congress succeeds in winning the confidence of the Mussalmans. Britain dare not hold in bondage a united India. Therefore the fight for freedom should take the form of adopting measures for and putting into practice the ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Perhaps one thing has become clear to you now, namely that Hindu-Muslim unity cannot come about by negotiating with the Muslim League or any other organisation."

I have left out nothing relevant from the letter. The charge coming from a responsible Congressman is amazing. The programme of non-cooperation was passed in consultation with the Ali Brothers and at a time when the Congress had the full-hearted co-operation of the most influential Muslims. The programme contained removal of untouchability by Hindus. Should not non-Hindus rejoice in the purification of Hinduism? Why may not the Congress allow and encourage social and religious reform from the Congress platform? Non-violent politics cannot be divorced from moral uplift. And why does the correspondent forget that Khilafat itself was a purely religious cause? There were non-Congress Hindus then as there are now who thought and think that it was a grave mistake made by the Congress in taking up the Khilafat wrong. I have no doubt whatsoever as to the correctness of the Congress step. And if a similar thing occurred again, I should not hesitate to give my life in aiding my Muslim brethren. "A friend in need is a friend indeed." I hope, therefore, that my correspondent and those who think like him will correct their thought and believe with me that every act of purification in any sect or community promotes the well-being of the whole, of which they form a part, and therefore deserves encouragement from all platforms.

As to the Constituent Assembly everything the correspondent says has been conceded by the Congress. Propaganda is also going on. But Congressmen and especially Congress Muslims may not sit with folded hands and expect the Working Committee to carry on the work. The Working Committee's function is to supervise, guide and advise the organisation and to administer its routine work. But propaganda can only be carried on if thousands of Congressmen interest themselves in it. If the programme mapped by the Congress is insipid, Congressmen can turn

out the present guides in a moment. This is true especially because the Congress has accepted non-violence as its policy. Its success is dependent on the whole-hearted co-operation of every single Congressman. In that sense the Congress is the largest instrument of political education in the country. Everyone who comes on the Congress register becomes a candidate for political education. There should be a handbook to impart such education. And since many Congressmen are illiterate it might be necessary to take up adult literacy and have a special department for carrying on the work. I commend this suggestion to my correspondent for adoption. He can commence with his own district in which he is vice-president. Let him not distrust members of the Muslim League. They are both his countrymen and co-religionists. We need not be one another's enemies because we have different ideas or different policies.

Segaon, 15-1-40

THE INDEPENDENCE PLEDGE

"Charkha and khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme, for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India, and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, spin regularly, use for our personal requirements nothing but khadi and, so far as possible, products of village handicrafts only, and endeavour to make others to do likewise."

The other parts of the Congress Independence pledge containing a distinct expression of belief in the constructive programme of khadi, communal unity and removal of untouchability have not bothered Congressmen so much as the part of the pledge italicised above. A distinguished Congressman asked me the other day, "Is Gandhiji serious about spinning? Does he want all of us to spin?" I said I had not the slightest doubt that he did. The questioner had evidently forgotten that all pledges are sacred. But there are others who have asked other questions which had better be answered before the 26th of January is upon us.

"Gandhiji has distinctly said," writes a worker, "that those who have not believed in the message of khadi or used it, often unwillingly for mere show, are not bound to take the pledge. But there are so many who do not believe in khadi, but who want the fight and who will, therefore, take the pledge and spin. What are we to do who have to administer the pledge? There will be briefly four kinds of pledge-takers:

- (1) Those who believe in the principle and message of khadi.
- (2) Those who do not understand but have implicit faith in khadi.
- (3) Those who are well disposed towards it.
- (4) Those who do not believe in it, but who would take the pledge because they must as leaders or because they are spoiling for a fight. These include such as believe in khadi for a transitional period but do not believe in it as a permanent feature of a free India.

I am mentioning all this because I know that there are a very large majority who come under class four but who are asking their friends to take the pledge. What are we to do?"

Another friend asks:

"The Working Committee seem to have taken a step forward by deliberately using the word 'use' instead of the word 'wear'. Many people wear khadi but use mill-made towels, napkins, bed-sheets and so on. They will have to pledge themselves to drop the use of these latter and confine themselves strictly to the use of khadi. Then there are certain people who personally use khadi but buy mill-made cloth for their wives and children. Can they take the pledge?"

I think the language of the pledge is plain as a pike-staff. The word 'use' is, as the correspondent points out, quite deliberate, and those who only *wear* khadi today will have to take the further step of exclusively *using* it, if they want to take the pledge. Classes 1 to 3 mentioned by the first correspondent need have no difficulty in taking the pledge if they will regularly spin (except when they are disabled by illness, bad eyes or a similar cause) and will use khadi. None of the fourth class may take the pledge, for the simple reason that they are not only not bound to take it, but are bound not to take it, if the sacredness of the pledge is not to be violated. Those who do not believe fully in the message of khadi cannot obviously "endeavour to make others" spin regularly and use khadi. As regards the parents who think their children need not use khadi, they too cannot take the pledge. Charity begins at home, and they cannot possibly pledge themselves to "endeavour to make others" do a thing unless they and the members of their family do it habitually.

But why this eagerness to take the pledge without accepting all its implications? There is no compulsion about the pledge, it does not even debar others from fighting for independence, courting imprisonment and going to jail. It is said that there are many who believe fully in the message of the charkha and khadi, but who are too poor to use khadi exclusively. To such as these I can only say what Gandhiji would say: "Where there is a will there is a way. Those who are too poor to afford khadi bed-sheets may use newspapers. Those who cannot get newspapers may do without both." But the fact is, why must they take the pledge? Those who take the pledge need assume no air of superiority over those who do not take it. It is quite likely that the latter may work and suffer for Independence better than the former. Let us therefore first and foremost be true, and take the pledge *only* if we can take it realising all its implications. The pledge of truthfulness is a higher pledge than any other pledge I can think of.

Segaon, 15-1-1940

M. D.

On Khaddar — By B. Pattabi Sitaramayya. Price 8 As. Postage 1 Anna. Available at Harijan Office.

NO SUPPRESSION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Bengali friend came to me during the week and said that though Bengal was ready for battle the Working Committee and especially I were suppressing it and thus damaging the nation's cause. This is a serious charge. The Working Committee can take care of itself. So far as I know, it has suppressed no province and no person. But I can say as the sole authority on Satyagraha that I have never suppressed any body or organisation. Satyagraha does not admit of such suppression. Thus though I have been ignorantly accused of suppressing the people of Rajkot, I never suppressed them. They were at liberty, as they are now, to civilly resist authority. Even one person could do so if he had the conviction. If he is wrong, he can only harm himself, not his opponent. Hence it is that I have called Satyagraha the most harmless, if also the most potent, remedy against wrongs.

What, however, I did in the case of Rajkot was to use the authority the Satyagrahis of Rajkot had given me, to suspend civil resistance. It was open to them to reject my advice—it could hardly be dignified by the name of command. If they had, and if they had got responsible government, they would have received my congratulations.

Some readers may remember that the Working Committee had refused to sanction civil resistance in Chirala Perala but had left the Chirala people to declare it at their own risk. Likewise it is open to Bengal, as also to any other province, on its own initiative and at its own risk, to offer civil resistance. What it cannot have is my approval or support. And if the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee wholly repudiates the authority of the Working Committee, it can, with all the greater force and propriety, do as it likes. If it succeeds, it will cover itself with glory, overthrow the present leadership, and rule the Congress organisation as it will deserve to. I have prescribed the conditions of successful civil resistance. But if the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee thinks that the Muslim masses are with the Congress, if it thinks that both Hindus and Muslims are ready for the fight, if it thinks that neither non-violence nor the charkha is necessary or that non-violence has no connection with the charkha, and if it fails to declare war, it will then be untrue to itself and to the country. What I have said applies to every province and part of India. But as the most experienced Satyagrahi I must be allowed to utter a note of warning to all concerned that whoever declares civil resistance without the proper training and a full appreciation of the conditions of Satyagraha is likely to bring disaster to the cause he espouses.

Season, 14-1-40

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 7 As.
Available at Harijan Office-Poona 4

A CASE FOR RELIEF

(By Verrier Elwin)

In many parts of India the competition of imported iron has killed the old village industry of iron-smelting. All round the village of Thettupalli in Chittoor, for example, where fifty years ago the smiths were active, lie ruined iron-kilns. Bazaar-iron has successfully competed with the village-iron of the Salahuva Vakkalu of Mysore, and has killed the smelting industry of the Telugu Kammaras. In the Central Provinces, the small tribe of Agaria Gonds are in danger of suffering the same fate.

The Agaria Gonds are an aboriginal tribe of charcoal-burners, iron-smelters and blacksmiths who live along the heights of the Maikal Hills mainly in the Mandla and Bilaspur Districts, where excellent surface ore may be obtained. In their case it is not the competition of foreign iron but an unimaginative and excessive tax that has almost ruined their once flourishing industry and brought its allied institutions to decay. In 1867 the Agarias paid a sort of levy of four annas a kiln; today they have to pay ten rupees, or forty times as much. If they only make charcoal and work imported iron at the forge, the tax is six rupees, but if they erect kilns and gather and extract the ore, a further four rupees is charged.

Now these people are among the poorest in the world. Innocent of possessions, undernourished, malaria-ridden, they cannot afford such heavy taxes, and many Agarias have given up iron-smelting in order to save the extra four rupees, and now simply re-work cheap imported iron that is brought up from the towns fifty or a hundred miles away. The result is that the number of iron-kilns now working in the two districts of Bilaspur and Mandla is only just over a hundred.

This is not only disastrous for the economic life of the tribe, but it has had serious repercussions on its religious and social institutions. For the iron kiln is the centre, the living focus of the religion and traditions of the Agarias. The kiln is the temple of Lohar Sur, god of the tribe: the virgin kodon chaff on which the bloom of iron settles is his royal throne. Without the kiln, the Agarias cannot give proper worship to the gods, nor can they extract—from a new kiln—the 'virgin iron' so potent in magic and medicine. The disappearance of the kilns has had a depressing and disintegrating effect: if the process continues, it will mean not only the loss of a useful village industry, but the extinction of a tribe.

Government is spending vast sums of money on village uplift and on the reorganisation of village industries. Here is an industry that can be revived immediately and at ridiculously small cost. The Agarias tell me that if the tax is reduced they will gladly take to their iron-smelting again. I would like to suggest that an inclusive tax of six rupees should be levied to

cover charcoal-burning, the digging of ore and extraction of iron in the kiln, and the working of iron in the forge. As there are only about one hundred kilns, this reduction of tax will mean a loss to Government of under five hundred rupees. Surely this is not an excessive price to pay for the revitalisation of a whole tribe.

But if this reduction is made, it must be done generously. There must be no new and vexatious restrictions on the liberty of the Agarias, as that they must go twenty miles to get their charcoal or thirty to get their ore. At a time when the world is spending crores daily on iron that is destined to destroy mankind, let us be liberal and generous to these poor and simple iron-workers who ask no more than to be allowed to live in peace.

[I hope the required relief will be quickly granted and the poor Agaria Gonds will be saved from the impending disaster.

Segaon, 25-12-39

M. K. G.]

Notes

Why Only Khadi?

Prof. Kumarappa has a grouse against me that although I am the author and guide of the A. I. V. I. A. I seem to treat it as a step-child. I have retorted that the grouse is due to superficial reasoning. He will not take a defeat lying down. He has returned to the charge again and again, and refuses to be satisfied till I proclaim to the world that the other village industries stand on the same footing with khadi. For me the proposition was so self-evident as not to need any enunciation. But Prof. Kumarappa is right so far as practical application is concerned. People are not governed by theory. Thus several people have recently complained to me that they know men who use khadi but use no other village articles. They suggest that many Congressmen wear khadi because it is required by the constitution. But having no belief in it they never think of anything but their convenience so far as other articles of use are concerned. This I call fulfilling the letter and killing the spirit. And where the spirit is killed the letter is of as much use as a body from which life has ebbed away. I have often said that khadi is the central sun round which the other village industries revolve like so many planets. They have no independent existence. Nor will khadi exist without the other industries. They are absolutely interdependent. The fact is that we have to make a choice between India of the villages that are as ancient as herself and India of the cities which are a creation of foreign domination. Today the cities dominate and drain the villages so that they are crumbling to ruin. My khadi mentality tells me that cities must subserve villages when that domination goes. Exploiting of villages is itself organised violence. If we want Swaraj to be built on non-violence, we will have to give the villages

their proper place. This we will never do unless we revive village industries by using the products thereof in place of things produced in city factories, foreign or indigenous. Perhaps it is now clear why I identify khadi with non-violence. Khadi is the chief village handicraft. Kill khadi and you must kill the villages and with them non-violence. I cannot prove this by statistics. The proof is before our eyes.

Segaon, 14-1-40

Adulteration of Ghee

Shri Pannalal, an old member of Sabarmati Ashram, is a lover of cattle. He has for years been a lay farmer and dairyman. He has tried to study the cattle question. Very few people realise that conservation of cattle wealth of India is a major economic problem beset with many complexities. Adulteration of ghee has always been one of them. During the last few years it has become a growing menace, owing to the import of cheap vegetable oil mis-called ghee because of its having been congealed and otherwise processed so as to look like ghee. Shri Pannalal says that middlemen and sellers of dairy products profusely adulterate real ghee and thus undersell the farmer or cattle-keeper. He says that it is impossible for farmers to hold out against this competition if the mischief continues for any length of time, especially as such vegetable 'ghee' is being manufactured in Bombay and elsewhere on a large scale. Shri Pannalal rightly adds that agriculture without dairying and cattle breeding for draft purposes will be an impossibility if real ghee disappears from the market. Cattle-keeping will then become a luxury instead of a paying occupation. Shri Pannalal, therefore, suggests that drastic measures should be taken to prevent adulteration. I heartily endorse the suggestion. There should be a well regulated public agitation against adulteration, and preventive legislation should be passed if necessary. In addition to the economic this adulteration has a medical aspect which is no less important than the economic. It is well known that vegetable 'ghee' has a much lower protective value than ghee. From the health point of view, doctors say, vegetable ghee can never be a substitute for real ghee. This is, therefore, a question for corporations, medical men and humanitarian leagues to tackle without delay. If corporations have not adequate powers, they should have them. Shri Pannalal says: "The remedy is not very difficult if the will to is there. It is quite feasible to make it compulsory by law to add some edible colour or flavour to each and every tin of vegetable ghee, whether imported or produced in India. This will readily distinguish the vegetable product from the genuine ghee and make detection easy. If it is possible to stamp each match box with a Government seal, surely it is not difficult to have every tin of vegetable ghee duly coloured or flavoured similarly."

Segaon, 8-1-40

M. K. G.

A PACIFIST'S DOUBTS

Two English pacifists who recently visited Segaon talked of the remarkable growth of the pacifist outlook since the outbreak of the present war. I asked them as to what was happening to the members of the Peace Pledge Union, whose number before the war was in the neighbourhood of 200,000. They said that, though with the first shock of war a number of them had dropped out, a number of new members had come in, and the great thing that had happened was that the pacifist attitude was understood and even respected. Whereas during the last world war the pacifist's name was anathema and practically all pacifists had to go to prison, though the law was the same, now the conscientious objector had ceased to be an object of ridicule and contempt. Both friends had visited some of the exemption tribunals, and they testified to the fair manner in which they were working. "But why do you say the Bible forbids war? Even Christ has talked of the sword and people perishing by the sword," said the judge to one of the objectors. Sharp went the reply: "Oh yes, the Devil also can quote the scriptures." As a result there have been numerous exemptions during the present war. I asked if the exemption meant exemption from all service or from all co-operation in war. They said all pacifists did not take that extreme pacifist attitude, and so whilst there were a few hundreds who had received *complete* exemption, there were thousands who had received partial exemption, i. e. exemption from service as combatants. Some would say they had no objection to Red Cross work, some would say whilst they objected to all fighting they would engage in productive work for the nation, e. g. helping in agriculture or forestry, and there were others who would plump for sweeping mines—a most dangerous job—and thus helping their own country and the enemy as well. The Catholics generally regarded righteous war as justifiable, but even amongst them a group called "Pax" had been formed who objected to war because the horrors of modern warfare far outweighed the possible benefits. There were quite a few hundred members who belonged to this group and their belief was respected by the Cardinal of England. Among university people pacifism was growing, and there was a theological college where there were cent per cent pacifists.

I give these details in order to give the reader an idea of the development and evolution of pacifism. No wonder then that whilst the pacifists appreciated the position taken up by India, their difficulty was how, if Gandhiji accepted the Allied cause as just and said that he would pray for the victory of Britain, he had advised the Congress not to offer its co-operation to Britain.

Whether the questioner's difficulty arose from pacifism or from the Congress demand for decla-

ation of the war aims was not quite clear. But Gandhiji explained that any co-operation or non-cooperation that the Congress could offer would be moral and not material. Materially Britain's position would not be affected by either attitude, for the contribution in men and money that Britain exacted from India as a subject nation would continue. When a non-violent India wished Britain victory it was not victory for Britain, right or wrong, but victory for Britain which in going to war against Germany was less in the wrong and more in the right. But if there was no satisfactory declaration of the war aims regarding India, the moral support that Britain would gain would not be forthcoming. The result would be quite different if the Congress were indifferent as to means. She would in that case foment a rebellion and offer effective obstruction.

"Now it would be mental violence and not physical violence?" the friend asked.

"Maybe," said Gandhiji. "But the non-cooperation that may come would be non-violent. Mental violence has no potency and injures only the person whose thoughts are violent. It is otherwise with mental non-violence. It has potency which the world does not yet know. And what I want is non-violence of the thought and deed.

"Such non-violent support can be available to Britain only if her cause is demonstrably just, even though from a pacifist standpoint her means are violent and therefore bad. Her cause will not be just if she is not just to India, i. e. if of her own accord and without reference to the parties in India she does not wash her hands clean of the imperialist exploitation of India. Therefore, non-violent India's prayer will be for Britain's victory when she declares in unequivocal terms that India is a free nation in action now, and in law as soon as possible, maybe even during the war. This she will do from the heart only when she begins to rely more on the efficacy of the moral support of non-violent India than on her own strong arm. If England can take this step, the war will end in peace through moral force, rather than through superiority of arms."

Segaon, 15-1-40

M. D.

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[ONE ANNA

Notes

Imperialism Dies Hard

As I do not read newspapers but merely glance through the headings now and then, Pyarelal collects for me cuttings from various sources. These I read when I get odd moments. I chance upon one which contains the following instructions for bowing for those who were to receive decorations at the hands of H. E. the Governor of the United Provinces on the 16th inst.:

"When your name is read out by the Secretary you will kindly move on to the edge of the carpet and you first bow to His Excellency.

Then advance to the centre of the carpet and bow again.

Then advance to the foot of the dais on which His Excellency will be standing and bow again.

You will then be invested by His Excellency. His Excellency will then shake hands with you. Then you should bow.

Then proceed four paces backwards and bow again.

Then turn about and proceed to your seat.

All officers, military or police, attending in head dress will salute and not bow.

N. B. — The bow should be made by bending the head forward only and should not be made from the waist."

Sir Samuel Hoare says imperialism is dead. Every Congressman knows that it is dying. These instructions show that it will die hard. I never knew that this process of humiliation still continued. Decorations themselves are a symbol of imperialism. They are a means of overawing and bribing people, a reward for so-called loyal services and sometimes for gaining the applause or the silent approbation of distinguished men and women. When these decorations are accompanied by humiliating ceremonial, they excite angry feelings and mad passions of those who come to know about them. It is to be hoped that, while a move towards real democracy is being made, those who are in charge will make it a point of removing everything that savours of superiority and the humiliating spirit.

The Congress and Khadi

I have letters complaining that the khadi clause of the Congress Constitution is honoured more in the breach than in the observance. The correspondents' chief complaint is that, in selecting Congress candidates for municipalities

and local boards, the Congress officials do not enforce the khadi clause. One correspondent says that the obligation to wear khadi is waived because the Congress officials do not find competent enough candidates among khadi-wearers. This would be, if the dearth of proper men can be proved, a sound reason for altering the clause, surely not for committing a deliberate breach of the Congress Constitution. A writer justifies the waiver by arguing that there is no connection between Swaraj and khadi. This again may be a reason for a change in the Constitution but not for disregarding it. Every Congressman is a potential civil resister. The right to civil disobedience accrues only to those who perform the duty of voluntarily obeying the laws of the State, more so the laws of their own making. Therefore Congressmen are taking grave risks when they commit wilful breaches of the Constitution.

And is there no connection between Swaraj and khadi? Were the Congressmen who made themselves responsible for the khadi clause in the Constitution so dense that they did not see the fallacy which is so obvious to some critics? I have not hesitated to say, and I make bold to repeat, that there is no Swaraj for the millions, for the hungry and the naked and for the millions of illiterate women without khadi. Habitual use of khadi is a sign that the wearer identifies himself with the poorest in the land, and has patriotism and self-sacrifice enough in him to wear khadi even though it may not be so soft or elegant in appearance as foreign fineries, nor so cheap.

Segaon, 22-1-40

To Correspondents and Message-seekers

In spite of my notice in *Harijan* of December 23rd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know several intimate friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have to harden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

Segaon, 15-1-40

M. K. G.

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. Price Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 7 As. Available at *Harijan* Office-Poona 4.

TRAVESTY OF RELIGION

Those Conversions!

The following extracts from a letter from Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengodu, to the President, Harijan Sevak Sangh, tell their own tale:

"You know that in Salem District conversions of Harijans to Christianity are going on on a mass scale. You know also that these conversions are the result of pure material gains and considerations, and no change of belief.... The result is most tragic. The Caste Hindus decided that Christian converts should not serve them during religious functions at the time of birth, marriage, and death, and during the village temple festivals, in the same way as Hindu Harijans do. And so they have debarred the Christian converts from such services and their consequent emolument in cash and kind. This deprives the Christians of a source of very substantial income and they get enraged. As Harijans had, in some cases, turned Christian against the Caste Hindus' advice the latter have refused the former employment even in secular work like shoeing bulls, harvesting and other agricultural operations. Quarrels and police complaints are the result. One natural result has been the increasing desire on the part of the neo-Christians to come back to Hinduism. This is due no more to a change in belief than their first conversion was. Promises of material gain lured them to Christianity; actual loss of employment compels them to come back.... Thus during 1939 as many as 153 people from three villages have been reconverted here, while many were reconverted in other places.....

This has brought a new problem in its wake: where a whole village was Hindu and then part of it became Christian and then a part of this part re-changed to Hinduism, there is considerable trouble in dividing the village common fund, using the common temple, common land, buildings, wells, trees, etc. And with the Caste Hindu boycott of Christian labour invariably, in all cases, the Christians charge the non-converts and the reconverts with inducing the Caste Hindus to institute the boycott to usurp their own particular sources of employment. Such charges and counter charges result in an estrangement between the Hindu and Christian Harijans, which is so complete that the slightest of causes for friction between neighbour and neighbour produces violent Hindu Harijan Christian communal ill-feeling...

In many villages there is growing tension between Hindu and Christian Harijans and between Caste Hindus and Harijans. Tension between Caste Hindus and Harijans arises from the fact that the latter claim and try to obtain privileges which seem an encroachment into their monopoly to the Caste Hindus. General cases of assaults and riotings are reported. Law never prevails in these villages which are often difficult to reach by even ordinary vehicles. Even if it begins to move, it moves much too slowly and never satisfactorily. As it is, only Congressmen interfere in such cases on behalf of Hindu Harijans who are the worst sufferers. This naturally breeds dislike towards the Congress in Caste Hindus or the Christian converts as the case may be."

Whatever Government does or does not do, the duty of the Caste Hindus is clear. There is no doubt that in those famine-stricken areas many Caste-Hindus are in no better case than Harijans; but the so-called higher Caste Hindus have to bestir themselves and share their comforts and amenities with the less well-to-do Caste Hindus and Harijans. If religion does not matter to the Harijans, whom the force of circumstances drives from one fold to the other, neither does it matter to the so-called Hindus, who are regardless of the welfare of their own kith and kin. And so long as we have not wiped out this blot, conversions, reconversions and breaches of peace will go on occurring. If we are not enlightened, it is no use expecting those of other religion to be enlightened enough not to besmirch their religion by mercenary proselytisation.

Another Aspect

It is something that some brave spirits have asserted themselves and have left their Missions because they cannot endorse the practice of their own Missionary brethren. The other reason that drives them out of the narrow fraternity is the tabooing by the Church of all sympathy for the national aspirations of the country in which they live. Prof. Wadia, in his closing address to the International Fellowship Conference at Aundh, had to dwell with pain on some recent cases of this denial of Christianity. I reproduce his remarks in full:

"Let me refer in the end to one more topic on which I cannot resist the temptation to dwell. We are in the midst of a war that threatens to spread as the months pass and to grow into a world conflagration. There has been a growing body of opinion in the West that looks upon war as organised man slaughter, men who maintain that no end however righteous can justify the use of violence; this body of opinion is intimately associated with the teaching of the Gospels. Amongst this group may be included the Methodist Episcopal Church which has officially declared that as an institution it 'does not endorse, support, or purpose to participate in war.' I mention the M. E. Church, as we have amongst us present in these meetings some of their representatives. Their sympathies and identification with the moral challenge to British imperialism in India have led them into an explicit declaration of their views in two manifestos. It grieves the hearts of all of us Indians who are here to find that just as a few years ago Verrier Elwin was led by an Anglican Bishop of Bombay to sever his connection with the Church, so the unwarranted belief in the impropriety of publishing a document witnessing to the best that is in Christianity has led a Methodist Bishop today to step out of his way and write to the Viceroy apologising for the alleged misconduct of some of his fold in declaring their adherence to the teaching of the Gospels. The International Fellowship is deeply concerned that the Christian Churches should, in their anxiety to keep on good terms with the representatives of Rome, should

curtail the scope of the good work of Jerusalem and persecute in a way the very people who by their lives and understanding manifest the call to service and the witness to His purpose. Well might one exclaim as of old, "These be thy Gods, Oh Israel." The International Fellowship is also concerned in this action of the Churches in another way: in a self-governing India of the future the position of the Europeans is likely to become more and more difficult; the one great link between Indians and Europeans in the future will be not the body of the Missionaries as a whole, but the few amongst them who by their understanding of, and complete identification with, Indian life and Indian aspirations will promote the cause of peace and goodwill; and it is just these representatives of the best that is in Christianity who are told one after another that they have no place in the official work of the Churches. 'Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that stonest those that are sent unto Thee.' Well might it be said that the hope for the salvation of mankind all over the world lies not inside but outside the life of the organised Churches."

It will be remembered that about two months ago in these columns Shrimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur referred to Mr. Templin's open letter to the Viceroy declaring unequivocally the attitude of the true followers of Christ to the present world situation. Mr. Templin was also said to have been hauled over the coals by the "High Command of the Church of India" for having signed a manifesto repudiating the Viceregal declaration regarding the minorities. If I am not mistaken, it is the same high dignitary who has now apologised to the Viceroy for Mr. Templin's and others' "fall" from Christianity! And it is this apology that is referred to by Prof. Wadia in his speech.

Mr. J. Holmes Smith is another of the signatories to that offending open letter to the Viceroy, and he is paying for his offence by having to go back to America. Mr. Smith describes himself as a missionary Kristagrahi. One wonders whether the Churchagrahis who have hounded him out will endorse the description.

Segaon, 22-1-40

M. D.

(1) Swadeshi—True & False

By Gandhiji & Others. Price 2 As. including postage.

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By S. K. George

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Available at *Harijan* Office—Poona 4

Notice

Cheques other than those drawn on banks in Poona and Bombay are not accepted towards payment of subscription. *Manager.*

ORGANISATION FOR WAR OR PEACE?

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

Hardly a generation since the last devastating war has elapsed before the dogs of war have been again unleashed on the peace-loving people of the world. Why do these periodic visitations come on us? This question is uppermost in many minds. The answer is simple: because the world is organised for war and not for peace. As long as the land slopes in a certain direction water will flow in that direction. However much we may desire it to flow in another direction, it will not do so. When we translate our desire into action and change the slope in the required direction, then the water will flow in that direction of its accord. If we desire peace, we must organise the world for peace; only then will wars be of the past.

Modern wars are waged, not for personal aggrandisement, greed or revenge but to obtain control over raw materials, trade routes and markets, which are essential for centralised methods of production. As long as we have this method of production our asking for peaceful conditions is more absurd than a child crying for the moon. War is inevitable, nay it is a necessity, as we are organised today. War forms the background of all activity. If you raise the seat of a third class compartment of a railway carriage, you will find brackets for rifles. Business concerns are so organised as to be easily converted into ammunition factories at a moment's notice. In fact we may say the world is always at war. It is only a question of active or passive warfare. The period from 1919 to 1938 was one of passive warfare. Now we are facing a dynamic war. Which is the better state? There can be no such condition as 'peace' as long as fear dominates men's lives.

People in Europe desire to maintain their multiplicity of wants and at the same time they would like to have peace. Peace and a high standard of living are incompatible. The world has not yet understood this. Even the galaxy of writers who have eulogised Gandhiji in the volume presented to him on his 70th birthday have missed this point. They have all mentioned satyagrahi methods of settling disputes as the real contribution of Gandhiji. This is a mere trifle, though important. If Gandhiji's whole life is read correctly, his message to the world is a call to organise our everyday life for peace. This can only be done by restricting our wants to such things as we can make in our own country with the means at our disposal. Are we prepared to receive this message? Can we take up this cross of simple life and follow the life of a satyagrahi?

(Abridged from *Gram Udyog Patrika* No. 11)

"Why the Village Movement?" By J. C. Kumarappa. Price Rs. 1-8-0. Postage 3 As. Available at *Harijan* Office—Poona 4.

H A R I J A N

Jan. 27

1940

AHIMSA IN PRACTICE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia :

"Does the Independence Pledge necessitate belief in a social order for free India which will be based exclusively on the charkha and the present constructive programme? I personally feel that it does not. The pledge is inclusive of the charkha and village crafts, but it is not exclusive of other industries and economic activities. Among these industries may be mentioned those of electricity, ship-building, machine-making and the like. The question of emphasis still remains. The pledge decides it only to the extent that belief in the charkha and village crafts as an integral part of the future social order is essential and cannot be superseded by other belief.

Does the pledge immediately necessitate abandonment of every other action except such as is based on the present constructive programme? I personally feel that it does not. Agitation against land rents, taxes, interest and other economic obstructions to the advance of our people appears to be permissible. It is not, for instance, impossible that you should yourself decide upon a no-rent and no-tax campaign when you choose to start Satyagraha. Whether you actually do so or not is not so important from the view-point of the pledge as the fact that you *may* do it. At any rate, agitation on economic lines is today permissible.

These two questions arise in so far as the negative aspect of the pledge is concerned. A third question arises in regard to its positive aspect. It is undoubtedly necessary that anyone who takes the pledge must be ready to express his positive faith in the principle of decentralised economy. The actual forms of this faith may, however, be decided by the march of history. Only in regard to the charkha it should be possible for anyone who takes the pledge to believe that the complete decentralisation of the textile industry is possible and that it should be attempted.

I have not at all referred to irregularities of conduct due to indolence and similar causes; that happens in regard to all pledges and faiths. Only the wish must be there to remove these irregularities.

I do not know if this interpretation of the pledge is correct and can meet with your approval. I do not also know if my socialist comrades will approve of it. It might perhaps be worth while for the country to know soon your opinion. Perhaps it is already too late for the Independence Day."

I need hardly repeat, what I have said often, that the legal and authoritative interpretation of the pledge can only come from the Working Committee. My interpretation has as much authority as my questioners choose to give it.

On the whole I can say that I have no difficulty in accepting Dr. Lohia's interpretation.

Whatever the ultimate outcome of the Congress effort, the discussion that is going on over the pledge provides healthy political education for the public and crystallises the opinions that rule the various schools of thought in the country.

Though I am in general agreement with Dr. Lohia, it will be well for me to give the interpretation in my own language. The pledge is not exhaustive. It represents the limit to which I could carry the Working Committee with me. If I can convert the country to my point of view, the social order of the future will be based predominantly on the charkha and all it implies. It will include everything that promotes the well-being of the villagers. It will not exclude the industries mentioned by my correspondent so long as they do not smother the villages and village life. I do visualise electricity, ship-building, ironworks, machine-making and the like existing side by side with village handicrafts. But the order of dependence will be reversed. Hitherto the industrialisation has been so planned as to destroy the villages and village crafts. In the State of the future it will subserve the villages and their crafts. I do not share the socialist belief that centralisation of the necessities of life will conduce to the common welfare when the centralised industries are planned and owned by the State. The socialistic conception of the West was born in an environment reeking with violence. The motive lying behind the Western type and the Eastern is the same—the greatest welfare of the whole society and the abolition of the hideous inequalities resulting in the existence of millions of have-nots and a handful of haves. I believe that this end can be achieved only when non-violence is accepted by the best mind of the world as the basis on which a just social order is to be constructed. I hold that the coming into power of the proletariat through violence is bound to fail in the end. What is gained by violence must be lost before superior violence. India is within an ace of achieving the end, if only Congressmen will be true to their creed of non-violence and live up to it. The working of the constructive programme is the test. Those who play upon the passions of the masses injure them and the country's cause. That they have noble motives is irrelevant. Why will not Congressmen work out the programme fully and faithfully? It will be time to consider other programmes when we have come into our own. But like the fabled men who quarreled over the division of the buffalo before it was bought, we argue and quarrel over our different programmes before Swaraj has come. Decency requires that when a programme is approved by the majority all should carry it out faithfully.

Most decidedly, the pledge does not necessitate the abandonment of the other items that have hitherto adorned the Congress programme and

are adverted to by Dr. Lohia. Agitation against every form of injustice is the breath of political life. My contention is that, divorced from the constructive programme, it is bound to have the tinge of violence.

Let me illustrate my point. My experiments in ahimsa have taught me that non-violence in practice means common labour with the body. A Russian philosopher, Bodaref, has called it bread labour. It means closest co-operation. The first Satyagrahis of South Africa laboured for the common good and the common purse and felt free like birds. They included Hindus, Muslims (Shias and Sunnis), Christians (Protestants and Roman Catholics), Parsis and Jews. They included the English and the Germans. By profession they were lawyers and architects, engineers, electricians, printers and traders. Practice of truth and non-violence melted religious differences, and we learnt to see beauty in each religion. I do not remember a single religious quarrel in the two colonies I founded in South Africa. The common labour consisted of printing, carpentry, shoe-making, gardening, house-building, and the like. Labour was no drudgery, it was a joy. The evenings were devoted to literary pursuits. These men, women and boys were the vanguard of the Satyagraha army. I could not wish for braver or more loyal comrades. In India the South African experience was continued and, I trust, improved upon. Labour in Ahmedabad is by common consent the best organised in India. If it continues to work along the lines on which it began, it will ultimately own the mills in common with the present holders. If that is not the natural outcome, its non-violence will be found to contain flaws. The peasants of Bardoli who gave Vallabhbhai the title of 'Sardar' and won their battle, and of Borsad and Kheda who did likewise, have for years been working the constructive programme. They have not deteriorated as Satyagrahis by working it. I am quite certain that Ahmedabad labour and the peasantry of Bardoli and Kheda will give as good an account of themselves as any other in India if there is civil resistance.

Thirtyfour years of continuous experience and experimenting in truth and non-violence have convinced me that non-violence cannot be sustained unless it is linked to conscious body-labour and finds expression in our daily contact with our neighbours. This is the constructive programme. It is not an end, it is an indispensable means and therefore is almost convertible with the end. The power of non-violent resistance can only come from honest working of the constructive programme.

Segaon, 23-1-40

become converts to Islam do not change their nationality. I hope Quaid Azam Jinnah does not represent the considered opinion even of his colleagues.

Segaon, 23-1-40

UNITY V. JUSTICE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A visitor came the other day and said, "You have done an irreparable injury to India by saying that there is no Swaraj without communal unity. You should say instead that there is no Swaraj without justice between and to the different communities." I reasoned with my visitor but he would not be consoled. He said, "You have offered to sell your soul to win the favour of your Muslim friends." I protested and said, "Surely you know, the world knows, that I would not sell my soul to buy India's freedom. And if I want Muslim friendship, it is not for personal gratification but for India's sake. You are unjust to me." My visitor retorted with some passion, "I know your love for the country. If I had not known it, I would not have come to you specially. But your love has blinded you to the mistake you have made and are making. You do not know what Hindus say and do. For fear of offending Muslims, they suffer because they believe in you. I do beseech you to replace 'unity' with 'justice'." It was no use my arguing with my friend. And I had no time. I promised to deal with the question in these columns. The promise soothed him. I do not know that my answer will.

My belief is unshaken that without communal unity Swaraj cannot be attained through non-violence. But unity cannot be reached without justice between communities. Muslim or any other friendship cannot be bought with bribery. Bribery would itself mean cowardice and therefore violence. But if I give more than his due to my brother, I do not bribe him nor do I do any injustice. I can disarm suspicion only by being generous. Justice without generosity may easily become Shylock's justice. I must, however, take care that the generosity is not done at the expense of the very cause for which it is sought to be done.

I cannot, therefore, drop the idea of unity or the effort for it. But what is wanted is not so much justice as right action. Quaid Azam Jinnah's reply to me, as published in the press, however, dashes to the ground all hope of unity if he represents the Muslim mind. His repudiation of the natural meaning I put upon his action in making common cause with the different political groups has created a unique situation. His picture of India as a continent containing nations counted according to their religions, if it is realised, would undo the effort the Congress has been making for over half a century. But I hope that Quaid Azam Jinnah's opinion is a temporary phase in the history of the Muslim League. Muslims of the different provinces can never cut themselves away from their Hindu or Christian brethren. Both Muslims and Christians are converts from Hinduism or are descendants of converts. They do not cease to belong to their provinces because of change of faith. Englishmen who

THE OLD DEMAND IN A NEW GARB

Consistency is said to be the hobgoblin of small minds, and scoffers say Gandhiji does not suffer from it. He never indeed has made a fetish of verbal consistency, and never refers, when he is expounding his view, to what he may have said before in similar context. But as he has before anything else a consistent mind, even dissimilar and contradictory language when analysed is found to have the same consistent ring. The truth of these remarks will be borne out by a comparison of what Gandhiji said in 1921-22 and what he is saying today with regard to India's constitution of freedom.

He has described himself as 'a convert' to the Constituent Assembly idea, but the conversion is no more than his 'conversion' after 1929 to the objective of Independence or 'Poorna Swaraj' from the erstwhile objective of Swaraj. The objective and method have been the same, they have been presented in a new garb to suit the changing circumstances. Thus today he speaks of "a constitution indigenous to the country, and truly and fully representing the will of the people". In 1921-22 too he used the same language. "I look forward," he said, "to an honourable settlement... that will assure to her full immediate Swaraj in accordance with the wishes of her chosen representatives." That was in 1921. In 1922 he defines Swaraj "with the British connection". Even there the objective and the method are the same:

"Let us see clearly what Swaraj together with the British connection means. It means undoubtedly India's ability to declare her independence if she wishes. Swaraj, therefore, will not be a free gift of the British Parliament. It will be a declaration of India's full self-expression. That it will be expressed through an Act of Parliament is true. But it will be merely a courteous *ratification of the declared wish of the people of India*, even as it was in the case of the Union of South Africa. Not an unnecessary adverb in the Union Scheme could be altered by the House of Commons. The ratification in our case will be of a treaty to which Britain will be a party. Such Swaraj may not come this year, may not come within our generation. *But I have contemplated nothing less.* The British Parliament, when the settlement comes, will ratify the wishes of the people of India as expressed not through the bureaucracy, but *through her freely chosen representatives.*

This again was a repetition of language used a year before this:

"What will kill non-cooperation? Certainly violence on the part of the non-cooperators. But that is not what I wanted to answer. What can the Government do to kill non-cooperation — is the question I have been asked. A settlement of the Khilafat in accordance with the Muslim demand, a settlement of the Punjab in accordance with the Indian demand, and the grant of Swaraj in accordance with a scheme to be framed by authorised representatives of the nation The Swaraj that the Congress demands is not one that is to be granted by England. It must be that which the nation demands and can enforce in the same sense that South Africa received it."

In yet another article the scheme is referred to as "a scheme framed by the chosen representatives of the people".

The Assembly that was to frame the charter of freedom had not then received the name of a 'Constituent Assembly'. In fact Gandhiji then — even as he would do now if he was left to himself — fought shy of foreign words and foreign conceptions, and used the word 'Swaraj' in preference to 'Freedom' or 'Independence'. And even as the word 'Swaraj' came to be 'Independence' in later years, the council or assembly of chosen representatives has now become the 'Constituent Assembly'. In 1922 he even defined the representatives and the method of their election. "The scheme of such Swaraj," he said, "should be framed by representatives duly elected in terms of the Congress constitution. That means the four anna franchise. Every Indian adult, male or female, paying four annas and signing the Congress creed, will be entitled to be placed on the electoral roll. *These electors would elect delegates who would frame the Swaraj constitution. This shall be given effect to without any change by the British Parliament.*"

The franchise then was the franchise accepted by both Hindus and Muslims who had united for a common objective. The Muslims had then elected to fight under the banner of the Congress which was as much their own as the Hindus' or the Sikhs', Parsis', Christians' or the Jews'. Today a section of them are denouncing and disowning the Congress. The suggested franchise is, therefore, no longer the Congress franchise, but adult franchise to which no freedom loving person could have any objection.

What that scheme framed by a Constituent Assembly will be is no more known now than it was known then. "If," he says today, "once the proposition that all communities desire a charter of Independence framed by a Constituent Assembly and that they will not be satisfied with anything else, is accepted, the settling of details surely becomes easy." Now look at the language used in 1922: "The Swaraj scheme is undoubtedly a matter on which there will be as many minds as there are men and women. And it is eminently a thing to be debated in a conference. But *here again there must be a clean mind and no reservations. India's freedom must be the supreme interest in everybody's mind.* There should be no obstruction such as the occupation of the British elector or the indifference of the House of Commons, or the hostility of the House of Lords. No lover of India can possibly take into account these extraneous matters. The only question to consider will be — Is India ready for what she wants? Or does she ask like a child for food she has no stomach for? *That can be determined not by outsiders but by Indians themselves.*" The only thing that he has been insisting on all these years is that no constitution will be imposed on India from outside,—"Self-government to be self-government has merely to reflect the will of the people

who are to govern themselves. If they are not prepared for it, they will make a hash of it. I can conceive people fitting themselves for right government through a series of wrong experiments." (1939)

He describes the method of selecting the chosen representatives that he then suggested as "the most feasible method". "For the manner of preparing the scheme too I have simply suggested what appears to me to be the most feasible method. The All India Congress Committee has not considered it nor has the Working Committee. The adoption of the Congress franchise is my own suggestion. But what I have laid down as the guiding principle is really unassailable. The scheme of Swaraj is that scheme which popular representatives frame." Again: "I have no clear-cut scheme. It has to be evolved by the people's representatives."

What was unassailable then and is unassailable now is the guiding principle, to which no one can have any objection. An altered method of choosing the representatives is suggested today in order to suit the changed circumstances, and that would seem to be the '*most feasible*' method today — call it the Constituent Assembly, or the Assembly of India's Chosen Representatives or by any other name. The objective and the principles for which the fight was begun twenty years ago remain the same, only the names and the method of application have altered with altering circumstances. Thus it is the old demand in a new garb.

Segaon, 22-1-40

M. D.

INDORE

I do not suppose there is a single State today in which there is no political awakening and where political workers do not come into conflict with the State authorities. Very often, if not always, rival organisations are set up and help to increase the tension rather than mitigate it.

Indore has been suffering from these troubles in common with other States. As I have interested myself in the freedom movement in the States and as the Dewan had invited me to Indore, I went there during the week and had talks with the workers. Representatives of the Praja Mandal which claims to have been working actively in the political field for the last four years and representatives of the Praja Sangh which was formed some months ago owing to internal dissensions met for hours together recently and have agreed to have a common committee to chalk out a programme of constructive work. It may be mentioned that on paper there is no difference in the ideology of the two groups. Both aver that the attainment of responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja is their political aim; both lay equal stress on constructive work, and there seems to be no difference in their programme so far as this is concerned. Such

differences as there are, are said to exist in the methods to be employed in the political field. But more than these differences, mutual jealousies, rivalries and distrust seemed to me to be responsible for cleavages. It was finally agreed that members of both Committees should meet at least once a month to discuss political problems. It is hoped that the two will ultimately fuse into one.

The representatives of the Sangh and Mandal later had fruitful talks with the Prime Minister. He told them that he could have no objection whatsoever to the people expressing their desire for responsible government. He himself believed in democracy. Nor would he place obstacles in the way of political workers who were honestly out to prepare the ground, to educate the people and guide the political awakening along right channels. He assured them that he had no desire to curtail either freedom of speech, or association which were the birthright of every citizen of a civilised State. But inasmuch as the general mass of the people were wholly ignorant, he complained bitterly about what he termed the malicious and lying propaganda that had been carried on for some time against His Highness and the State Government with never any effort at contradiction by the Praja Mandal Committee, leave alone any disciplinary action against defaulting members. He added that while he would welcome just and reasoned criticism and would always look into grievances, it was impossible for him to tolerate such propaganda as had no basis. As far as constructive work was concerned he was most anxious that all workers should concentrate on this, and they would have not only the moral but also the material support of the State. He quoted instances of two members of the Praja Mandal who were doing excellent work in the villages and whom he was helping financially. He said he would welcome as many such workers as could come into the field. He believed in khadi, he believed in village uplift, in the removal of untouchability, and in universal primary and adult education. In all these spheres he wanted co-operation and said that members of every political organisation should make service a criterion of their bona fides.

The Praja Mandal representatives have promised to concentrate on constructive work, to take disciplinary action against any of their members who are found guilty of spreading lies about His Highness and the Government. They have decided to ask all their members by way of self-restraint to make only written speeches, carefully thought out beforehand, at public meetings and not to make any complaints unless they have full proof of the same. They are free to issue a bulletin of their own.

The day before this meeting took place the Prime Minister announced that the Cabinet had decided to remove octroi and customs duties on all khadi which bore the impress of the A. I.

S. A. This is a happy augury. It is to be hoped that a new era has dawned for Indore and there will be harmony between the people and the authorities and steady progress towards the common goal.

Segaon, 15-1-40

A. K.

THE INDEPENDENCE DAY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Though questions regarding the forthcoming Independence Day pledge should be properly addressed to the Congress Secretary and though the President alone can give authoritative answers, they are continually being addressed to me; and as I have undertaken the duty of declaring civil resistance and leading the army should a struggle become necessary, it becomes incumbent on me to answer certain questions before 26th January.

1. Let it be remembered that, if civil resistance is to be declared, it will have to be more civil and more non-violent than ever before, if only to show the warring nations of the earth that a big people like that of India can fight non-violently for regaining their freedom. Therefore I shall resolutely refuse to fight unless I have sufficient confidence that Congressmen will render implicit obedience.

2. There is as much valour in self-denial as there is in rushing into the furnace, provided that the motive is the same in either case.

3. The Independence Day is an annual feature in the Congress programme and is unconnected with civil resistance. Hence the forthcoming celebration must not be mistaken for declaration of civil resistance. Nevertheless it would serve as an index of the discipline among Congressmen and those millions who have hitherto answered the Congress call. There should on the one hand be the largest demonstration of all the previous ones we have had, and on the other it should be of a character so peaceful as to disarm all criticism and induce and enable women with babes, little children and aged people to join the demonstration. Such was the demonstration on 6th April 1919 in Bombay.

4. Students have asked me what they should do. I would expect them individually to take the pledge, for it means their determination to win independence for India through truthful non-violent means symbolised in the constructive programme in which the charkha is the central activity. The other items are harmony among different communities and eradication of untouchability. These do not constitute the struggle but their fulfilment is indispensable for it. If the struggle comes, the students will not strike. They will leave their schools or colleges for good. But the students will not strike on the 26th. It will be good if the authorities themselves, as they well might, close their institutions and lead their staff and students in processions and other

items of the programme. The same thing applies to labour. Those who without leave absent themselves from their work will in my opinion be guilty of indiscipline and render themselves unfit for enlisting as soldiers in the Satyagraha army. Non-violence is all discipline, wholly voluntary. It is clear from the foregoing that those who do not believe in and use khadi cannot take the pledge.

5. The pledge is not designed, as some fear, to eliminate strikes and no-tax campaigns. But I must at once confess that I have in my mind neither strikes nor no-tax campaigns as parts of the forthcoming struggle, if it comes at all. In my opinion the present atmosphere is not conducive to non-violent strikes and non-violent no-tax campaigns on an extensive scale.

6. I expect the whole weight of the Congress organisation to be devoted to popularising khadi and clearing the existing stocks.

7. For me Satyagraha is a method of self-purification. The word was first used in the A. I. C. C. resolution of 1921. The constructive programme has been designed for that purpose. Though the word has fallen into disrepute, I as the author of the programme must have the courage to repeat it. We began Satyagraha with a 24 hours' fast in 1919. I propose to observe one myself on the 26th beginning in the evening of the 25th. And those who believe in its efficacy will do likewise.

8. Though I am preparing myself in the best manner I know and inviting the country to join me for a struggle for the overthrow of the imperialistic spirit and all it means, I am making a desperate effort to avoid the struggle. I believe that the best mind of England, nay of the world, is sick of the exploitation by the strong of the less strong. I believe in the sincerity of Lord Linlithgow. In the immediate carrying out of policies it is the individuals who count. I have worked with faith and hope. And I have not lost the hope that we shall have an honourable settlement without a struggle which, no matter how non-violent, must involve considerable suffering. I therefore invite all communities, all parties, including Englishmen, to join the effort.

Segaon, 22-1-40

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[ONE ANNA

To Correspondents and Message-seekers

In spite of my notice in *Harijan* of December 23rd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation I know several intimate friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have to harden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

Segaon, 15-1-40

M. K. G.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In spite of my weekly warning, correspondence continues to be almost as heavy as before. I have no time to go through it all. Pyarelal puts before me those letters which he thinks I must see. I have therefore suggested to him that he should prepare from the mass of correspondence questions which he may consider to be of general importance and I should deal with them from week to week. I hope that the correspondents and the readers will appreciate the effort.

Constituent Assembly

Q. Your Constituent Assembly will be elected by a vast majority of illiterate and ignorant voters who would vote for one side or another because that side is led by persons who cry slogans palatable to them. In such circumstances would not the decision of the Assembly be a farce, a tyranny of numbers? Why cannot you settle by a discussion in the press, or on the platform or in a private conference?

A. There is risk always in every big experiment, but in my opinion it is the least in the proposed method. Underlying the proposal is the faith that the majority of candidates will be enlightened and selfless workers. In that case the elections will be concentrated political education on a stupendous scale. There is no question of tyranny of numbers. There is undoubtedly the risk of ignorant voters being betrayed into a wrong choice. Nevertheless the decision will be the verdict of the people. Discussion in the press and on the platform cannot replace the elective method. The decision of a private conference will represent only those who compose it. What is wanted is not necessarily a wise but a representative decision. Today many societies claim to speak in the name of the masses. When the Constituent Assembly

comes into being, it will silence all voices and be the sole instrument voicing the opinion of the nation.

Am I a Reformist?

Q. Is not Subhas Babu right when he ascribes to the High Command, including of course you, the reformist and the liberal tendency?

A. Of course he is right. Dadabhai was a great reformist. Gokhale was a great liberal; and so was Pherozeshah Mehta, the uncrowned king of the Bombay Presidency. So too was Surendranath Bannerjee. They were in their days the nation's tribunes. We are their heirs. We would not have been if they had not been. What Subhas Babu in his impatience to go forward forgets is that it is possible for men like me to compete with him in the love of the land in spite of our having reformist and liberal tendencies. But I have told him he has youth before him and he must have the dash of youth. ~~He is not held down by me or anybody else.~~ He is not the man to be so held. It is his own prudence that holds him. And in that way he is as much reformist and liberal as I am. Only I with my age know it, and he in his youth is blind to the good that is in him. Let my correspondents rest assured that, in spite of our different outlooks and in spite of the Congress ban on him, when he leads in non-violent battle they will find me following him, as I shall find him following me, if I overtake him. But I must live in the hope that we shall gain our common end without another fight.

Universal Conscription

Q. You say millions are unarmed and unused to wielding arms. But what is the difficulty, when India is free, in training the whole nation in the use of arms by means of universal conscription?

A. Of course in theory there is nothing to prevent the training by universal conscription. Only I think that the people of this land would not take to arms easily even though conscription may be resorted to. In any event arming of the millions, or even a few, is outside my province. It is repugnant to me. But what I would conscript is productive labour skilled and unskilled. This, I hold, would be the easiest and the most effective method of organising society on a peaceful footing.

Independence Pledge

Q. The Independence pledge regarding khadi and village industries has been variously interpreted.

What is one to do? What is the meaning of 'regular spinning', 'habitual use of khadi' and of 'village products'? Is it enough for me to fulfil the pledge, or does it apply to my family? What am I to do if I cannot afford to buy khadi for the whole family?

A. The Independence pledge has been made optional this time. The papers report that it has been taken by lakhs of men and women. I hope the reports are true. My own barometer is khadi sales. The pledge can be taken even now. I admit that it is capable of yielding various interpretations. But so are the Vedas. The authoritative interpretation can be given only by the Rashtrapati. I do not propose to give you my own. You should be your own interpreter. Remember, where there's a will there's a way. Of course it is better if your whole family takes the pledge. But you are not your brother's keeper. So far as your purse is concerned, see if your wardrobe admits of reduced clothing whilst many millions go about in rags. I have a suspicion that many of my questioners have superfluous things which they consider necessary for appearances. Appearances are not for those who want to sacrifice themselves for their own and their country's freedom. I have also suggested that those who cannot pay the full price of khadi can get it almost at mill price if they will spin their own yarn. Lastly, you need not take the pledge now. You can take it when you have prepared yourself for it. What is most needed is uttermost sincerity. Letters like yours fill me with hope. I can raise an indomitable army out of sincere men and women who are willing to come under discipline.

Spinning Wheel and Independence

Q. How do you connect the wheel with Swaraj? We were producing our own khadi when we lost our freedom.

A. We did not then know the pricelessness of the charkha. Now that we know it, we must restore it to its honoured place in our homes. Supposing people who have their rifles with them lose both their freedom and their rifles, will it be proper for them to resist the counsel of a wise man who might rise in their midst and advise them to rearm themselves, with the knowledge added to the rearmament that they were foolish in easily surrendering their rifles? I verily believe that we cannot gain or retain our freedom by non-violent means unless we realise the necessity and the dignity of reviving the charkha with all its implications.

Lusting with the Eye

Q. I am a poor man employed in a mill. I am in a great fix. Whenever I go out, the sight of a fair face overwhelms me. I lose all self-control. I sometimes fear that I might be betrayed into indecorous behaviour. I once thought of committing suicide. But my good wife saved me. She suggested that I should take her with me whenever I stirred out of the house. The plan has worked but it is not always practicable.

In desperation I often think that I should pluck out my offending eyes. But the consideration for my wife has deterred me. You are a man of God. Can't you suggest a remedy?

A. You are honest and frank. You should know that there are many people in the same plight as you are. This lusting with the eye is a common disease. It is on the increase. It has even attained a kind of respectability. This, however, should be no consolation to you. You have a brave wife. You dare not be unfaithful to her. And lusting after another woman is the height of unfaithfulness. It reduces marriage to a mockery. You should resolutely fight against the enemy. Treasure the thought that all other women are like blood-sisters to you. Give up the lewd literature, cinemas and lewd pictures that disfigure the press. Walk with your eyes fixed to the earth; and whilst you are doing so pray to the God within that He may cleanse your heart, and believe that He will deliver you from the curse. If necessary, wear thickly smoked glasses. You will find in them a first class external aid. There is really nothing to admire in the big cities with their oppressive hugeness and congestion and the same noises, and the same faces day in and day out. If we were not victims of the mighty force of inertia, our senses would sicken over the repetition of the same ugly phenomenon. In the daytime bury yourself in the duty before you, and at night do a little bit of star-gazing with the aid of a simple astronomical guide, and you will have before your eyes a spectacle which no cinema in the world can provide; and, it may be, you will one day find God peeping through the myriads of stars, and, if you attune yourself to the divine nightly manifestation, you will hear the soft and soothing music of the spheres. Try this every night and your eyes will act right and your heart will be sound. May God bless you.

Uncertified Khadi and A. I. S. A.

Q. I can quite understand your emphasis on the exclusive use of certified khadi. But certified khadi is dear. The result is that while on the one hand there are thousands of people who are too poor to purchase certified khadi, on the other there are thousands of spinners whom the A. I. S. A. cannot give employment on account of the standard wage. Would it not be advisable under the circumstances to employ the surplus spinners on a lower wage, pool the standard-wage and the non-standard-wage khadi, and thus at one stroke provide cheap khadi to the poor consumer and employment to the needy spinner?

A. This is a good question. The executive of the A. I. S. A. is wide awake. Every effect of the arbitrary rise in the spinners' wages is being watched. The question of pooling has not escaped attention. Every effort is being made to keep prices within reach of the buyers. Selfish purveyors of uncertified khadi and the gullible

or indifferent public are the greatest obstacles! The A. I. S. A. has to cut its difficult way through these obstacles.

Delegate's Fee and the Congress

Q. You have claimed the Congress members to be the spokesmen of the poor, toiling millions of India. How can you expect the representatives of the poorest, who must themselves be likewise poor, to pay the delegate's fee of Rs. 5? Does it then mean that the poor millions must choose their representatives from among the monied class? Is this your ideal of democracy?

A. My ideal of democracy is quite sound. Without the delegate's fee the Congress cannot work. The fee also acts as some check on fraud. Every delegate has a large constituency. If the delegate is a *bona fide* choice of the voters, they should find the delegate's fee and expenses. If the voters paid one pice per head for the expenses of their delegate, it would be possible for the poorest delegate to represent them. The fact is that the Congress is neither sufficiently democratic nor representative. There is too much wirepulling and manoeuvring for seizing power rather than doing service. Congressmen have gone in for vastness at the expense of depth. The result is that we are skating on dangerously thin ice.

What about Your Son?

Q. I have a difficulty with you. You are out to conquer the whole world with love. How is it you could not conquer your own son? You believe in the doctrine of beginning with yourself. Why not begin with your son? There is no such thing as an irredeemably bad boy. I am sure you will succeed if you try.

A. You are right. But I have admitted my limitations. Complete non-violence, i. e. complete love, never fails. You may also know that I have not despaired of my son regaining his sanity. Superficially I seem to have hardened my heart. But my prayer for his reformation has never ceased. I believe in its efficacy. And I have patience.

Malicious Falsehood

Q. In a book entitled 'खतरेका बिगुल' published by the Arya Sahitya Mandal Ltd., Ajmer, on page 30, I have come across the following statement which you are alleged to have made during your recent tour of the Frontier Province: "The Pathan raiders have two kinds of needs, the physical, viz. those relating to food, clothing and shelter, and the sexual. The Hindus, therefore, ought to offer them all their property and women-folk so that they might be satiated and give up their raiding habits." On page 31 of the same pamphlet it is stated that at the instance of Sir Akbar Hydari you wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University not to admit to his University the students who had been rusticated from the Osmania University for singing "Vande Matram". But the latter gave you a snub by retorting: "I am the Vice-Chancellor of the University, not you; I know my duty," and

gave admission to the students in question. If these facts are true, they are a serious reflection on you. What have you to say in reply?

A. My answer is that every one of the statements is a malicious falsehood. I know that there is a campaign of lying propaganda going on against me. It grieves me, however, to find that an Arya Samaj publication should propagate such untruths. There is a *bhajan* in the Ashram Bhajanavali in which we pray for those that detract us. Or I can say in the Biblical language: "Father forgive them for they know not what they do." The pity is that these friends of whom you write know what they are doing. My prayer goes out for them also. Lies have never hurt those against whom they are uttered. They do hurt those who utter them and they often confound society. The writer has libelled the Pathan and Sir Akbar. Badshah Khan, the servant of God, is a Pathan. Sir Akbar is not so simple as to expect me to do what is attributed to him.

The Sindh Tragedy

Q. In your article "Sindh Tragedy" you have advised the oppressed Hindus of Sindh to perform *hijrat* if they cannot protect their honour and self-respect by remaining in Sindh. Where do you expect them to go? Who will provide them the wherewithal in their place of refuge? May I further ask you if the remedy of *hijrat* is meant for the Hindus only? Why do not you advise *hijrat* to the Mussalmans in the Congress provinces who complain so loudly of 'oppression'? As it is you have given them weightage in provinces in which they are in a minority and a statutory majority in the Punjab where they are numerically superior.

A. My advice to migrate is for all who feel oppressed and cannot live without loss of self-respect in a particular place. If the Muslims where they are in a minority were really oppressed and they sought my advice, I should give them the same advice that I have given to the Sindh Hindus. But as a general rule they are capable of holding their own even when they are in a minority. I have already told the Sindhis that, if they have the bravery to defend themselves even though they are a handful, they should not leave the places where they are settled. My advice is meant for those who, though they are conscious of self-respect, lack the strength that comes from non-violence or the capacity to return blow for blow.

The question what the refugees should do after migration is surely secondary. A few thousand of them can be easily absorbed in a vast country like India. Sindhis are enterprising. They are scattered all over the world. I hardly think any public appeal will be necessary. Let them know that there are refugees from Limbdi who are bravely and silently bearing their exile. A keen sense of honour turns every privation into a joy. But perhaps migration will be unnecessary. I see signs of Muslim leaders

realising their responsibility and making arrangements to create among the Hindus concerned a sense of security. If this happens, it would be as it should be.

The question of my befriending the Ali Brothers is surely irrelevant to the great issue I have raised. I am not sorry for anything I have done in connection with communal unity. I should repeat the same thing under similar circumstances. Neither community has lost by the unity of the Khilafat days, temporary though it unfortunately proved to be. You are wrong in holding me responsible for the Communal Decision. It has nothing to commend itself to any community except the solid fact that we are living under it and that we have not yet found an agreed formula to replace it.

Segaon, 29-1-40

H A R I J A N

Feb. 3

1940

FOURFOLD RUIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. F. E. James is reported to have said as follows in a recent speech delivered by him at Madras:

"Mr. James then referred to the Independence Pledge prescribed by the Congress and said that he did not like the following sentence in the pledge:

'The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself upon the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually.'

'Now I have got many friends in the Congress ranks, and I do feel that I have a right to protest against a statement which to my mind is not really necessary for the pledge itself. It is a provocative statement and I very much doubt whether it is true in any case. You can't prove it any more than I can disprove it.' The speaker emphasised that it was not just to put all the debits on one side. He was sure that those of his Congress friends who were free from hatred and prejudice could not repeat it without some mental reservation. If they were asked to repeat that statement, it might lead to a great deal of bitterness, hatred and misunderstanding. 'I do feel,' he further pointed out, 'that in this particular statement in the Independence Pledge there is to be found a contradiction between Gandhiji's doctrine of non-violence and the particular violence of the statement.'

Mr. James is not alone in his condemnation of the part of the pledge quoted by him. *The Statesman* has called the paragraph 'an abominable falsehood'. It should be remembered that this part was in the original and has stood without challenge all these ten years. That of course is no reason for not criticising it today if

the criticism is well-informed and sound. Prof. V. G. Desai recently showed in these columns* how unsound the criticism was. I revert to the subject because Mr. James sees a contradiction between my "doctrine of non-violence and the particular violence of the statement". I presume that the statement will not be considered violent if it is believed by the maker. For non-violence does not consist in hiding the truth from oneself or the world; it consists in non-violent conduct towards the wrong-doer in spite of the most vivid knowledge of his misdeeds. My inculcation of non-violence has been effective, because I have used almost the same adjectives as the school of violence has in describing the effects of British rule, and showed the most effective remedy for undoing them. There is no merit in loving those who do you no ill; merit lies in being loving or being non-violent towards those who ill-use you. When I described modern civilization symbolized in imperialism as godless in *Hind Swaraj* I know that I had nothing but goodwill towards those who represented it.

And is it not a fact staring one in the face that "the British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself upon the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually"? A. O. Hume, Digby, Dadabhai, Wedderburn and a host of other known and sober writers have taught the millions that the existing system of Government has drained the country of its wealth and reduced the peasantry to pauperism. Political subjection is patent. Cultural and spiritual conquest has at no time in India's history been so complete as during the British Rule. It is none the less galling or degrading because there has been a voluntary surrender. A victim's conquest is complete when he hugs the chains that bind him and begins to imitate the manners and customs of his captor. Our household was turned upside down when my father had to attend the Durbar during a Governor's visit. He never wore stockings or boots or what were then called "whole boots". His general foot-wear was soft leather slippers. If I was a painter, I could paint my father's disgust and torture on his face as he was putting his legs into his stockings and feet into ill-fitting and uncomfortable boots. He had to do this! I happened to be in Calcutta when Lord Curzon was holding his levee. I was staying in the India Club. The toilet of the Rajas and Maharajas who were staying there was a study. They looked like second editions of *khansamas*. Their ordinary dress was simple dhoti with the inimitable Bengali folds which only the Bengali bearers can produce and spotlessly white kurta and a thin shawl carelessly but gracefully flung round the body. But this was considered indecent dress for the levee of the Crown Representative. The big Zamindars and the Princes must appear properly bedecked and bejewelled. And what about the

* *Harijan*, 6-1-1940, page 406.

latest circular reproduced in these columns prescribing repeated bowings at an investiture ceremony in the U. P. ? Is not this cultural and spiritual degradation? Mr. James says: "You cannot prove it any more than I can disprove it." The last half is as true as the first half of the sentence is untrue. I have given only casual illustrations of the cultural conquest. The tragedy is much deeper than I have depicted. Should Englishmen take pride in the fact that many educated Indians cannot express themselves sufficiently in their own mother tongues, and that they have to transmit their inmost thoughts to their dear ones in the English language? I ask them to realise with me the enormity of the ruination of culture that this fact means. Many educated Indians have become *sahebogs* in their own land, and there is no living contact between them and the masses. Thanks to the Congress, things are better, but they are only just better. It is highly likely that the unnatural method of education has kept India from reaching her goal as nothing else has. Educated India has been disabled from reaching the masses. There are signs that Englishmen have begun to believe that India should come to her own. But their conversion will not be complete if they do not realise the truth of the fourfold ruination of India. If they are proud of the conquest of India and all it has meant, the gulf that divides them from us remains. Real understanding of the heart between them and us will not come by hiding facts. That understanding means a voluntary abdication by Britain of the fourfold conquest of India. Without that India cannot make to the world peace the special contribution for which she is specially fitted.

Segaon, 28-1-40

Notes

Sirohi

From Sirohi comes the welcome news that the arrests made last year of seven leaders did not break the spirits of the people. They have been observing the 22nd (the arrest day) of every month with due solemnity. They are having meetings, prabhat pheris, spinning, selling khadi, etc. It is a good omen that workers in the States are, wherever possible, organising themselves in a resolute and dignified manner. If on the one hand they learn the art of defying suffering however severe and on the other of remaining strictly within the limits prescribed in non-violent action, all would be well. All constructive effort means true education and organisation of the people.

Segaon, 30-1-40

Curious Discipline

The manifesto of the Kerala socialists, one of whom is the General Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, is a curious specimen of 'discipline'. Here are the choicest sentences from it:

"The charkha cult is part of the policy of the Congress leadership, which consists in postponing the fight as long as possible, in keeping out all leftis-

forces when fight becomes inevitable, and in compromise.

The signatories to the statement do not believe in the cult of the charkha. But still they appeal, in the name of discipline, to all people in Kerala to take the new pledge.

Soldiers who criticise their generals as the Kerala patrons of the Congress have done would be considered guilty of treason, for they would, if they could, bring their generals into contempt with the soldiery. It would be more dignified and certainly braver on the part of these gentlemen to secede from the Congress and convert the country to their method than to remain in it although they have no faith in its programme. They are postponing the day of deliverance who are undermining the influence of the only fighting organisation in the country by belittling its programme and its leaders.

Disturbing News

The news from South Africa is disturbing. Dr. Malan is on the war-path. He will enforce segregation by law. He will prohibit legal unions between the Whites and Asiatics. He will tolerate the Indians' presence only as hewers of wood and drawers of water, never as human beings, having equal opportunities and rights with the Whites. Here in India, which is daily growing in consciousness of her self-respect and her right to be regarded as a free nation, this racial bar is resented. India's independence is coming sooner than many people think. So far as I can see nothing can stop her march to her natural destiny. I myself envisage alliance with Great Britain and the Dominions, if the freedom is to come as a result of an honourable understanding between the two countries. But if the statesmen of South Africa continue the attitude of race superiority, alliance between unequals would become an impossibility. I look upon this war as a divine judgment. The whole world is directly or indirectly affected by it. Every nation subordinate or free has to make its choice. Personal wishes of the present actors are likely to be confounded. I would urge Dr. Malan and those South Africans who think with him to take a long view of things. He is of course on the right track if he thinks, as many Africans do, that God has created the white man to be lord and master of the coloured man. I hope that Dr. Malan is not one of them. Anyway I hope General Smuts will resist the pressure that is being put upon him to adopt the reactionary legislation suggested by Dr. Malan.

Segaon, 27-1-40

M. K. G.

Notice

The next issue being the last one of the current volume of *Harijan*, the annual Index will be given along with it. Issues of the current, i. e. the seventh, volume will be available till the 10th inst. at the rate of five pice per copy including postage. Subscribers are requested to give their register number when renewing their subscriptions, and to write their new addresses in block letters when intimating a change of address.

Manager

WANTED "A GREAT ACT OF DARING FAITH"

This phrase was used by Mr. Austin Chamberlain in 1921 with reference to the grant of self-government to the Transvaal. "By a great act of daring faith they conferred upon our recent enemies in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, on the moral of our victory, full self-government," said he. "I voted against them. I thought it a rash and wicked thing to do. If we could have seen further into the future, if I could have voted in that division with the knowledge I have today, I should have known that that great act of faith was not, as I thought, a destruction of our policy, but its completion and its fulfilment." And Sir John Simon, speaking in the House of Commons on November 27, 1922, referred to this great phrase as he rose to support Mr. Lloyd George in his motion to confirm the Irish Free State Constitution. The House of Commons, he said, by confirming that constitution was taking that bold step which was described by Mr. Austin Chamberlain "as a great act of daring faith". What India wants today is that the British statesmen should take that bold step, not only as they did in 1922 in the interest of justice, but also in order to put Britain straight with the world and to justify their professions.

That on the moral side the case for India is much stronger than for Ireland is evident from the barest examination of facts. The act of faith was in response not to any services rendered, but to a war of liberation marked by hideous excesses on both sides, there having been no less than 147 guerilla warfare conflicts in Dublin alone. Whilst India put 1,401,350 troops in the field during the "Great War", Ireland fomented a rebellion which had to be put down with great severity, and which caused Britain exasperating embarrassment. After the war there was a great deal of republican activity with shootings, burnings, lootings, and other outrages, murders of 21 officers in cold blood, reprisal by the 'Black and Tans', counter-reprisals, "a competition in crime" (Asquith), and a process of "casting out Satan by Beelzebub" (Archbishop of Canterbury). But Mr Lloyd George's Government decided to treat with the rebels, who returned to Ireland with a Treaty of Liberation signed by the British Delegation headed by Mr. Lloyd George and by the Irish Delegation (who signed their names in Gaelic) headed by Art O Griobhtha (Arthur Griffith). The Articles of Agreement of this Treaty were the basis of the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) proclaimed by the Dail Eireann "sitting as a Constituent Assembly in this Provisional Parliament, acknowledging that all lawful authority comes from God to the people and in the confidence that the national life and unity of Ireland shall thus be restored." And it was this Constitution that was ratified by the House of Commons.

Sir John Simon's speech on the occasion of this ratification or confirmation throws a flood of light on the present crisis in India. This is how he described the constitution: "The Prime Minister pointed out, and I think it is one of the encouraging features of the situation, that this constitution is *a constitution which has been drafted in Ireland for Ireland*. In that respect it differs from the great Gladstonian Scheme, from the Act of 1914, and from the Act of 1920. The procedure that has been followed is, however, by no means a novel or a revolutionary procedure. As the Prime Minister pointed out, *the constitutions under which different parts of our Empire are now working are in a very large measure Constitutions which have been settled on the soil where they were to operate, by the people who were to live under them*. The Dominion of Canada lives, it is true, under a Constitution which is contained in an Imperial Act, but that Imperial Act *did nothing more than embody in legislative form the great collection of Resolutions which had been arrived at in Quebec as a result of long debate and ultimate agreement between the Canadians themselves*..... Perhaps the most remarkable case of all is the most recent, for *the Constitution of the Union of South Africa was at length arrived at as the result of discussion in South Africa itself, and it was carried through this House, within the recollection of a good many Hon. Members in the year 1909, without the alteration of a single sentence*." That reproduces almost verbatim the demand by India for its charter of freedom. In fact no other Constitution can suit a country, can be accepted by a country. But Sir John Simon went on to make it clear beyond a possibility of doubt: "I believe it would be true to say that Constitutions which promote prosperity and loyalty, and which have been found to be *lasting Constitutions* for subordinate States in our Empire *have, almost without exception, either actually or virtually been framed by those who were to live under them themselves*." Such a Constitution cannot be "a Constitution," he added, "which the British Parliament formulates and offers to confer upon Ireland; it is a Constitution which Irishmen themselves have drawn up; and which they now apply to the Imperial Parliament to ratify." This speech, let it be remembered, was made before the Statute of Westminster came into force, but even then Sir John Simon said that the Dominions "give us their support and assistance not because we are in a position to compel them to do so, but because they are willing to give us that active support in every case where our cause is just."

What Sir John Simon impressed on the House was the definite decision on the part of the British Parliament "to abandon the attempt to govern Ireland at Westminster", and to realise the "danger of facing in Ireland a community, the majority of which protest against the treatment of Irish affairs by a London Parliament, and regard

themselves as unwilling subjects of English rule." There may be, and there is, a doubt about the intention to abandon the effort to govern India at Westminster. But is there any doubt about the overwhelming mass of people in India wanting to get free from the British yoke?

The whole foundation of the structure lay on Article 2 which declared that "All powers of government and all authority, legislative, executive, and judicial, in Ireland, are derived from the people of Ireland" — a clause which was stoutly opposed by reactionaries, but which a lawyer like Mr. Douglas Hogg explained by saying that it could not be used legally to set up a republic. He also explained several other things and made it clear why it was stipulated that "it is the Treaty which prevails and not the Constitution, and that the Constitution, to the extent to which it is in conflict with the Treaty, becomes null and void and inoperative."

It was because of this inherently indigenous character of the Constitution, framed by the people for themselves, that it could ultimately be used within a few years for the discarding of the oath of allegiance, for abolishing the office of the Governor-General and appeals to the Privy Council, i.e. virtual secession.

Let us see how it fares with us. Unlike that of South Africa or Ireland, India's case rests on her non-violent strength.

Segaon, 29-1-40

Uncertified Khadi

I have a telegram from Lahore saying that uncertified khadi and flags are selling briskly on the eve of the Independence Day. It is likely that such undesirable transactions may take place in other places also. I must warn Congressmen against buying or selling such khadi and flags. In my opinion it would be contrary to the pledge. Uncertified khadi means deprivation of the spinners' rightful wage and general injury to khadi work. That khadi and articles made of khadi are certified which are sold by dealers certified by the All India spinners Association.

Segaon, 25-1-40

M. D.

Thakkar Committee's Report

On the wages and conditions of work of sweepers in C. P. & Berar.

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Our purchases during the month of January have amounted to Rs. 2,599-10-0, and sales to Rs. 1731-10-3.

RETRACTATION OR REVELATION?

If Gandhiji's letter to Jinnah Saheb had no other effect, it had at least the effect of drawing the latter out to make a frank confession of faith. Referring to his recent combination with the Scheduled Classes, the Hindu Mahasabhaites, the Parsis and others he said: "It was partly a case of 'adversity bringing strange bed-fellows together', and partly because common interest may lead Muslims and minorities to combine. I have no illusions in the matter, and let me say again that India is not a nation, nor a country. It is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations."

When one studies his earlier utterances, utterances before his recent metamorphosis, one wonders whether he has recanted his earlier views or whether the new confession of faith is a sudden revelation. However that may be, we cannot forget the nationalist Jinnah Saheb of an earlier day. But people's memories are short, and it may be well both for the Hindus and the Muslims to know some of Jinnah Saheb's early utterances. A biographical sketch in Shri Natesan's *Eminent Mussalmans* describes him as a follower of Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale and Surendranath Bannerji, and pages are filled on his career as "an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity". Let us take some of the extracts from his speeches. Here is the earliest from a speech on Gokhale:

"Personally I have had the honour of being one of the colleagues of Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Council for some years, and to me it was always a matter of pride and pleasure to listen to him and often follow his lead. Mr. Gokhale has left millions behind him to mourn his death, but to millions his life and work will be a source of education and inspiration, especially to young India. Once addressing the students in England he advised them to keep their faces towards India, no matter where they were and where they worked, like the Japanese who always have his face towards 'Nipon'."

In a speech in the Legislative Assembly he said:

"I might say that I learnt my first lesson in politics at the feet of Sir Surendranath Bannerji. I was associated with him as one of his followers and I looked up to him as a leader. He commanded the utmost respect of a large body of people in this country and of my humble self. Sir, as far as Mr. Das was concerned he was a personal friend of mine. ...The only lesson I feel that we might draw from the careers of these two great men is this that in unity lies salvation."

But to go back to his earlier speeches. He was president in 1916 of the Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad. In his address he said:

"Is it possible or natural as a rule for members of Parliament to grasp or grapple with questions affecting the internal administration and program of India? When it was found that that was not possible in the case of Australia, Canada and South

Africa, with a few millions of population, would it not be miraculous if they continued to manage successfully the affairs of India by Parliament sitting in London?"

One may but refer in passing to the Memorandum on the Reforms and a new Constitution by nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council (of whom Jinnah Saheb was one), his part in the Congress-League Deputation to England and as President of the Bombay Home Rule League. "It was to meet that attack" (viz. that the Memorandum of the Nineteen was only the demand of a few educated agitators and lawyers), he said, "it was to remove that misrepresentation that they resolved that there should be an educative propaganda, and that *they should reach the masses and put the verdict of the masses* not only before the bureaucracy but before the democracy of Great Britain."

Referring to the Memorandum of the Nineteen he said:

"I was one of the signatories to the memorandum, and I would urge upon you to follow them (the proposals) substantially so far as fundamental principles are involved in those proposals: those demands were formulated by responsible men who owe duty to the Government and the people alike as 'chosen representatives' and not in a spirit of bargaining; those demands are the minimum in the strict sense of the word.....Co-operation in the cause of our Motherland should be our guiding principle."

Two more extracts of this period:

"After all a great deal depends upon ourselves. Hindus and Mahomedans, *united and firm, the voice of the three hundred millions of people* vibrating throughout the length and breadth of the country will produce a force which no power on earth can resist. *India has, I believe, turned a corner.* She has passed through great sufferings and borne them patiently for centuries. There is now a bright and a great future in front of her. We are on a straight road, the promised land is in sight."

This one from his League address in Lucknow in 1916:

"I have been a staunch Congressman throughout my public life and have been no lover of sectarian cries, but it appears to me that the reproach of separation sometimes levelled at Mussalmans is singularly inept and wide of the mark when I see this great communal organisation rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of *United India*."

It is but meet to conclude these extracts by taking two from his utterances in the Legislative Assembly in 1925. Take the famous passage in his speech on the Indian Finance Bill:

"I stand here with a clear conscience and I say that *I am a nationalist first, a nationalist second and a nationalist last.....I once more appeal to this House, whether you are a Mussalman or a Hindu, for God's sake do not impart the discussion of communal matters into this House and degrade this*

Assembly which we desire should become a real national Parliament. Set an example to the outside world and our people."

Another extract:

"My Lord, if you want India to care for your Government, to stand by you, to co-operate with you, what we want is that the spirit of the Government should be Indian, and that on occasions when the interests of India are likely to suffer, when any injustice is going to be done, our Government and those who are at the head of the Government should stand up for us and speak for us as any Indian would do."

One wonders if Jinnah Saheb has recanted the statements so frequently made, and sentiments so repeatedly expressed. One wonders what would be the meaning of 'India', 'United India', 'Motherland' in terms of his recent metamorphosis. Even if Jinnah Saheb has recanted the statements and sentiments, let there be no doubt in anyone's mind that the idol of both Hindus and Mussalmans was the Jinnah who uttered them. What is to happen, under the new dispensation as he visualises now, to the "voice of the three hundred millions of people vibrating throughout the length and breadth of the country"? If it was the voice of three hundred millions speaking as *one nation*, naturally it would produce a wondrous music and an irresistible force. But what a frightful discord it would make and what an incalculable havoc it would produce if it was made by innumerable representatives of numerous religions and religious beliefs? The whole picture is too tragic to contemplate.

Jinnah Saheb in his speeches of those days sometimes used to qualify his statements with these words: "Whatever my individual opinion may be, I am here to interpret and express the sense of the overwhelming body of Muslim opinion." Has Muslim opinion now changed or Jinnah Saheb?

Segaon, 29-1-40

M. D.

Notice

The General Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh, wishes to announce that the annual meeting of the Sangh has changed its venue and dates and will be held at Delhi on the 11th and 12th of February.

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1940

[ONE ANNA

FAILURE—STEPPING-STONE TO SUCCESS

[On the cold morning of 5th March in 1931 Gandhiji met an army of journalists within a few hours of the signing of the Irwin-Gandhi Pact. He was tired and but for these journalists might have been sleeping the sleep of the just. But as he began to dictate his statement he found freshness uprushing from within, and without a moment's pause he dictated a statement of several hundred words which required not a change of a comma or a colon. It left the pressmen wondering.

History in this one respect at least repeated itself on the 6th of February 1940. Increased age and work have left Gandhiji tired and always in need of a respite. On the morning of the 6th February 1940 he again received an army of journalists—representatives of the London papers, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The News Chronicle*, *The Times*, and of the Associated Press of America. But for them he might have been sleeping the sleep of the just—after an equally momentous step which he had prayerfully taken. But he received them an hour before taking the train for Wardha, and dictated to them a statement—pausing only once to correct a word or a sentence—of almost equal length as the one made in 1931.

But history does not repeat itself. The success of March 1931 was dragged into the mire by unworthy instruments employed to wreck the truce. The apparent failure of February 1940 may yet be used, as Gandhiji has hoped, as a stepping-stone to success by the chief actors of the drama, who, thank God, are still to be on the political stage to retrieve the situation.

M. D.]

The Vital Difference

“The vital difference between the Congress demand and the Viceregal offer consists in the fact that the Viceroy's offer contemplates the final determination of India's destiny by the British Government, whereas the Congress contemplates just the contrary. The Congress position is that the test of real freedom consists in the people of India determining their own destiny without any outside influence, and I see no prospect whatsoever of a peaceful and honourable settlement between England and India unless the vital difference is obliterated and England decides

upon the right course, viz. accept the position that the time has come when India must be allowed to determine her own constitution and her status. When that is done, the question of Defence, the question of Minorities, the question of the Princes and the question of the European interests will automatically resolve itself.

Offer of Tribunal

Let me make this a little clearer. The provision of safeguards for the rights of Minorities is not only common cause between the British Government and the Congress, but the Representative Assembly of Indians cannot evolve a stable Constitution without fullest satisfaction being given to the *legitimate* minorities. I use word the ‘legitimate’ advisedly because I see that minorities crop up like mushrooms, till there will be no majority left. By fullest satisfaction I mean satisfaction which will not militate against the progress of the nation as a whole. I will ~~therefore~~, in the event of differences, refer the question to the highest and most impartial tribunal that can be conceived by human ingenuity. Its voice shall be final as to what will amount to the fullest satisfaction of minority interests.

The Question of Defence

So far as Defence is concerned, surely it will be the primary concern of free India to make her own arrangements. It may well be that India would want elaborate preparation and would want Britain's help, if it is given, in enabling her to do so. Thanks to Imperial policy, unarmed India is left wholly unprotected except by the British bayonet and Indian soldiers whom British power has brought into being. It is a position humiliating alike for Britain and for India. I am personally unconcerned because, if I could carry India with me, I would want nothing beyond a police force for protection against dacoits and the like. But so far as Defence is concerned unarmed peaceful India would rely upon the good-will of the whole world. But I know that that is only a dream at the present moment.

For Europeans—No Favouritism

So far as European interests are concerned, emphasis on the word ‘European’ must be entirely removed. But that does not mean that a free India should be free to confiscate European interests or any other interests. There would, as there should, be provision for reasonable compensation for any existing interests which are

legitimate and not harmful to the nation. It follows that there can be no question of favouritism which is being enjoyed today by European interests. I would, therefore, regard them as big zamindars or capitalists. They will be put on the same footing as these.

People — Natural Successor of Crown

So far as the Princes are concerned, they are free to join the national assembly which will determine India's fate not as individuals but as duly elected representatives of their own people. The Princes being vassals of the Crown, I fancy they have no status apart from the Crown, and certainly not superior to the Crown itself. And if the Crown parts with the power it today enjoys over the whole of India, naturally the Princes have — and it should be their pride — to look up to the successor of the Crown, i.e. the people of India, for the preservation of their status.

I hope this will not be regarded as a tall claim, for it is made not on behalf of the Congress, nor of any single party, but on behalf of the unrepresented dumb millions of India. No claim made on their behalf can be considered too tall. I am myself an insignificant being, but I am supposed to have some hold over these dumb millions. I know that in every fibre of my being I am also one of them; and without them I am nothing and I do not even want to exist.

Not Even a Non-violent Fight

I want on their behalf an honourable settlement with Britain without *even* a non-violent fight. My dictionary has no such expression as a violent fight. Yesterday I put this view before His Excellency in as courteous and friendly a language as I was capable of using. We approached the discussion as personal friends, each believing in the other's sincerity. We understood each other, and both recognised that there still existed a wide gulf between the Government's position and the position taken by the Congress which I put, though not as an accredited representative of the Congress but certainly as the self-appointed representative of the dumb millions.

Will Britain Be Bankrupt?

We parted as friends. I have no disappointment in me that the negotiations have failed. That failure I am going to use, as I am sure H. E. the Viceroy is going to use, as a stepping-stone to success. But if that success does not come in the near future, I can only say Heaven help India, Britain and the world. The present war must not be decided by a clash of arms, but it must be decided by the moral strength that each party can show. If Britain cannot recognise India's legitimate claim, what will it mean but Britain's moral bankruptcy?"

A Superfluous Phrase

Asked regarding the meaning of the words "at this stage" in the sentence "they did not, in his view, at this stage, meet the Congress demand," Gandhiji said: "The phrase in the

Government communique 'at this stage' is a superfluous phrase. If it is interpreted to mean that the Congress may in future modify its demand, it is absolutely unwarranted."

No Chance at Present

Asked if there was a chance of the Congress Ministries going back, Gandhiji said: "I hope and expect that Congress Ministries will remain out until the main question is settled.

"I don't see any chance at present of approach between the Congress and the Muslim League. I do not see any, because the Muslim League represented by Jinnah Saheb's letter to me takes up a position which is wholly inimical to the national cause. He contemplates several Indias. The Congress contemplates only one India."

Staggering

When told about the B. B. C. broadcast that Gandhiji was meeting Jinnah Saheb on the evening of the 5th, Gandhiji said: "It is staggering how they manufacture news. The inventive faculty of man for destruction is showing marvellous resources."

AN ELUCIDATION

Gandhiji has sent the following cable to *The News Chronicle*, London, in reply to that paper's cable asking for elucidation of Gandhiji's statement that the minority difficulty will be referred to the highest and most impartial tribunal:

Supposing a minority advances claims which are rejected by the majority as being highly injurious to the national interest, they should be referred for decision to an agreed tribunal of unimpeachable impartiality, say, the Federal High Court. Segaon, 7-2-40

LET BRITAIN ABANDON HER IMMORAL HOLD

In reply to a cable from *The Daily Herald*, London, asking for a special message on the interview with the Viceroy and hopes of reaching an amicable settlement of present difficulties, Gandhiji cabled the following statement:

My interview with the Viceroy shows what wide gulf exists between British Government and Nationalist India. What is offered is not real independence. Reality demands that India should determine what she needs, not Britain. There could be no justice or virtue in Britain yielding to successful rebellion, violent or non-violent. Will present problems be then deemed to be dissolved? It is necessary for Britain to be just to declare her determination to recognise immediately the freedom of India in practice, and the constitution to be framed by the Constituent Assembly or an equivalent as soon as practicable. There is no analogy between the Dominions and India. Hers is a case by itself and has to be treated as such. It should be clearly understood that every problem is of Britain's own making. What has happened was no doubt a necessity of imperialism. But if imperialism dies, the problems of Britain's making will be automatically dissolved. Defence is the greatest of all.

Why did Britain disarm India? Why have even Indian soldiers become foreigners in their own land? Why did Britain create Princes and arm them with unheard-of powers? Surely for making her foothold secure. Who created the gigantic European interests, and why? Who created minorities? There is no majority save the political majority. But these four were and still are bulwarks of imperialism. No jugglery of words can hide this naked truth. Britain's moral victory will be assured when she decides by a mighty effort to abandon her immoral hold on India; and then her other victory will follow as day follows night. For, then, the conscience of the whole world will be on her side. No makeshift such as is now offered can stir India's heart or world conscience.

Segaon, 7-2-40

GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE

The following Government communique was issued on the 5th inst.:

In response to an invitation from His Excellency Mr. Gandhi today came to see the Viceroy. A prolonged and very friendly discussion took place in which the whole position was exhaustively examined. Mr. Gandhi made it clear at the outset of the conversation that he had no mandate from the Congress Working Committee, that he was not empowered to commit it in any way, and that he could speak on behalf of himself only.

His Excellency set out in some detail the intentions and the proposals of His Majesty's Government. He emphasized in the first place their earnest desire that India should attain Dominion Status at the earliest possible moment, and to facilitate the achievement of that status by all means in their power. He drew attention to the complexity and difficulty of certain of the issues that called for disposal in that connection, in particular the issue of Defence in a Dominion position. He made it clear that His Majesty's Government were only too ready to examine the whole of the field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India when the time came. He made clear also the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to shorten the transitional period and to bridge it as effectively as possible. His Excellency drew attention to the fact that as he recently repeated at Baroda, the Federal Scheme of the Act, while at present in suspense, afforded the swiftest stepping-stone to Dominion Status, and that its adoption, with the consent of all concerned, would facilitate the solution of many of the problems that had to be faced in that connection. He added that the offer put forward by him in November last of an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council on the lines and on the basis then indicated remained open and that His Majesty's Government were prepared to give immediate effect to that offer, subject to the consent of the parties affected. His Majesty's Government would be prepared also to re-open the Federal Scheme, so as to

expedite the achievement of Dominion Status and to facilitate the settlement after the war of the issues to which it gave rise.

Mr. Gandhi expressed appreciation of the spirit in which these proposals were put forward, but made it clear that they did not, in his view, at this stage meet the full demand of the Congress Party. He suggested, and the Viceroy agreed, that in the circumstances it would be preferable to defer for the present further discussions with the object of a solution of the difficulties which had arisen.

A Good Suggestion

Shrimati Kunverbai Vakil of the Pupils' Own School, Vile Parle, sends me a parcel of yarn spun by fifteen pupils of the middle class on the Independence Day. In a covering letter she says that the commencement in spinning was made by a Harijan pupil and his good example was copied by the others, though not all. But Shrimati Kunverbai's object in writing to me was to draw attention to the fact that for the last three years Principal Vakil and Shrimati Kunverbai Vakil with their pupils have been setting apart four hours for two days in the year to sell khadi. The result has been encouraging. They were able each time to sell khadi worth Rs. 500 per day. She is of opinion that, if all the educational institutions set apart certain days in the year for hawking khadi, there will be a great impetus given to khadi. She adds further that since the scholars began to spin and hawk khadi they have been able to introduce khadi in their homes most of which were untouched by it. There is no doubt that, if educational institutions take to khadi with the same sincerity and devotion that the Vakils have done, the whole atmosphere will change and khadi will come to its own. I have not hesitated to say, and I wish to repeat, that everyone who spins for Swaraj brings Swaraj nearer by so many yards. Think what it means if millions were to take part in this grand effort. Let no one seek for a parallel in history. History has no record of a non-violent effort made for a nation's freedom. *Bona fide* non-violent effort presupposes the adoption of unique weapons. It is the violence within the breast and the newness of the technique which stand in the way of an appreciation of the charkha. I have, therefore, the fear lurking in me that even those who have taken to spinning have done so mechanically and for the sake of discipline. If such is the case, it will not do. If it is taken up earnestly, the earnestness should be reflected in the sales of khadi. Correspondents have been telling me of their having taken up spinning, but no one has been telling me of sales of khadi. For me a marked increase in sales is the surest index to the manner in which the khadi clause in the Independence Pledge has been taken by Congressmen.

New Delhi, 5-2-40

M. K. G.

NOTICE

We regret that, owing to unavoidable difficulties, it has not been possible to give the Annual Index along with the present issue. It will be given with the next issue free of charge.

Manager

H A R I J A N

Feb. 10

1940

TASK BEFORE US

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There need be no disappointment among Congressmen for failure of the negotiations between H. E. the Viceroy and me. We had met to explore the possibilities of a settlement. I had seen the germs of it in the Viceregal pronouncement in Bombay. But I discovered that I was mistaken. The Viceroy's hands were tied down. He was not to go beyond the four corners of the offer now before the country. Perhaps it represented too his own opinion.

But nothing has been lost by our meeting. In spite of the failure we have come nearer each other. There is a clarification of the situation. Non-violence requires great patience. The failure is only apparent. There can be no failure since both the cause and the means are just. This meeting has brought us nearer to our goal. If the Viceroy was clear in his enunciation of the British policy, I was not less clear in enunciating that of the Congress. The negotiations, so far as I know, have not been closed. Meanwhile we have to educate the world as to what we stand for. India cannot be one of the many Dominions, i.e. partner in the exploitation of the non-European races of the earth. If hers is a non-violent fight, she must keep her hands clean. If India is not to be co-sharer in the exploitation of the Africans and the degradation of our own countrymen in the Dominions, she must have her own independent status. Its content and nature must not be dictated or determined by Britain. They must be determined by ourselves, meaning the elected representatives of the nation, call such an assembly what you will. Unless British statesmen definitely concede this, they do not mean to part with power. Neither the question of Defence nor that of the Minorities nor of the Princes nor of the European interests need come in the way of her making this clear declaration. Not that the important matters just mentioned do not require serious consideration and adjustment. But they will yield to just and proper treatment only when the required declaration is made and followed up immediately by corresponding action in so far as it is possible. Without it, Britain's war with Germany cannot be claimed to be just, certainly not unselfish.

What is to be done then? Declaration of civil resistance? Not yet. I mean what I say when I ascribe sincerity to Lord Linlithgow. He is doing his best to understand us, and his duty to his superiors and his nation. With all his traditions he cannot be made to jump to our position. He cannot be hustled into it. And we must not despise our opponent or belittle his strength. It would be wrong to assume weakness in him and seek to take advantage of it. His weakness will not make us strong or fit. And his strength need not baffle us if we are strong. Our duty is, therefore, to make him feel our strength. This we shall do not by civil resistance but by putting our own house in order. Whilst we may not allow the British Government to plead the minorities and the like as a bar to right action on their part, we may not blind ourselves to the fact that these questions exist and demand solution at our hands. We may dismiss from our minds the impossible and utterly anti-national stand taken by Quaide Azam Jinnah. We cannot dismiss the Muslims from our consideration. The same may be said about the other problems. We must educate public mind on these, clear our own minds and know where we stand in relation to them. Maulana Saheb tells me that Congressmen and Congress committees are not always considerate in regulating elections to popular bodies, and that local boards are not always dealing justly by all the communities. We have to be above suspicion. Congress committees have to take infinite pains to examine every single complaint. None may be dismissed as too trivial for consideration. I have letters and telegrams bitterly complaining that at some elections for Congress committees, Local Boards and the like, Muslim, Harijan or Christian claims have been neglected. Wherever this happens a golden opportunity of doing justice is missed. We may not resort to civil resistance out of our impatience or to cover our shortcomings. It is not a panacea for all our ills, internal and external. It is a specific and sovereign remedy for extraordinary situations. But let us be ready for it. I say with a full sense of my responsibility that we are not ready. It is true that, even if we were ready, the time for it is not ripe. It may be any day. Let us not be found wanting when it comes.

On the way to Wardha, 6-2-40

To Correspondents and Message-seekers

In spite of my notice in *Harijan* of December 23rd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know several intimate friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have to harden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

Segaon, 15-1-40

M. K. G.

THE QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Religion and Politics

Q. In your autobiography you have said that you cannot think of politics apart from religion. Do you still hold that view? If so, how is it that in a country of many diverse religions like India you expect a common political policy to be adopted?

A. Yes, I still hold the view that I cannot conceive politics as divorced from religion. Indeed religion should pervade every one of our actions. Here religion does not mean sectarianism. It means a belief in ordered moral government of the universe. It is not less real because it is unseen. This religion transcends Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, etc. It does not supersede them. It harmonises them and gives them reality.

Q. Is it true that you advised some Sikhs, who came to seek your advice on certain matters, that Guru Govind Singh taught the use of the sword while you stood for non-violence, and therefore the Sikhs must be ready to choose the one or the other?

A. The question is badly, if not mischievously, put. What I did say was that, if they thought the teaching of Guru Govind Singh excluded implicit belief in non-violence, they could not be consistent Congressmen so long as the Congress creed remained what it was. I added that they would be compromising themselves if they joined or remained in the Congress and might even damage their own cause.

Non-violence, Islam and Sikhism

Q. By teaching respect for all religions you want to undermine the power of Islam. You want to emasculate the Pathans by taking away the rifle from them. There can be no meeting ground between us and you.

A. I do not know what you thought during the Khilafat days. Let me give you a bit of the history of our own times. The foundation of the Khilafat struggle was laid by me. I had a hand in the agitation for the release of the Ali Brothers. So when they came out they, together with Khwaja Abdul Majid, Shuaib Qureshi and Moazam Ali, and I met together and devised the plan of action which the world knows. I discussed with them the implications of non-violence and told them that, if they could not accept non-violence as true Muslims, I should be out of the picture. Their reason was satisfied, but they said they could not act without endorsement from Muslim divines, and so there was a conference of the Ulemas at the late Principal Rudra's House where I used to stay, when in Delhi, during his lifetime. This learned company included, among several others, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the late Maulana Abdul Bari. Led by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad they held that belief in non-violence was not only not inconsistent with Islam, but it

was obligatory in the sense that Islam had always preferred it to violence. It is noteworthy that this took place before the acceptance of non-violence by the Congress in 1920. Many were the discourses given by learned Muslims on non-violence before crowded Muslim meetings. The Sikhs too came in later without any scruples and they listened with rapt attention to my exposition of non-violence. Those were great and glorious days. Non-violence proved infectious. Under its spell there was a mass awakening such as had never been seen before in this land. All communities felt as one, and they thought that non-violence had clothed them with an irresistible power. Those halcyon days are gone and now I am obliged seriously to answer questions like the above. I cannot give you the faith in non-violence you do not possess. God alone can give it to you. Mine remains unshaken. I do maintain, in spite of you and others like you suspecting my motives, that mutual respect for one another's religions is inherent in a peaceful society. Free impact of ideas is impossible on any other condition. Religions are meant to tame our savage nature, not to let it loose. God is only one though He has countless names. Don't you expect me to respect your faith? If you do, may I not expect the same respect from you for mine? You say Muslims have nothing in common with Hindus. In spite of your separatism, the world is moving towards universal brotherhood when mankind will be one nation. Neither you nor I can stop the march towards our common destiny. As for the emasculation of Pathans, let Badshah Khan answer. He had accepted non-violence before we met. He believes that the Pathan has no future save through non-violence. Without it, if nothing else, his blood-feuds will keep him from going forward. And he thinks that the Pathan found his feet in the Frontier Province after he accepted non-violence and became servant of God—Khudai Khidmatgar.

More Calumny

Q. You did not hesitate to join the Ali Brothers in their intrigue to invite Amanulla Khan to invade India and set up Muslim Raj. You drafted a wire for Maulana Mahomed Ali advising the then Amir not to enter into a treaty with the British. The late Swami Shraddhanandji is reported to have seen the draft. And now you want the Hindus of Sindh to make a present of their hearths and homes to their Mussalman oppressors instead of demanding the re-amalgamation of Sindh with the Bombay Province, which alone can restore the reign of law to Sindh. Why won't you realise that in this age of enlightenment and progress what the minorities expect is effective protection of their due rights, not mere pious counsels of perfection?

A. I have several such letters. Hitherto I have ignored them. But now I see that the news has gone through a revised and enlarged edition in the Hindu Mahasabha. An angry

correspondent threatens that persons like him will begin to believe what has been stated so authoritatively. For the sake of my reputation, therefore, I must answer the question. But my correspondents should know that life for me would be a burden if I were to make it a point of controverting every false report about me or distortion of my writing. A reputation that requires such a mud wall of protection is not worth keeping. So far as the charge of my intriguing with the Amir is concerned I can say that there is no truth whatsoever in it. Further, I know that the Brothers stoutly denied the charge when it was brought to their notice. And I believed them implicitly. I do not remember having drafted any telegram on behalf of Maulana Mahomed Ali to the then Amir. The alleged telegram is harmless in itself and does not warrant the deduction drawn from it. The late Swamiji never referred the matter to me for confirmation. It is wrong to say anything against dead men unless one has positive proof and stating it is relevant. The romance has been woven round my writings in *Young India*. Deductions drawn from them are wholly unjustified. I would not be guilty of inviting any power to invade India for the purpose of expelling the English. For one thing, it would be contrary to my creed of non-violence. For another, I have too great a respect for English bravery and arms to think that an invasion of India can be successful without a strong combination of different powers. In any case, I have no desire to substitute British Rule with any other foreign rule. I want unadulterated Home Rule, however inferior in quality it may be. My position remains today what it was when I wrote the *Young India* paragraphs now sought to be used against me. Let me further remind the readers that I do not believe in secret methods.

As for Sindh my advice stands. Reincorporation of Sindh in the Bombay Province may or may not be a good proposition on other grounds, but certainly it is not for the purpose of greater protection of life and property. Every Indian, be he Hindu or any other, must learn the art of protecting himself. It is the condition of real democracy. The State has a duty. But no State can protect those who will not share with it the duty of protecting themselves.

On the way to Delhi, 4-2-40

Handmade Paper

Office Files—Bigger (White and light pink):

2 As. per one. Rs. 1-6-0 per dozen.

" Smaller (white) 1 A. 6 Ps. per one.

Pocket slip books (6½ × 4½) 50 sheets. 2½ As. per 1

(4 × 2½) " 1 A. per 1.

Postage etc. extra.

Available at *Harijan* Office — Poona 4.

A Correction

In the last issue, on p. 439, col. 1, under the article "Wanted 'a Great Act of Daring Faith,'" read "M. D.", and under the note "Uncertified khadi" read "M. K. G." instead of "M. D."

REDISCOVERING RELIGION

I

Early Christian Attitude

The pacifist movement has, among other things, compelled Christians to examine the attitude to war of early Christianity. A keen controversy is going on in the columns of *The Manchester Guardian*, and several pre-Constantine authors are being quoted to prove that the early Christian attitude was opposed to war. A writer suggests, in answer to the criticism that "blessed are the pacifists" is a mistranslation of Matth. 5. 9, that linguistically "pacifists" is the exact equivalent of the Greek word used, and seeing that "Jesus was in all essentials himself a pacifist in our sense of the term," the translation cannot be ruled out as incorrect. Another writer gives a few telling extracts from writers of the ante-Nicene period. "Thou wishest to make war," says Tatian, "and thou takest Apollon as thy counsellor in murder." Minucius Felix states: "It is not right for us either to see or hear of a man being slain." Arnobius affirms that "We, a numerous band of men as we are, have learned from His teaching and His laws that evil ought not to be requited with evil, that it is better to suffer wrong than to inflict it, that we should rather shed our own blood than stain our hands and conscience with that of another." "That these are not just the voices of individuals, says *The Manchester Guardian* correspondent, "may be shown by the rules laid down in the Egyptian and Syrian Church Orders and in the canons of Hippolytus, which forbid Christians to join the Army. Finally, there is Maximilianus, saint and martyr of the Catholic Church, who in the year 295 at the age of 21 laid down his life as a conscientious objector."

So much regarding facts. When the rot entered the pristine teaching is clear, but how it did is a matter for inference. That King Constantine did, in this respect, little service to the Christian teaching is obvious. The inference may not be open to serious challenge that so long as the teaching remained confined to those who lived it and thus acquired a spiritual status, it remained pure; and that when it began to acquire an earthly status, and emphasis far from being laid on life began to be laid on the strength of numbers, the rot began. Those who challenge the inference may suggest another, but they must base it on a thorough examination of facts.

Mr. Holmes Smith and others who dared to sign that open letter to the Viceroy are helpers in the process of rediscovering Christianity, and they have placed their finger unerringly on one of the sore spots. They have in challenging the missionary pledge blazoned forth the truth that pure Christianity ought not to look to the support of earthly authority.

A Process of Repentance

That was what I gathered from Mr. Holmes

Smith who was at Segaoon the other day in order to have Gandhiji's blessings for the new task ahead of him and his associates. The missionary's pledge seems to be somewhat like this: "That nothing shall be done by me contrary to or in diminution of the lawful authority of the country where I am going to serve." Mr. Smith had not the text with him and was quoting from memory. The Mission to which he belonged, it seems, sought the American Consul's opinion on the open letter to the Viceroy and, acting on the Consul's opinion, asked Mr. Smith to leave the Mission. He had certainly the option to resign from the Mission and stay here, but going back to America was, he decided, the better course.

Mr. Smith was the Acharya of the Lalbagh Ashram in Lucknow, and in introducing himself said with engaging candour: "I confess I made myself rather active after the Ambedkar episode and I went about collecting the names of depressed class leaders who were of his way of thinking. But I was later disillusioned about the movement as about mass movements in general. You have, therefore, every reason to suspect me, but I may say that what I have done recently is in continuance of the process of repentance that started in me. I am now on my way to America where so far as it lies in our power we propose to start a twofold campaign by (1) opening the eyes of Missions against continuing an unholy alliance with imperialism; (2) ~~starting a movement to be organised by the~~ friends of Indian freedom. I want your reaction to this programme and, if you approve of it, your blessings."

Gandhiji said: "My strong advice to you would be not to have Indians in your society. You will seek information from them but not members. Their entry would make you suspects. I would like you to retain your spiritual and purely American character. You are interested in our movement, I understand, because it is claimed to be strictly non-violent. The hands of those who have wrought for freedom all over the world are dyed red. But you, who claim to be Christians in a special sense because you insist on living according to the Sermon on the Mount, sympathise with us because of our unique claim."

"And don't expect or accept a single pice from India, even if you may have to beg and are reduced to the level of the three tailors of Tooley Street."

Christian Special Contribution

Continuing Gandhiji said: "And now I must share with you what I told Mr. Kaithan. He, like you, has broken away from his Mission and chosen to work in the villages of India. I told him that I want every true Christian to make his contribution to the cause of non-violence. Our movement has been non-violent for 20 years or even 25, that is ever since I returned to India and started work. Congress-minded India

has been moving towards non-violence. And yet today I have to say that that non-violence has been non-violence not of the strong but of the weak. But you are attracted to it in the belief that our non-violence is of the strong. Therefore, you should study the movement through and through, criticise it, find flaws in it. Thus I do not want you to spin unless you see an unbreakable connection between spinning or its equivalent and non-violence. It is likely that you will discover new methods of application or new argument, as Gregg does, in support of mine."

"Do you not mean economic non-violence by the charkha?" asked Mr. Holmes Smith.

"Not economic non-violence, but I should say non-violent economics. The charkha and handicrafts occupy a special place in a non-violent society, as centralised activities do in modern society constructed on militarism," said Gandhiji. "My hands are feeble today, because I have not a full-hearted support for my conviction that India can retain her independence by non-violent means. So long as non-violence is a purely political battle-cry, India cannot make a solid contribution to the peace of the world. Independence cannot be retained if it is a gift of the British. It can be retained when we have learned it and can retain it by our strength. We have not that non-violent strength, and we certainly have not the military strength. And so though I am going to Delhi I am going with my eyes open and in fear and trembling. But as I am practical I shall face the situation as it comes."

"But you have to work non-violence out independently, and not merely because I swear by it. I am but a sojourner on this earth for a few days—it may be for a few years, which does not really matter. I can only repeat what I have been saying all these years. And then I realise my limitations which to me are amazing. And so I want the help of all who have faith enough to work for non-violence—especially of Christians, for thousands of them believe that the message of Christ was that of peace on earth, goodwill to men. I mention Christians specially, because though there are individual Muslims who believe in non-violence, there are many who do not regard it as a special message of the Koran. And as you know there are Hindus who disown me because of my out-and-out belief in non-violence. Now the message of Jesus has been before the world for 1900 years; but what are 1900 years in the life of a religion or in the life of a message fraught with great consequence for mankind? I therefore want you to be my fellow-workers testing everything I say on the anvil of cold reason. I want from you a spiritual effort."

Mr. Holmes Smith, who was listening most attentively, said: "In this matter we can only sit at your feet for years to come. I am getting in touch with fellow-seekers here, and I will seek out, on getting back home, men like Gregg."

We know that there is something very vital at stake, and we will hope and pray that India will not barter Satyagraha for a mess of pottage. It is the hope of the world. We want to dig down through the accretions of centuries and rediscover Christianity. And we shall say to whoever comes to India that anyone who goes there with the idea of giving but not of receiving should not go there at all."

M. D.

(To be concluded)

A TESTIMONY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Here is an extract from a letter from Shri Sarangdhar Das, Secretary of the Orissa States People Conference:

"I became a convert to the cult of the charkha after reading your article 'moral conscription', and myself and four members of my brother's family (refugees from Dhenkanal for the last six years) are regular spinners for the last two months.

Your above-mentioned article reminded me of the knitting of the American women during the last war. When America entered the war the women, who always have about four hours' spare time to themselves in their homes and clubs, almost overnight took to knitting in order to help the nation and their boys at the front in France. That was no order from the Government. It was voluntary effort of the women themselves.

I am a technical man, having spent many years in factories and in machine cultivation, and I still believe in machinery and mass production. But, at present and most probably in the far future, the charkha will remain the symbol of Independence and strength for the millions in the villages. At any rate, in the present condition of poverty of body, mind and soul in the masses, and in the utter lack of opportunities to make both ends meet, only the charkha can create in us a sense of unity, of strength and of freedom.

I am therefore unable to appreciate the recent controversies, unless it is that we the higher caste and the educated people, having been steeped in hundreds of years of slavery, have lost all sense of discipline. We select you as the Generalissimo, and we quibble about your direction. I also feel that the root of all this controversy is in our lack of respect for the dignity of manual labour. It is in our blood.

I had eschewed politics during my youth in America, and joined the Congress only in 1937 in my fiftieth year. Since then I have observed discipline in everything. But since September last I have taken you as my leader and, although I am a mere private, I wish to tender to you my full allegiance, and I have faith that you will bring us Independence. I am at your command.

The Independence Day was duly observed everywhere in Orissa, and some of the States people — Dhenkanal, Talcher, Athmallik, Nayagarh, Nilgiri — Congress members as well as Prajamandal members,

took the pledge in all solemnity, outside the State boundaries. I hear that in Dhenkanal there were two large meetings inside the State also. I had charge of Tirtol Thana in Cuttack District where over 5,000 people came in processions, and about 200 were spinning. Many in the villages are making arrangements to spin, and need help and guidance. In one locality I heard of people having assembled the parts of their old charkhas (with a stone pivot) and begun spinning. These people lost the art only about 25 years ago. Among the States Nayagarh is the foremost in planting cotton and in spinning.

In my meeting I explained the full implications of the pledge, and warned people not to take it unless they believed they were willing and strong enough to fulfil the conditions. But in great enthusiasm the whole audience repeated it word for word. It was not possible for me to determine the number of Congress members, but on returning here I found that 965 out of 3,000 members in the Thana had signed. The workers assured me that some more would follow. At any rate I am satisfied that we have nearly one-third who understand and who are not afraid."

I congratulate Sarangdhar Babu on his conversion. I suggest that his conversion will last and be infectious if he studies the implications of the wheel in all its aspects. He will then see that the stone hub charkha, which I have seen and turned, is a very primitive contrivance for securing steady motion, but it is a great handicap on the speed. He will then apply himself to an improvement of the wheel so that the output of the spinners is doubled, if not trebled. This is only one of the many directions in which the charkha spirit can work. The charkha has its economic, social, political and spiritual aspect. It is the last aspect which makes it a symbol of non-violence. Years ago I reproduced the observations of a Scotch psychologist showing how he used the spinning wheel for curing bad-tempered boys. He observed that the gentle motion of the wheel produced a soothing and sobering effect on the minds of the subjects. I reproduced also the experience of the late Sir Prabhaskar Pattani, how he found the wheel a great solace to his jaded nerves when he span for half an hour before retiring. Compare Maragarete's song in *Faust* as she sat at the wheel.

New Delhi, 5-2-40

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